Africa

Pro Patri, Dr. Danquah And Sekyi.

(To the Editor *of the Gold Coast Independent.*)

Dear Sir,—

I was quite unnerved by Pro-Patria's big article of last week in the "*Gold Coast Spectator.*" So big was the superstructure he built on his "scales and balance" foundation that it is surprising to find, after a close and more searching inspection, that what appeared to be a brick and mortar structure is no more than shambles of asbestos and putty.

I hope, Sir, you will make this introductory part of my letter stand, for that is really how my analysis of the article has shown it to be. Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, faced at the Oxford diocesan conference with a situation similar in popular appeal to what Pro Patria has raised before the country, exclaimed, "what is the question now placed before society with a glib assurance the most astounding? The question is this. Is man an ape or an angel? I, my Lord, I am on the side of the angels. I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence the contrary view, which I believe, foreign to the conscience of humanity."

Pro-Patria's article sets before society the question whether Mr. Sekyi's philosophy of Empire (as interpreted by him) or Dr. Danquah's philosophy of Empire should be more acceptable to the Gold Coast people, and after balancing the two in the scales, I state without any hesitation whatsoever that I am on the side of Dr. Danquah.

Here are my reasons.

According to Pro-Patria Mr Sekyi believes in truth, absolute truth. He believes that the Gold Coast as a child nation should grow into due manhood. Mr. Sekyi believes further that the membership of our country in the British Empire is inevitable, and he would be the last person to urge the people to break away by inciting them to rise against British authority. He believes that we should be granted the full rights appurtenant to British citizenship, namely pure British Justice. Further, we are told that Mr. Sekyi reveres His Majesty the King and would respect all whom He sets in authority over this country, once they keep that respect by the strict exercise of British justice.

According to Pro-Patria, Mr. Sekyi believes in and admires English constitutional law, and hence it is that, "he is so busy fighting the unconstitutional behaviour of some Colonial Officials." Ergo, Pro Patria exhorts us to side with him that if we are guided by this Sekyian philosophy of Empire it will ensure our country developing upon sound lines into a respectable self-governing nation.

This philosophy of Empire compels us to agree that the final arbiter of whether or not the Gold Coast people should become a self governing nation is English constitutional law or what, in other words, Pro-Patria calls "pure British justice." For him therefore, and we are compelled to believe, for Mr. Sekyi also, "pure British justice" is the end of everything, the final arbiter of Governors, Colonial Officials, their "political hirelings" as well as the determination of the justice or reasonableness of any aspiration of the Gold Coast people towards independence or national self-government. Whether we should ever be able to claim self-government or not would, according to Pro Patria, depend entirely upon the arbitrement of "pure British justice," we are boxed up, as it were, in a basket of eggs with the Empire and we stand or fall with "pure British justice" which carries the eggs.

Sir, I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence this posited view, which I believe is foreign to the experience of humanity and the bitter memories of the Gold Coast people. I shall explain.

But first, let us see what is really Dr. Danquah's view according to Pro-Patria. "To his (Dr. Danquah's) mind —so his ideas and his national ideal bear out—the British Empire is the end of everything, its sovereign state is forever the absolute Moral Authority over its subject peoples; for ever the deciding factor in whatever they do; thus they must do, none other."

Is the statement above true of Dr. Danquah's philosophy of Empire? Has he ever taught or held the view or written anywhere that "the British Empire is the end of everything"?

On the contrary, early a year ago, on Empire Day, Dr. Danquah's paper, "*The Times of West Africa*" published an Empire Day editorial, "The Imperial Connection," which may be taken to contain an unadulterated view of Dr. Danquah's philosophy of Empire, and this is what was said in the said editorial:—

"Our connection with the Empire is therefore not an end in itself. We in the Gold Coast should be proud that already we belong to one of the largest combinations of nations (The British Empire) the main object of which should be towards the final unity of all members of the human race, living together in one peaceful world. To day, that seems an impossible ideal as a factor in practical politics; but we cannot preach the kingdom of God on earth on Christmas Day and forget it on Empire Day. The ideal, if true and of universal acceptance, should be present with us in all our actions.....Let, then, Britain never forget this in our connection with her. Whilst providing ourselves to belong to the greater world through the Empire, we are sensitive and proud of our individuality as a people and prefer to remain individual... We, as an individual nation would retain our individual identity even in communion with the Empire and a greater world."

From this, is it not false and wicked for anyone to say that to the mind of Dr. Danquah the British Empire is the end of everything? Is it not false to say Dr. Danquah takes sovereignty of the Empire as forever the absolute Moral Authority for its subject peoples? On the contrary, if any one is to be found guilty of the charge of holding such views should it not be those who have all so beautifully been declared sincere friends of "pure British justice" and ardent admirers of English constitutional law?

To any reasonable mind, the position taken in the above quoted editorial shows clearly that Dr. Danquah does not recognise the sanction of the British Empire as the absolute Moral Authority. He maintains, on the contrary, that, over and beyond the British Empire, there is another and a greater authority, the final unity of the human race, the "Kingdom of God on earth."

This ideal, says Dr. Danquah, may not be practical politics for today, but even as "a far off divine event," it is worthy of being set before us and the Empire as the grand conception towards the realisation of which the Empire is merely a means to an end.

"Pure British Justice." according to Dr. Danquah's philosophy, can not be the only form of justice to determine whether we are ripe for self government or not. There is a greater sanction, the sanction of international law, international opinion, the moral conscience of the world. To this Dr. Danquah appeals and the appeal broadens our foundation and widens our imagination.

Who, in this Gold Coast, does not know that "pure British justice" is not an empty phrase? who in this Gold Coast does not know that pure British justice is daily in touch with our lives and may make or mar us any day? Was it not pure British justice, as expressed in the Privy Council, the final Court of appeal in the Empire, that declared that lands in East Africa were the property of the Crown? Was it not pure British Justice, as expressed through the constitutional channels of the Secretary of State, that made the Gold Coast a Crown Colony without the knowledge and consent of the inhabitants thereof? Was it not pure British Justice, as expressed through Parliament, the highest Legislative authority in the Empire, which brought the British Settlements Acts into being and empowered His Majesty by Order in Council to delegate to any three or more persons within the Gold Coast all or any part of the powers given by the Act to His Majesty in Council, one form of which we know in this country is the Official majority in the Legislative Council? And was it not pure British Justice.....Well, well! Why multiply these well known instances of the beneficent exercise, for the dependent people or subject races, of "pure British Justice? Who does not know that but for the recognition given to the United States by the international opinion of the time, as represented by France, Spain and Holland and supported by them with arms, the American declaration of independence would have remained a mere scrap of paper and the United States would today not be the leading nation it is, but merely a Dominion of New England, a second edition of Canada?

If Pro-Patria and Mr. Sekyi (as the former interprets him) believe that the finest thing on the face of the earth is "pure British Justice" to which an oppressed race or a dependent people may look for their deliverance, they are entitled to their opinion but I think it manifestly unjust of Pro-Patria to seek for popular acclamation which he desires for himself and his friend, at the sacrifice of truth and by the perversion of others' point of view.

I am

Yours truly

E. O. ADJEMANG.

Asiakwa. 17/5/33.

'The Comet.'

Mbabane Basutoland.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1933

Poll Tax in Basutoland

The Comet
Mochoconono
6-7-33.
Maseru, Basutoland.

It was mentioned in our last issue that Poll-tax of £2 has been introduced in Basuland for Europeans residing in the territory payable in two instalments of £1 each, and it is estimated that this will bring in a revenue of about £2,500 per annum. The European community in Basutoland consists chiefly of the Government officials and the trading community, and these are the people who, to tell the truth, are living on the fat of Basutoland. They enjoy far more privileges and protection than the Basuto who have a birthright to the territory, and who, by right, ought to enjoy better privileges and better protection than the former as they bear the biggest share of the revenue of the territory, but unfortunately this is not the case.

The Basuto are a semi-civilized nation enjoying protection under the British Government which is noted for justice and a liberal government for aborigines. One might expect that a government enjoying a good reputation like that of Britain would treat its aboriginal subjects with greater sympathy and exert a more civilizing influence than the other governments are disposed to do. We do not however imply that the Government does not encourage the Basuto to advance in progress but we want to point out that they are not practising what they are preaching. The main business of a government in a country is, in addition to the maintainance of peace and good order, to develop the resources of the country, to increase its wealth by encouraging production and a healthful growth of their people as a nation in order that the they may be able to hold their own among other nations. Is this the policy of the Basutoland Government? No! an emphatic no! To prove what we say we shall begin with taxation. Since the advert of the British Government in Basutoland. Native taxation was introduced in the Territory and has increased from 10/- to 28/- according to the requirements of the Territory. It was as late as during the Great War that Income Tax for the Europeans was introduced and paid by those people who were enjoying an income over a fixed sum per annum. Only a few weeks ago a Proclamation imposing Poll-tax on Europeans was made. This proclamation provides that the poll-tax of £2 be paid in instalments of £1 each paid yearly. Considering that the Europeans enjoy the princely salaries one does not understand why they should be allowed to pay by "easy terms" when the poor Natives earning a pittance and a great majority of whom being unemployed are bound by law to pay their 28/- at once. When a European fails to pay his due at the fixed period 2/- per month will be added and if in due time the amount is not forthcoming the defaulter is liable to be sued for the recovery of the amount. With the Europeans it is civil proceedings while with the Natives is criminal proceedings, why thiis difference?

For the sake of comparison we shall take the Union of South Africa. The colour line is very strong in the Union. The Europeans in the Union

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have better privileges, better facilities and enjoy better opportunities than the Natives. Although it does not seem fair for such a discrimination between the subjects of one Sovereign yet one can understand the reason for it as the fundamental principle of the policy of the Union is to maintain the supremacy of white civilization as against Native civilization. The Europeans are the ruling element and they are governing the country for the good and profit of the Europeans as against the Natives. In Basutoland conditions are different. It is a purely Native Territory enjoying British protection and governed chiefly for the good and profit of the Basuto and paying its own way without any support from the British Government. That being the case one would expect that the Basuto are getting the full benefit of their taxation But unfortunately this is not the case. They are only getting a small measure of these benefits compared with the Europeans who have the lion's share of the benefits of Basutoland taxation. A European in Basutoland is worth a salary as much as five efficient Natives to say nothing of allowances etc. Preference for government contracts is given to Europeans as against Natives and yet drastic measures are adopted to squeeze money out of these poor Natives to fill the Government coffers.

Now that these hard times when economic depression is being experienced all the world over and the governments of every state are doing their best and even asking for loans from outside to help their people over their difficulities, to find markets for the trade produce of thier countries and to support their destitute people yet in Basutoland nothing of the sort is attempted. Under the circumstances could any one in the name of justice stand up and say that Basutoland is governed for the benefit of the Basuto people? This things will happen and continue to happen becuase the Basuto are not allowed to have a say in their own government. We have an advisory Council functioning under the high sounding name of the National Council which according to its constitution should be representative of all sections of its people but nothing is done to see that these benefits are represented probably this due to the fact that it is to the advantage of the government that it does not take steps to see that the more intelligent men of the country are appointed as members of the Council not withstanding the fact that substantial grievances have been brought to the notice of the authorities from the people. Reforms have long been overdue but the government seems to be impotent to bring them about to the danger of the progress of the Territory.

Now that the Europeans are subject to taxation in Basutoland we are wondering whether the British formula that there can be no taxation without representation would not be applied in their case if they claim to be represented in the administration of the government funds and whether in providing for this representation the Basuto would be allowed to be represented by their intelligent members.

BASUTOLAND POLL TAX.

By the imposition of a poll tax of £2 per head, to be paid by all adult males over the age of 21 who resident in Basutoland who are not already paying tax under the Native Tax Proclamation, the Basutoland Government have tapped a source of income which should result in their obtaining an additional £2,500 a year.

This has come as a blow to many, states the "Rand Daily Mail." It was previously boasted that here at any rate, was one thing avoided by those who lived in Basutoland.

Both income tax and poll tax laws in Basutoland are now similar to those operating in the Union.

Up to the present the missionaries in Basutoland and the Fathers connected with the numerous mission stations have been exempt from all taxes, but according to the reading of the new proclamation, they will now come under the poll tax laws and will be required to pay £2 each per annum in common with other European residents in Basutoland.

Poll Tax Imposed in Basutoland.

Mochoconono
Maseru 5-3/1-33
Basutoland.

Under the above heading our contemporary the "Basutoland News" says:—

By the imposition of a poll tax of £2 to be paid by all adult males over the age of 21 who are not already paying under the Native Tax Proclamation (No. 3, of 1911), the Basutoland Government have tapped a source of income which should result in their obtaining an additional £2,500 per annum, says the correspondent to "The Friend." This has come as a blow, it having been stated that this was one thing avoided by those living in Basutoland. Both the income tax and poll tax in Basutoland are similar to those operating in the Union. Up to the present the missionaries in Basutoland and the Fathers connected with the numerous mission stations have been exempt from all taxes, but these will now, according to the reading of the proclamation in the issue of the Official Gazette of the High Commissioner of May 5, come under the new poll tax laws, and will be required to pay the £2 each per annum in common with other European residents.

The New Assistant Bishop of Lagos.

[BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

For the second time within three months, the setting aside of one of West Africa's sons for high office in the Church was witnessed within the hallowed walls of Lambeth Palace Chapel, on Tuesday (St. James's Day), when Canon Alexander Babatunde Akinyele, M.A., L.Th., was consecrated as an Assistant Bishop to the Bishop of Lagos.

The size of the Palace Chapel gives to any ceremony there the nature of a family gathering, and there is a close personality in the proceedings that is not possible in a larger place, while at the same time there is no loss of the deep feeling of solemnity that a consecration must bring to all taking part.

In the congregation were many well-known on the West Coast for their active work there, and others, descendants of those who have given their lives for the work; also representatives of the Methodist Mission, and the Salvation Army, numerous Africans at present in England, and many of the new Bishop's colleagues in the diocese of Lagos.

Memories of earlier days were vividly recalled by the presence of Miss Schön, a daughter of the Rev. J. F. Schön, who, with Samuel Crowther, accompanied the ill-fated expedition up the Niger in 1841 ; Miss Hill, a daughter of Bishop J. S. Hill (who succeeded Bishop Crowther in 1893, and whose tragic death in 1894, within three weeks of his arrival in Lagos, caused such widespread sorrow) ; Mr. T. K. E. Phillips, organist at Lagos Cathedral and school-mate of the new Bishop, and son of Bishop Phillips, who was consecrated as Assistant Bishop to Bishop Hill ; and the veteran Bishop Tugwell, who in 1894 was consecrated in this same chapel to succeed Bishop Hill.

With the Archbishop of Canterbury were associated the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Barking, the Bishop of Calcutta (Metropolitan of India), the Bishop of Lagos, the Bishop on the Upper Nile, and Bishop Tugwell. The Archbishop was celebrant, and the Epistle and Gospel were read by the Bishops of Salisbury and Calcutta respectively.

The preacher, Archdeacon G. Burton, of Oyo, took for his text Psalm cxxvi, 3 and 4, tracing the similarity between the condition and problems of Israel in the Psalmist's day with those of West Africa to-day. Causes for thanksgiving were abundant, but calls to new, strenuous and unceasing efforts came from all sides. Naturally, said the preacher, our thoughts turn at this time to the centenary of the Abolition of Slavery Act, as the Yoruba people, the race to which the new Bishop belongs, suffered more than any other from the havoc wrought by the slave raider. Still visible are the ruins of the town Oshogun, that sheltered the family of whom the boy Adjai (afterwards Bishop Crowther) was one, laid waste by slaughter and fire, though the results of the capture of that lad could never have been anticipated, nor the far-reaching effects of his life's work. Of the seven Anglican African bishops, all save one have been Yorubas, and the Yoruba Church has been the pioneer in the matter of self-support and of self-denying effort to send clergy and teachers to shepherd those Yorubas who have travelled far afield to pursue their varied callings. The day has yet to come, said the Archdeacon, when Yorubas would go forth to work as missionaries in those needy and vast areas that are, to them, "foreign" mission fields. Reference to the new Bishop's highly valued educational work followed, and tribute was paid to his capacity for uniting African and European to work for the common good of all.

The Bishop-designate was presented to the Archbishop by the Bishop of Salisbury and the Bishop of Lagos, and the King's Mandate for the Consecration read by the Registrar, who also administered the Oath of Canonical Obedience. What a vision of the far-flung lines of Church and Empire was conjured up as the ponderous wording of the Mandate fell on the ear ; and what thanksgiving was called forth for those who have toiled unceasingly, and often unknown, in the "places beyond Our Dominions" !

Following the Litany came the Questions of Examination to the Bishop-designate, and then, when "fully attired in the Episcopal habit," the actual moment of consecration. The Bishop-designate kneeling, *Veni Creator* was sung over him, and the Archbishop and the other Bishops present placed their hands upon his head while the solemn words of consecration were pronounced ; and in a silence that could be felt the newly-consecrated Bishop took his seat "on the south side of the Holy Table."

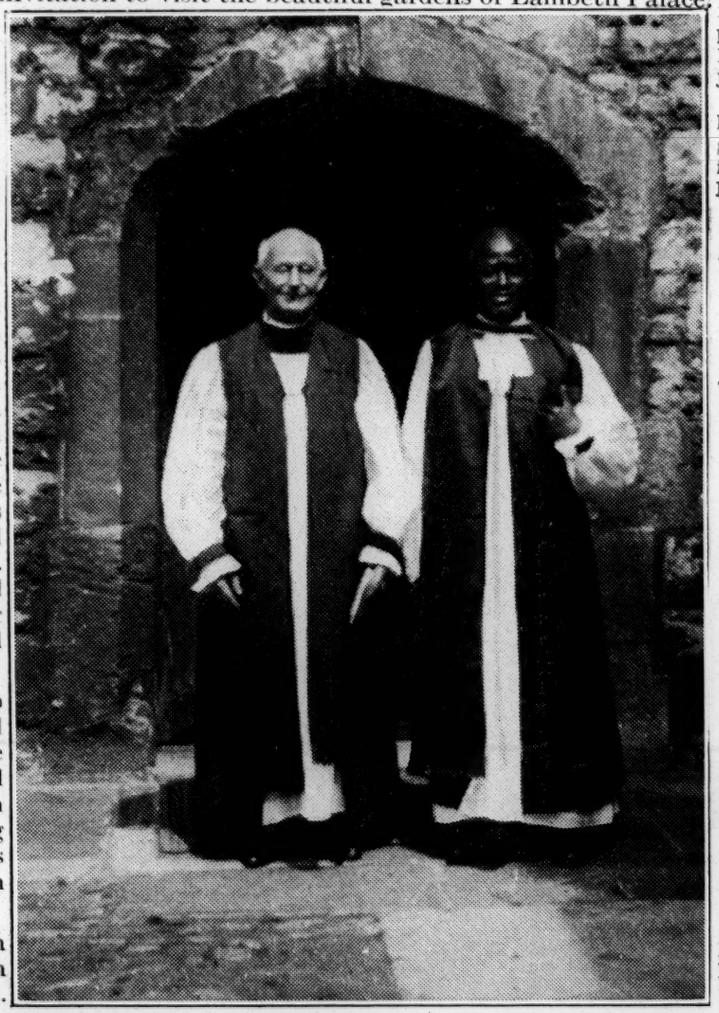
The Holy Communion service continued, the Archbishop administering the consecrated elements to those who presented themselves, and as African and European, bishops, clergy, and laity, knelt side by side, the all-oneness of the Body of Christ was truly visible. With the singing of Psalm cl, a wonderful, solemn and memorable service was brought to a close.

The singing throughout was led by the ladies' choir of the chapel, and the rendering of Mendelssohn's "O Praise the Lord !" and Brahms's "Blessed are they," added to the wonderful atmosphere of the service and chapel that all present must have realised.

A Nigerian lunch followed the service, arranged in connection with the Bishop Tugwell Diocesan Fund. This was attended by representatives of the C.M.S. and the W.A.S.U., Lady Buxton, Miss Schön, and over 60 others. The Bishop of Barking, a college friend of the Bishop of Lagos, presided, and at the close short speeches were made by Bishop Tugwell, the Bishop of Lagos and Mr. T. K. E. Phillips.

Bishop Akinyele made a speech in reply which greatly impressed his new friends. He paid a warm tribute to all that he owed to C.M.S. and its representatives, particularly Bishops Tugwell and Melville Jones.

Many availed themselves afterwards of the Archbishop's invitation to visit the beautiful gardens of Lambeth Palace.



THE NEW ASSISTANT BISHOP, WITH DR. MELVILLE JONES, BISHOP OF LAGOS.

British Depose Tribe Chief For Flogging White

SEROWE, BECHUANALAND, Sept. 17.—(AP)—Tshekedi, young chief of the Bamangwato tribe, today was ousted as ruled by a Birtish special commission as the aftermath of the flogging of a European who stood trial in a native court.

The European, Phineas Mackintosh, a British subject, was charged by the young chief with "living like a native with a native woman." The sentence of flogging was imposed by a native court presided over by Tshekedi despite a British rule that Europeans are not subject to the jurisdiction of such courts.

The finding of the commission was handed down here following an investigation of the case yesterday at Palapye in which Mackintosh was barred from living in any of the native reserves.

AFRICAN DEPOSED; FLOGGED BRITON

Tshekedi Is Deprived of His Leadership of Bamangwato Tribe in Bechuanaland.

NATIVES LISTEN SULLENLY

Admiral Evans Says the Leader Frequently Flouted the British Administration.

SEROWE, Bechuanaland, Sept. 14 (AP).—Chief Tshekedi, who ordered the flogging of a British subject in violation of laws prohibiting native court trials of any Europeans, was deposed as ruler of the Bamangwato tribe today by order of Vice Admiral E. R. G. R. Evans of the British navy, Acting High Commissioner for the protectorate.

About 500 silent and sullen natives converged in the meeting place, where Admiral Evans addressed the native court.

After an investigation yesterday at Palapye by a special British commission, the native court was summoned here to be informed of the decision regarding the young chieftain.

Tshekedi presided over a court which some time ago sentenced Phineas Macintosh to a flogging. The chief contended that Mackintosh had been "living like a native with a native woman" and that therefore the native court had jurisdiction.

Tshekedi was ordered to live in the Tati district. In pronouncing sentence Admiral Evans said the chief frequently had flouted the British administration.

Eleven trucks, starting soon after dawn, carried marines, bluejackets and machine guns thirty-five miles across the parched belt to this town of 35,000 inhabitants. Six-wheelers towing three howitzers became stuck in the thick sand and were lost to the erst of the column. One truck loaded with marines also became stuck and was abandoned.

Admiral Evans, who left Palapye after the column had started, was delayed by traffic difficulties. It was noted that the automobile in which Tshekedi rode was labeled No. 13.

Race Problem—1933 I

Africa

NIGERIAN COTTON PRODUCTION.

The January issue of the "Empire Cotton Growing Review" contains, among other interesting contributions, an article on "Mixed Farming and Cotton Production in Northern Nigeria," by Mr. O. T. Faulkner, Director of Agriculture, Nigeria. Mr. Faulkner estimates that cotton exports from Nigeria for the season 1932-33 will reach 15,000 bales (as against 4,500 for 1931-32), and places the maximum possible production of Northern Nigeria under present conditions at 50,000 bales. Given, however, a revolution in farming methods—a revolution which has actually begun—taking the form of the simultaneous adoption by farmers of the practices of using cattle for ploughing and of deliberately making and storing farmyard manure, Mr. Faulkner does not consider it extravagant to anticipate that in ten years time the export of cotton from Northern Nigeria may be twice as great as the maximum that is considered to be feasible at present.

The "Empire Cotton Growing Review" is published by P. S. King and Son, Ltd., for the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, price 1s.

Encouraging Crop Prospects.

The Director of Agriculture has issued a crop statement for the season which shows that the cocoa output is satisfactory, and that there are possibilities that the groundnut output may exceed previous records.

Ibadan Area.—Very little disease has been reported. The weather recently has been favourable for the preparation of cacao, and the main crop is now coming in freely, and is expected to equal that of last season. A good yield is being obtained from young trees.

Ife and Ilesha Areas.—An increase in disease since October is reported from the Ife area, and the yield is expected to be rather less than last season. Black pod disease is also reported as being more extensive than last year in the Ilesha area; but the total crop is expected to reach about the same figure as last season. The crop is coming in freely.

Ondo Area.—No increase in disease is reported. Until the end of October the weather was unfavourable for the preparation of good samples; but for the last month the quantity compares favourably with that in 1931. The crop was held up at first in anticipation of a rise in price, but is now coming in freely. A considerable area of young cocoa is reported as bearing for the first time, and a relatively considerable increase is anticipated in the total harvest this season.

American Cotton (Northern Provinces).—The exceptionally late continuation of rains and freedom from harmattan (almost throughout October in the chief cotton exporting districts) was very favourable. New season's cotton is already being bought for the local hand industry in the ordinary markets, at prices about the same as those likely to be paid for export. Thus everything tends to indicate that there will be a considerable revival of export this year.

Groundnuts.—The amount already railed or declared as in stock at Kano on November 12, 1932, was 26,600 tons, as against 25,000 tons at the corresponding date last year, and trade since then has been reported to be continuing actively. Unless the price falls considerably below the present level of about £5 15s. per ton, there is still every reason to anticipate that this season's export will exceed that of last season, which was itself a record (165,000 tons).

Indecent Haste

It will come as a shock to those who have urged that the royal assent should be withheld in the case of the Kenya Lands Trust Amending Ordinance to learn that the assent was in fact given more than three weeks ago. That it had been so given was not known in this country, and many letters have been written to the press by well-known authorities on the assumption that it had not been given and might yet be delayed. It was given, according to Archdeacon Owen, whose information we have been able to confirm, on December 31, a bare ten days after the Colonial Secretary had divulged in the House of Commons the dangerous nature of the proposal. Criticism of the Amending Ordinance, which involves a plain breach of faith and holds an incalculable menace to the future of the colony, was immediate, as our columns bore witness, and has grown steadily since. It has proceeded on the assumption that Parliament, which is the ultimate trustee for the inhabitants of Kenya, would be given an opportunity to debate the question. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lugard, and Sir Robert Hamilton, among others, have urged that before the native cultivator is ejected from his holding to meet the demands of a gold rush the alternative land promised him in such an eventuality by the Ordinance of 1930 should be provided and assent to the Amending Ordinance withheld meanwhile. That the Colonial Office, in the midst of this gathering storm, should have hurried through the assent is discreditable and will further disquieten those who consider the whole policy reprehensible. But though the Amending Ordinance may now be law, it has not yet been widely applied, and it must not be. That at least the vigilance of its critics ought to be able to secure.

Everything we learn of the way in which this business is being carried through alarms us. Under the Ordinance of 1930 natives could not be excluded from their land until the proposal had been "brought to the notice "of the local native council and of "the natives concerned." That safeguard has been abolished because the council and the natives concerned might be expected to refuse their consent. But, says the Colonial Secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, everything is all right; there is no grievance; the Chief Native Commissioner has circulated to the natives a memorandum "in clear and simple language." In the vernacular? Why, certainly, says the Colonial Office statement published on January 19; the statement "has "been translated into the vernacular "and widely circulated." Could anything be more candid? But Archdeacon Owen, in a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" says:—

> The denial . . . that the explanatory circular . . . had been issued to the natives has led to investigations. I have before me as I write a document, with a copy of the circular in English, which had been sent to the missions, six in number, working in North Kavirondo. The document reads:
>
> A memorandum from the Chief Native Commissioner on the subject of mining is forwarded herewith. It is requested that you will bring this to the notice of your adherents. *Should you desire to issue copies in a translation into the vernacular please do so.*
>
> This is dated November 25, 1932. (The italics are mine.)

So the memorandum was not even circulated by the Administration to the natives in the vernacular. The responsibility was left to the missions, who might translate and circulate if they chose. And the Colonial Office rushes through the royal assent, in the holidays, with Parliament not sitting and public opinion helpless. It will be for Parliament, with the assistance of all who are concerned for the good name of their country, to see whether the Ordinance cannot yet be disallowed.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, January 24.

The Colony's Finances.

On Wednesday last week the majority of the Sections of the House of Representatives approved the Bill authorising the Colony to issue a loan of 1,000,000,000 frs. and authorising also the Belgian State to guarantee the loan, and also the Treasury Notes, already issued or to be issued.

Yesterday (Monday) afternoon the Cabinet Council granted the demand made by Mr. Tschoffen, our Colonial Minister, that Belgium should pay 180,000,000 frs. of the Colony's Budget. Indeed, the Colony is severely hit by the world's crisis, and the Mother Country's financial intervention is necessary in order that it may be able to meet its expenses.

Up to now the Colony has been self-supporting. In spite of drastic cuts in the expenses (130,000,000 frs. in the part of the Budget where economies were possible), the Colony was unable to balance its Budget. This is why Mr. Tschoffen had asked the temporary financial assistance of the Mother Country.

As he told me himself this morning, Mr. Tschoffen had divided his Budget into two parts:—

The first, which cannot be compressed: the Colony's debt and the Colony's guarantees of interest.

The second, which includes all other expenses. It is in this second section of his Budget that Mr. Tschoffen cut down 130,000,000 frs., and it is absolutely impossible to further cut down expenses.

British and Italian Consuls-General in the Congo.

A "Prescobel" radio from Léopoldville on the 19th inst. to the Brussels "Soir" reports that Great Britain and Italy have promoted their Léopoldville Consuls to the rank of Consuls-General.

Further, Italy has extended the jurisdiction of her Consul-General (Commander Mori), not only to the whole of the Belgian Congo and to Ruanda-Urundi, but also to the French Equatorial Africa and to the Cameroons.

Wireless Telephony.

Up to now, it was possible to talk from Belgium by wireless telephony with Léopoldville and Matadi. Since last week, it is possible to talk also with Inkisi, Madimba, Songololo and Thysville.

The Congo Banks.

The "Agence Economique et Financière" reports this morning that for its financial year ended September 30 last, the "Banque Belge d'Afrique" will maintain its previous dividend of 4 per cent.

Last month, the "Banque du Congo Belge" (the Congo State Bank) had, for its financial year closed on June 30 last, maintained its 10 per cent. dividend (free of income-tax), whilst its commercial subsidiary, the "Banque Commerciale du Congo," had, for the same period, reduced its own from 10 per cent. (free of income-tax) to 8 per cent. (free of income-tax).

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The Nairobi "East African Standard" of December 31 published an interesting letter from its correspondent at Bunia, in the Kibali-Ituri District (North-Eastern Belgian Congo).

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Africa

NIGERIAN COTTON PRODUCTION

The January issue of the "Empire Cotton Growing Review" contains, among other interesting contributions, an article on "Mixed Farming and Cotton Production in Northern Nigeria," by W. O. T. Faulkner, Mr. Faulkner, Director of Agriculture, Nigeria. Mr. Faulkner estimates that cotton exports from Nigeria for the season 1932-33 will reach 15,000 bales (as against 4,500 for season 1931-32), and places the maximum possible production of Northern Nigeria under present conditions at 50,000 bales. However, a revolution in farming methods—a revolution which has already begun—is taking place in the form of the gradual adoption by farmers of the practices of deliberately making and storing farmyard manure, Mr. Faulkner does not consider it extravagant to anticipate that in ten years time the export of cotton from Northern Nigeria may be twice as great as the maximum that is considered to be feasible at present.

The "Empire Cotton Growing Review" is published by P. S. King and Son, Ltd., for the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, price 1s.

Encouraging Crop Prospects.

The Director of Agriculture has issued a crop statement for the season which shows that the cocoa output is satisfactory, and that there are possibilities that the ground-nut output may exceed previous records.

Ibadan Area.—Very little disease has been reported. The weather recently has been favourable for the preparation of cacao, and the main crop is now coming in freely, and is expected to equal that of last season. A good yield is being obtained from young trees.

Ife and Ilesha Areas.—An increase in disease since October is reported to be the ultimate trustee for the inhabitants of the area, and the first time, and a relatively rather less than last season. Black pod is the ultimate trustee for the inhabitants of the area; disease is also reported as being more extensive than last year in the Ilesha area; but the total crop is expected to reach about the same figure as last season. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord crop is coming in freely.

Ondo Area.—No increase in disease is reported. Until the end of October the weather was unfavourable for the preparation of the crop, but for the last month the quantity compares favourably with that in 1931. The crop was held up rush the alternative land promised at first in anticipation of a rise in price, but is now coming in freely. A considerable increase is anticipated in the bearing for the first time, and a considerable increase is anticipated in the total harvest this season.

American Cotton (Northern Provinces).—The exceptionally late continuation of rains and freedom from harmattan throughout October in the chief cotton exporting districts) was very favourable. The season's cotton is already being bought in the local markets, at prices about the same as those ruling in November 25, 1932. (The likely to be paid for export. Thus every-thing tends to indicate that there will be

considerable revival of export this year.

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Groundnuts.—The amount already railed to be able to secure.

or declared as in stock at Kano on Novem- Everything we learn of

ber 12, 1932, was 26,600 tons, as against which this business is be

25,000 tons at the corresponding date last through alarms us.

year, and trade since then has been re- Unless

guarantee the loan, and also to be issued.

Yesterday (Monday) Mr.

Council granted the demand made by Mr.

Tschoffen, our Colonial Minister, that

Belgium should pay 180,000,000 frs. of the

Colony's Budget. Indeed, the Colony is

severely hit by the world's crisis, and the

Mother Country's financial intervention is

necessary in order that it may be able to

meet its expenses.

Up to now the Colony has been self-supporting. In spite of drastic cuts in the expenses (130,000,000 frs. in the part of the Budget where economies were possible), the Colony was unable to balance its Budget. This is why Mr. Tschoffen had asked the temporary financial assistance of the Mother Country.

As he told me himself this morning, Mr. Tschoffen had divided his Budget into two parts:—

The first, which cannot be compressed: the Colony's debt and the Colony's guarantees of interest.

The second, which includes all other expenses. It is in this second section of his Budget that Mr. Tschoffen cut down expenses. 130,000,000 frs., and it is absolutely impossible to further cut down expenses.

Further, Italy has extended the jurisdiction of her Consul-General (Commander Mori), not only to the whole of the Belgian Congo and to Ruanda-Urundi, but also to the French Equatorial Africa and to the Cameroons.

Wireless Telephony.

Up to now, it was possible to talk from Belgium by wireless telephony with Léopoldville and Matadi. Since last week, it is possible to talk also with Inkisi, Madimba, Songololo and Thysville.

The Congo Banks.

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Cameroons.

British and Italian Consuls-General in the Congo.

A "Prescobel" radio from Léopoldville on the 19th inst. to the Brussels "Soir" reports that Great Britain and Italy have promoted their Léopoldville Consuls to the rank of Consuls-General.

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Referring to the extensive system of motor-car roads built during the last ten years in the Eastern Congo, the correspondent says that "through the activities of the foresight and wise administration of His Excellency the Governor of the Province, the problems of our difficult and precipitous escarpments have been overcome, good roads have been built and important posts and townships have been joined up." The Governor referred to is Mr. Moeller, one of the best elements of our senior Colonial Staff.

This civilising, useful and educating work has been going on these last few years, without advertising, quietly and without fuss, so that few realise the great importance of such changes, the really wonderful progress that is taking place in the eastern corner of this Colony of over a million square miles.

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OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Brussels, January 24.

("African World" Correspondent.)

London, January 27.

The Colonial Finances.

On Wednesday last week the majority of the Sections of the House of Representa-

luxury of Europe have been transferred to the wilds of Africa.

From the roof garden of the hotel, one sees the snow-covered peak of the Margherita (Ruwenzori), over 150 miles distant. The Margherita is 5,125 metres high.

Irumu is the junction of the great motor-car roads leading to Stanleyville (in the West), to Lake Kivu and Lake Tanganyika (in the South), to Lake Albert (in the East), and to the Nile and to the Wellé (in the North).

A Gorilla Film.

A good friend of mine, Colonel Gleb Odintzoff, late of the Cuirassiers of the Russian Imperial Guard, now residing at Costermansville, in the Kivu District, informs me, by air mail, that, having spent several days in a forest close by, he has succeeded in filming gorillas, which are numerous in that part of the Colony. This rather rare achievement is worthy of being chronicled.

At the Belgikaor.

The Belgikaor, one of the three mining subsidiaries of the Brussels Belgika, informs me that it produced:—

In 1930:	7	kilograms	569	grams gold.
In 1931:	39	,,	452	,, ,,
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This year, I am officially informed, the Belgikaor is to produce between 400 and 500 kilograms of gold, and in the following years probably more.

It is, indeed, difficult to exactly forecast the future production of the Maniéma mines, as practically everything has still to be created in that thinly populated and remote part of the Belgian Congo.

Apropos the Maniéma, let us remember that if it has now become a most promising gold and tin district, this is due to the initiative of Mr. Vanhulst, Chairman and Managing Director of the Belgika, who, a few years ago, sent prospectors there. Their discoveries brought, indeed, others to the Maniéma, which recently Mr. Mathieu, Professor of Geology at the Mons School of Mines (who was returning therefrom), told me was "a real prospectors' paradise."

J. ROUSSEAUX.

ROBBING THE NATIVES.

The British Government has been severely criticized by members of the House of Lords and Commons for its policy for forcibly evicting the natives from their lands in Kenya, East Afrca, on which gold has been discovered. Lord Passfield believes that the inviolability of the native reserves had been accepted from the first by British governments of all parties and therefore the present policy of the Colonial Office is a definite breach of faith with the Africans.

In the opinion of Lord Reading, as valuable as gold is, the reputation of the British government is much more valuable.

The Archbishop of Canterbury thinks that the devolopment of the gold fields should be carried out in a manner to restore the confidence of the natives in Great Britain's pledges.

Criticism of the British Government's policy was precipitated when a conservative made a motion in the Commons to approve the governments course. A Laborite moved an amendment to the effect that any native dispossessed because gold had been discovered on his land must be provided with an equal area outside the reservation, and that the profit derived from the gold must be used by the government in the interest of the native populace.

In defending the government policy Sir Phillip Cunliffe-Lister, Minister of Colonies, thought that the agitation was entirely uncalled for, inasmuch as not more than 1,000 acres out of 7,000 square miles of native reservations had been affected by the gold discovery, and it had been necessary to remove only 300 native families.

It is obvious that the British Minister of Colonies closed his eyes to principle and right in his argument. Whether ten acres of 1,000 acres were involved, or whether three families or 300 families were shamefully and illegally driven off their lands and from their homes is not germane. Has Great Britain been honorable and equitable in sanctioning the Kenya evictions, and has the government kept faith relative to the inviolability of the native reserves, are questions of prime importance. There can be but one answer —no!

A labor amendment censuring the government was defeated, 208 to 57, and the motion of approval carried. Thus ended another chapter in man's mad quest for gold. The poor African natives who have been robbed of their homes and lands must look in wonderment at the missionaries and psalm-singers who seek to teach them the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments, especially the commandment: Thou Shalt Not Steal.

Here is another case of when "might is right."

Witchcraft in West Africa.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

SIR,—The leading article in WEST AFRICA of February 4, dealing with this subject, is of great interest. Readers may remember that some months ago an African correspondent expressed some indignation at the suggestion that witchcraft still had a strong hold upon the people of his country, but all who have lived in West Africa for some years are aware that such is the case.

Europeans are not in a position to criticise Africans seriously in this matter, though some are ready to do so. In England to-day, many well-educated people have great faith in mascots: the phenomena of spiritualism are accepted as true by thousands—not all uneducated—and it is not long since Madam Blavatsky secured the adherence of a large following in her occult powers amongst the intelligentsia of Europe, America and India. About a century earlier Cagliostro was received as a "wizard" by the highest circles of Europe, and travelled from one country to another in princely style.

To-day, in spite of the spread of education, and the acknowledged authority of science, many people in England hold beliefs not far removed from those current among West Africans.

The writer was amazed, a few years ago, to discover that a Government official in Nigeria, who had been educated at a public school and university, sincerely believed that a small mascot, which he carried in his pocket, helped him in his work!

Various views on the subject of witchcraft are held by Europeans who come into contact with it. Some dismiss it with contempt as fraud: some regard it as the work of evil spiritual powers: while others believe that its strength is derived from a knowledge of hypnotism and "suggestion." In the opinion of the writer it is a mixture of all three. There is no doubt that many of the people who practise witchcraft have a knowledge of herbs and poisons, which they can use in a subtle manner. Others go off into a state of trance similar to that of European "mediums" when under "control," but probably the greatest power exercised is that of "suggestion" or hypnotism. It seems unfair to classify as "superstitious" all Africans who come under the sway of such powers. In England after many years of investigation by the Psychical Research Society, no satisfactory explanation has been given of some of the phenomena of spiritualism, and the more the enquiry is pressed the more conflicting theories are put forth. We have such men as the late Dr. Conan Doyle, Sir William Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge believing in the genuine nature of the phenomena, while other men, of equal intellectual weight, suggest fraud, or imperfect observation on the part of the investigators.

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that they enjoy is something difficult for a European to realise. Witchcraft is still regarded as a hostile force, but insignificant in comparison with the friendly power that is on the converts side and available in time of need. The writer can testify to the truth of this from his own observance of hundreds of cases.

Readers interested in the subject can find scores of passages in the Bible, which give great comfort to converts. Three or four of these may be mentioned, but there are many more :—Psalm 27, verse 1 ; Ps. 56, v. 4 : St. Matthew 10, v. 28-31. With faith in such words as these in their hearts many African Christians have bravely faced all kinds of dangers, both seen and unseen, without flinching.

Yours faithfully,

February 6. J. N. C.

WHAT WE THINK.

GOLD AND NATIVE LANDS IN KENYA.

The important debates which took place in both Houses of Parliament this week on the Kenya gold discoveries and their relation to native rights have served a useful purpose in clarifying the issues at stake and removing a good deal of misapprehension, based on a failure to appreciate the true implication of the recent Native Lands Amendment Ordinance. Some distrust was aroused by the haste with which this measure was passed by the Kenya Legislature, but the Colonial Secretary's statement makes it clear that, while the urgency of the problem demanded immediate action, all that has been done has been done with full regard to the advice of the Chief Native Commissioner, the Carter Land Commission, which recently completed an exhaustive investigation into the question of native lands, and Sir Albert Kitson, the eminent geologist who reported on the goldfield at the request of the Kenya Government—all authorities whose weight of experience entitles their views to respect. There is no doubt that much of the agitation on the part of those who profess to see in the Government's action a breach of faith with the natives is based on a genuine misunderstanding of the position; but what the public at home need to remember is that the man on the spot is not only much better informed than the armchair critic, but is no less jealous for the honour and prestige of his country and anxious to ensure the safeguarding of native interests, consistent with the proper development of a great country, for which the white settler, as the only progressive element of importance, is almost wholly responsible. For the rest, it has been made abundantly clear that the natives, so far from being injured by the discovery of a goldfield on their lands, will derive substantial advantages from the development of an industry which will provide them with employment, afford a ready market for their produce, and raise their standard of living to an extent hitherto undreamed of. When to these considerations is added the important bearing which the development of the Kakamega and Kavirondo goldfields will have on the economic position not only of East Africa, but of the Empire as a whole, coupled with the provision which is being made by the competent authorities for the few natives who may be temporarily dispossessed of their lands by the working of these deposits, the apprehensions aroused as to the jeopardising of native interests would appear to be entirely unfounded, and the Kenya Government's decision to facilitate the exploitation of the goldfields fully justified.

THE AFRICAN, HIS DRESS AND HIS DIET.

By J. Abayomi Cole, Ph.D.,

The educated and Christianized Africans are generally condemned or criticized for putting on Europian dress. These uncharitable critics look only on one side of the question forgetting that in all ages dress may be studied only among primitive and savage races, but improvements on dress or costumes belong to advanced or civilized races, and are either adopted or adapted by other races who prefer them to their rude and primitive styles.

Roman dress under the Empire was tunic and toga made from different fabrics.

The barbarian tribes which gradually conquered the Roman Empire adapted the Roman style to their own form of dressing and so it has been through the whole history of the evolution of costumes. The long tail coat worn now by every nation originated in France after the Revolution.

Coming home to ourselves, the dress of the peoples of West Africa vary with the different tribes and nationalities. The simplest form is a large country cloth or wrapper thrown around the body—as can now be observed amongst natives of the Gold Coast. The Yoruba tribes, who came originally from the East, adopted the Eastern manner of dressing, which was after the despersion adapted to a small country clothes shirt, a large pair of trousers, a loin cloth and aprons : this was the case also with some North Western tribes, but they retain more of the Eastern costume than any of the African tribes.

Rapid changes were brought on by the introduction of Religions.

Those embracing Mahommedanism took after the style of the dressing of their teachers, the Arabs. The beautiful flowing gowns and toga now put on by African Mahommedans—and so much admired by Europeans, are not originally an African mode of dressing.

So the Negro Christians dress after the manner of their Teachers, the European Missionaries. "The servant is not above his Lord," but his ambition is always to be like his master, if he cannot surpass him.

Elisha had an ambition to be twice as powerful as Elijah. His request was "And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me" and the best gift he had from his master was conveyed by his master's mantle. It is but natural that disciples of great teachers should aspire to be like them in every respect.

So much is made about educated Africans dressing like Europeans, as if distinctive national appearance is an indication of independence and vitality. The style of dressing is secondary, what matters is life and happiness.

"The life," says Christ, the Divine Teacher, "is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment." It is a noble idea for the Africans to manufacture their own clothes, develop their own costumes, and dress as a distinctive race, but the force of European civilization and commerce have rendered this very difficult if not impossible.

A few years ago, beautiful gowns and durable country cloths were made by several African tribes, the Mendes, Gallinas, the Yorubas, etc. The patterns of these dresses have been copied by European manufacturers and dumped into the market, sold at very cheap prices, so that native manufacturers have been compelled to give up, or make inferior cloths with cheap thread imported from Europe. Is this the way to encourage the development of native dress and costumes? So much for the advocacy of native industry.

Here I must confess that there are some Europeans that are truly sympathetic and hold a charitable view of the question of African development, others still proclaiming the incongruity and absurdity of Africans putting on European dress or adopting their customs.

When the Bo school was opened, in his address to the Chiefs, His Excellency, the late Sir Haddon-Smith said :—"We are not going, to spoil your children in this school, as other natives have been spoilt, imitating Europeans in dresses and other respects, and thereby making themselves different from their people. Send your boys here only with their native dress, mat and country cloths."

The writer in an article published in your esteemed journal then, pointed out, that the Africans in the Colonies were not made, or compelled to put on European dress by any European. Their putting it on, is a result of evolution or imitation which were natural.

In contrast to the above remarks, I had the privilege on Sunday the 20th of November last to listen to the address by the Bishop of Zanzibar, (who is now in London,) on

"The aspirations of the Africans."

It was the most instructive unbiased and charitable address I ever listened to. After giving a glowing account of his work in Zanzibar—he said, "The African imitates the white man in his dress, his diet and many things, and he is very ambitious, and it is natural that he should be so. There is something sacred in all ambitions.

The ambitious Africans of to-day, are not satisfied to remain in their own surroundings. They wish to see the world and get in touch with the centre of civilization. They imitate the European and aspire to be like him. One of our native students once remarked to his European teacher, "What you Europeans do to-day, we shall do to-morrow." We Europeans have somethings good and commendable and many things that are bad, and so likewise does the African. When educated he gives up his native dress and puts on European costume. It is not the best for him, yet it is better that he spends his money, in clothes rather than in drunkeness, gambling and other destructive pleasures.

If they must imitate the white man, let them imitate all that is good in him and not become bad copies of Europeans. We must assist them to develop according to their Divine gifts."

Basutoland Sports Association

(E. Mohlomi)

This Basutoland Sports Association was started in the middle of last year. It is not a full year since. The constitution and rules of it are all what the sports people may desire.

From the start, the various foot-ball Clubs have shown and proved that the man responsible for this praiseworthy scheme has not made a mistake. Never, in the history of Basutoland sport, has foot-ball attracted so many spectators to the Capital of Basutoland, coming as far as Qachas-Nek and Quthing, for the special purpose of coming to witness the finals. There is no doubt the promoter of this scheme has struck upon something that will help considerably to put off from evil things the minds and hands of the present day generation.

But good and successful as the scheme seemed to prove, there is already a failure facing it. A serious blow to its progress was dealt at the finals, and the club that was hit hard to the marrow was the winning team. They have not yet fully recovered from that shock.

The blow that came upon the competing teams was carefully planned by the Official Secretary of the Association, who seems to have seized the opportunity to take upon his shoulders the executive powers of the committee. At the close of the Competition, he called round him, at the field of play all competing teams, and said "Bantu team has won." They must come at the appointed hour to receive their cup from the hands of the Acting R. C. who is the Vice-President of the Association. I ordered my team to get itself ready to appear in their colours. The Photographer was engaged and everything in our power was made to make the occasion as grand as our winning shots through the poles were. The hour arrived and we assembled around the Acting R. C. and the Secretary. The winners were ordered to come to the front. We were meeting every eye with a smile when the R. C. stood up to address us.

I need not tell you what he said because you know it. But I think you can imagine how quick the smiling faces were covered in disappointment. We wished the earth could open under us and bury us when we heard there was no cup. The Secretary had said "go and receive your cup from the R. C". You know what it is to be fooled amongst people by one superior to you. The fools paradise was complete with us. The bluff was sufficient as far as our Secretary was concerned.

There were members of the Executive Committee there as well as our proxy, they did not know the cup was not there. But the rules of the Association hold them responsible for the trophies. Their responsibility temporarily ceases after it has been handed over to the custody of the winning team. Why was the competition started before the Committee took up office. If they had, why was the information kept secret, and who is he who constituted the Committee? When will the trustees, if there are, hand over to the constitutional Committee?

We flee away from Maseru because we were afterwards ordered by the Secretary to pay accounts which the Committee did not know of.

I wonder if the Association rules are going to suffer the same fate as Melao ea Lerotholi! Under it we are held responsible for the safe custody of the cup. But where is it? Yes, you say the President told us. I admit he did. But he is not the responsible body.

As there is no information through the Committee forthcoming, and because the Secretary through whom the Committee communicates with the clubs, said publicly that we refused to affiliate, we believe the cup is purposely held away from us.

About a month ago the Secretary wrote to us to report that the R. C. donated a cup which was going to be forwarded to us soon. He alone knows what he implies by the term "soon".

We saw in the Press that Cricket fixtures are drawn. Why this season, we were not invited to affiliate? Is it not perhaps that the Committee is afraid to be indebted to us for the second cup? Or they may have thought there was constitutionally plenty of time between now and 1st. March.

Now I warn the clubs because very soon they will be blamed for the Committee's mistakes. There are already false rumours spread that we refused to affiliate. Who is responsible for these rumours we do not know. But they cannot escape suspicion because they have drawn fixtures without reference to us. Cause or spite, one of the two must be.

Gold Standard and the Basuto.

(Le Counet)

1-18-33

Whether we are on or off the gold standard is a question that is above the minds of the Basuto. They are only wondering why money is so very scarce and they believe that it is only the trick of the whiteman so that he may force them to reduce their herds and flocks by reducing their value. "Why," they argue," didn't they cause rinderpest when the people owned large herds of cattle? What happened after the Government employed a Veterinary Surgeon? Cattle and horses died from mysterious diseases. Did you know there were diseases called belly-ache and horse sickness? We did not know these diseases before there was a Veterinary Surgeon in Basutoland.

This was followed by a law preventing you from consuming the carcass of your beast if it died of anthrax. It is against our custom as we have a saying that "the grave of the beast is the mouth." They said sheep should be dipped to improve our wool and after the country is clean of scab instead of getting better prices there is no price at all." Yes such is the talk you get among the people. Is it any wonder that they talk thus? Any talk about economics to them is Greek. A year ago they were told to change Rhodesian bank notes for those of the South African Reserve Bank. Why it was done they did not understand. They however reluctantly obeyed the orders and changed their notes. But the suspicion of the whiteman having hidden something up his sleeve kept lingering about them. Here we are now, they say there is English silver and South African silver. What is the difference? They had the same value up to now, why now South African instead of English? What is that to us. Why did they allow English money to get among the people if they did not want it except that it should swallow whatever little money we have in a mysterious way?

It is human nature to discuss happenings amongst the people whether they understand them or not. After all what is the gold standard and what is sterling? If you ask a European this question He finds himself in a fix as to how he should explain the subject to you. He tells you it has something to do with the exchange. You ask him what is exchange. This great teacher finds himself in the sea. He cannot find words to explain, if he knows he has such a superficial knowledge that he cannot find words to explain, he will not be honest enough to confess that he does not know but will dismiss you by saying it is a subject you will not understand even if it is explained to you.

When the matter was discussed in the Union Parliament and that august body was divided on the matter most of these learnt gentlemen appeared anxious to find such body who could lecture them on the subject. They were not satisfied with the statement that the Government had expert advice to the effect that it would be dangerous to go off gold and they have decided not to.

To-day South Africa has gone unreservedly off gold. Some say Tielman Roos forced the Union Government off gold some say it is the South African Party that forced them but all the same they are off Will that put the money in circulation again? We wish it does soon for we are dying for the want of it. There are already statements published in the daily papers that South African produce has gone up fifty per-cent in price. Fifty per cent is certainly a big and attractive figure but when we come to actual price we find that

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Race Problem - 1933 1

Africa

European Agent Vindicates African Storekeeper and Clerk's Efficiency.

Gold Coast Independent 9-30-33

9-30-33

Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

(To The Editor *of the Gold Coast Independent*).

Dear Sir,—It is with a feeling of much disappointment and surprise the I read the article by "Efficiency First"—who is alleged to be a European Company Director—attempting to criticise the Editorial of September 14th as appeared in the "Times of West Africa".

In fact "Efficiency First" makes no case at all and his poor attempt to criticise ends in a smoke.

I first came out here 20 years ago and the experience I have had of African clerks is one which "Efficiency First" having had no opportunity to have acquired, could not of necessity convince me with his puerile rigmaroles.

First he states that he does not think the substance of the Editorial is fundamentally correct or fair, yet he fails to prove to us where the incorrectness lies; perhaps being conscious of the fact that there are concrete cases too numerous and evident to cite against his arguments. It is quite evident all about the Business World today that the European is being paid More salary for the same local labour than the African. This is proved even from the statement of "Efficiency First" when he says that "it is true that the European draws more salary for his job," but then "Efficiency First" goes further and says that this difference in salary is because the European has got a family to maintain in Europe. Isn't this most absurd and irrelevant? Does "Efficiency First" imply that the African has got no family to maintain?

With my knowledge of racial family system, I think the African is one who is bound by reason of his ancestral customs to maintain his family and in fact the whole of his relations. If "Efficiency First" is fair-minded no doubt he would agree with me that almost one-third of the European world has in fact no family at all in the real sense of the word, not even to talk about "homes." I do not want to draw unpleasant inference, otherwise I could give "Efficiency First" examples of this class who have been out here as Managing Directors, Government officials etc. having no knowledge of their antecessors. What kind of family does this class of European maintain in Europe? Will "Efficiency First" tell us?

"Efficiency First" makes another sweeping and very preposterous statement that the European out here has to provide himself with the necessities of home. This is absolutely incorrect, as we are all provided out here with Bungalows well furnished, every home amenity even to the extent of free medical treatment, not to mention luxurious cars etc., all these expenses being borne by the Company or Government under which we are employed. Just the other day I spent a week end at Sekondi, and at the Club, a friend of mine, during a conversation, told me that he has got his Home Office to sanction the proposition he made that he would charge his meals to the Company's account and also one-quarter the cost of his drinks account. I congratulated him and interposed that if I were in his place, I would do 4 years more in the Gold Coast without going on leave. This is one of the many instances which prove the deductions of "Efficiency First" false

Coming to the question of his having had difficulty in securing an efficient Typist, I conclude that he met with his difficulty because of his desire to pay for cheap labour as he reveals in his own statement, Inter Alia, "human nature being what it is, one cannot blame the trader for getting his labour on the cheapest market." Let "Efficiency First" fix up a salary commensurate with the degree of efficiency he advocates, and no doubt he will be able without difficulty to make his choice out of efficient men.

In every sphere of life there are two extremes 'best' and 'worst' as also exist 'Efficiency and Inefficiency,' and Europe is not exempted from this. I remember in 1926 while in England promoting a new business, our company advertised for a Secretary and also a Typist. We had to interview and test almost 150 applicants and over, before we could make our choice despite the fact that our office in Mincing Lane was infested with hundreds of applicants. However, we had to fix the salaries of the successful candidates at a much higher figure than we advertised.

I have an African clerk as Typist and he does all the secretarial duties satisfactorily and efficiently—and I have had no cause to complain. His salary is quite satisfactory to him and I am sure he would not condescend to accept any salary below £4-15-0 a week whatever conditions might be.

I am wondering as to what degree of efficiency does "Efficiency First" require from a junior clerk?

Really "Efficiency First" has made a very poor case and finding himself in a labyrinth of absurdities tries to straighten his path by saying that Africans also share in full, profits made by their Companies. May I ask where the African comes in? Will "Efficiency First" tell us?

Of course, one expects such things to emanate from inexperienced folks who come out here with swollen heads having by sheer luck been exalted to such positions as "Efficiency First"; and also having insufficient knowledge of Economics, are apt to draw random and stupid conclusions. "Efficiency First" has made a hopeless case and in future he should be careful how he makes such sweeping remarks about the poor African clerk through whose labour he is rendered "efficient" to have his bread buttered in Africa.

In conclusion, I hasten to say that from experience of 20 years contact with African clerks and storekeepers, I can say definitely that if the African clerk and storekeeper were both given the same facilities, they will compare at par, if not better than the average European.

I therefore regard "Efficiency First's" article as absurd and ridiculous to the extreme.

Yours very truly,

R. C. TINNION.

Ten Years Of Progress.

Gold Coast Independent 9-23-33

By G. QUAYE,

Higher College, Lagos.

Knowing that Gold Coast readers will be interested in educational development in Nigeria I offer no apology for writing this article. It is perhaps necessary to state at the outset that I hold no brief for the Nigerian Government or its Department of Education. I have lived in Nigeria for more than twelve years, and during the last ten I have been through two of the most important secondary schools in Lagos. the Capital. That means I have come in contact with boys of almost every tribe in the Southern Provinces. My observations, therefore, have been confined to the conditions that prevailed rather in the South than in the North.

Three Ways To Earn A Living.

Ten years ago a boy who left school and had no means of obtaining further education abroad could choose one of three ways of earning his livelihood. He could become either a clerk or a teacher, or he could learn a trade. It was impossible to qualify locally for any profession except perhaps the ministry.

There were Mission Schools all over the country. In the principal towns of each province there were Government elementary schools, and at a few centres there were colleges (managed by Missionary Societies for the training of teachers. Some of the Mission schools were assisted by grants from the Government. All Government schools were managed by the Education Department, and every school, with the single exception of King's College, Lagos, was periodically inspected by a Superintendent of Education. There were five great schools for boys, besides the colleges where the Missions trained Catechists and prospective Ministers of religion. These five were King's College, the C. M. S. Grammar School,

the Wesleyan Boys' High School (now the Methodist Boys' High School,) St. Gregory's Grammar School (R. C.), all at Lagos, and the Hope Waddell Training Institute at Calabar. King's College, a Government institution, was more or less a finishing school, and was the premier school in Nigeria. Hope-Waddell's was managed by the Scottish Presbyterian Mission. All these still flourish. The Mission secondary schools were free to expand, but the Government schools, except King's College, did not go beyond the sixth standard.

Merchant houses and Government offices needed clerks, and the schools turned them out. Bush schools had to be staffed and sixth standard men of twenty-five became teachers with salaries ranging from eighteen to thirty-six pounds per annum. King's College, Lagos, turned out prospective doctors and lawyers as well as clerks for the higher branches of the service. Over all there were two Directors of Education for the North and South. All was well on the Educational Front. At least so the authorities seemed to think.

The New Era: Head, Heart and Hand.

With the advent of Mr. E. R. J. Hussey in 1929 as Director of Education a new era was ushered in. The first sign of the new order was the amalgamation of the two Departments of Education under one Director; and Mr. Hussey soon made himself felt.

Could not the African be trained in his own country and amidst his natural surroundings in those arts and sciences upon which the industrial system and the life of the modern world were based? The answer was yes, and people began to speculate on the ultimate result of such a policy thoroughly carried out. It meant that finally Europeans would be unnecessary in most branches of the service. It meant that the African, without going to very great expense, would finally take a big share in the control of the country. The new Governor in 1932 made a speech to that effect during the King's College Speech Day. At once the DAILY MAIL (London) took him to task, and lectured him on how to keep or not to keep the Empire. Of course, Mr. Hussey's policy and Sir Donald Cameron's statements were in exact agreement with the avowed policy of the Imperial Government, but never before in this country had a member of the Executive taken direct practical steps to make the policy the basis of any new system of higher education. As was only to be expected the people of the country looked askance at this new departure in colonial politics. They were suspicious, and rightly so, for Mr. Hussey did not publish any details of his scheme.

In July 1930 the Principal of King's College sent a circular to the parents and guardians of boys in King's College. The following paragraph opens it:

"I am authorised by the Director of Education to state that while the proposed Higher College at Yaba will not start until the beginning of 1932 it is hoped to open a special Engineering Class in April 1931." Twelve boys were selected for this Class. The circular continues: "These twelve boys will start in April 1931 on a course of probably three years' duration, at the end of which time those who have made satisfactory progress will obtain employment in the Public Works Department *and will occupy posts for which at present Europeans are engaged.*" That is the aim of the Higher College of which this Engineering Class was only a beginning.

In due time works up to the value of £35,000 were authorised to be executed on the Higher College. The construction is still in the hands of Messrs H. E. B. Greene who secured the contract. Meanwhile a Higher college Hostel has been opened at the premises formerly occupied by the Southern Secretariat. Its curriculum includes Teaching. Engineering, Medicine and (next year) Agriculture.

Simultaneously with the opening of the Engineering Class, King's College was reorganised being divided into Literary and Modern Sides. Handwork and Biology on the Modern side replaced Latin on the Literary.

Ten Years of Progress.

Ten years ago science was not taught in any Nigerian school except King's College. To-day science is taught in every secondary school and in all Government schools in the colony. An organiser of science teaching periodically tours the country trying to make provincial headmasters take an interest in science. Within two years he has visited every Government School in Nigeria and is known throughout the country.

IS THE AFRICAN STOREKEEPER DISHONEST AND INEFFICIENT?

Gold Coast Independent

A Dispassionate Analysis Of The position.

9-13-33

Accra Gold Coast West Africa

THE VALUE OF INTERGRITY IN BUSINESS.

FOLLOWING up our call last week to the youth of this country to wake up from their lethargic indifference to the fullest realisation of what they are up against in the matter of the keen competition for bread that the European and other foreign elements are putting up against him, it would be but a partial and unfair appraisement of the whole situation, if we refrained from exposing the shortcomings, alleged and actual, on the part of the African in his business association with the European. It is therefore necessary to be honest with ourselves so that a radical change might be made in that state of affairs which is so avidly seized upon by the European in extenuation of some of the highly discreditable dodges he puts up to achieve his purpose. The campaign of painting the African blacker than he really is, is not of recent inception although it must be admitted that it has grown intenser within the last few years. As a fact ever since the African became a really efficient competitor in the economic arena, whether it be in the matter of the raw materials he produced or the skilled labour he supplied, his intergrity has always been held up to question. It is unpalatable, but it must be said that there have been many instances in which the African has failed to discharge his trust honourably and honestly. The dishonest Government official who misappropriates the funds coming under his charge in the course of his duties, or the storekeeper who criminally runs up a deficit in his accounts do more to consolidate the European in his attitude of denial of merit in the African and condemnatory disregard of his morals, than any inherent hostility to the African's interests actuating him.

A Race On Probation.

We should not be misunderstood as representing that the European is more sinned against than sinning. What we advocate is an honest estimate of our own shortcomings and those alleged or actual acts of dishonesty so that a cure may be found; for it is better to lay open the sore and bring up the naked surface to the healing influences so that a healthy and robust flesh might grow up clear and strong to resist every adverse attack by those who would unjustly undo us to their own advantage. Whatever we might think or say to the contrary we are more or less on trial. The impact of Western civilisation has introduced certain ideas and aspects of life, and, as the new-comer we are on probation according to the requirements of the school in which these ideas were evolved. It is sometimes argued that the African, in his business association with the European is not afforded an equally fair chance to live honestly as his European brother. To descend to sentiment, it is indeed a sore point and one that denotes

Race Problem - 1933 II

Africa

the existence of a disquieting spirit of unfair discrimination prejudicial to the African for ay a storekeeper to be paid a little over a pound a week for being responsible for the sale and correct accounting of goods running into thousands of pounds whilst his European colleague gets ten times and over that amount. Here is indeed a fruitful source of temptation for him who is ready to take what does not belong to him or what he has not been permitted to take.

The Best Policy.

Gold Coast Independent

But to make it a point of downright argument that because of the poorness of the pay or salary the African receives he cannot help but be dishonest introduces a very dangerous aspect to the whole question; for two wrongs can never make one right and the African's descent to dishonesty can, in no way, be justified because he has been subjected to an unfair and discriminating treatment in the matter of adequate remundration for his labours. It should not be forgotten that it is always possible to fight for an amelioration of those conditions by legitimate means, given the ability to organisefor a strong representation. than by descending to criminal activities.

SOME OF OUR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

Gold Coast Independent

PART 1.

THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE OUTLOOK.

10-14-35

IS THERE MUCH HOPE FOR THE AFRICAN IN THE WORK OF EDUCATION?

Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

MUCH has been written and said to prove beyond all reasonable doubt the all-pervasive importance of Education, the inestimable value of Knowledge and its humanising effects as a potent factor of economic, social and political development. This essential and transcendent *characteria* of Education is generic and uniform and applies to the African no less than it does to the other members of the human race. The Education of the African has become a problem today because of the political disabilities he suffers as a subject race which have been made to affect the sort, kind and quality of Education provided him by his guardians, protectors and trustees who have artfully converted this sacred trust to a position of overlordship. By these means the Education so given him has lost a good deal of its substance with result that today it is all mere husks which remain, the kernel having been subtlely extracted away. This is so or has come to be so for the reason that the Education of the African is now being directed and superintended from the wrong quarters. To speak plainly and bluntly, the Education of the African began to lose all its essence and substance from the day Government relegated to itself the powers of a self-constituted sole Controller of Education or the fact cannot be cloaked that Government control of Education is too rigid and absolute and this constitutes a positive hindrance to the progress and educational advancement of the people.

The Result Of The Problem Created

Since the Education of the African was made to become a problem unto him, his progress and well-being economic, social, political and otherwise, has been seriously affected and the perplexing problem so created for him has been daily assuming sharper and bigger proportions which have at the present moment culminated in such a critical point that his very existence is now threatened. There is not the slightest doubt that the quality and standard of Education in vogue in the Colony today leaves much to be desired and there is reason to believe that in matters relating to Education Government has not done all what is or should be expected. The mere dabbler in the Science of Politics or Economics knows that it is one of the elementary or normal functions of Government to provide a sound system of Education for the governed. Although we do admit that Government has done us some good in the way of Education, yet it is not our purpose here to look a gift-horse in the mouth; but we shall not for such considerations tie ourselves down to a slavish acceptance of Government Educational policy in every detail or circumstance of it, even though we see and realise that it is diametrically opposed to our vital interests. All Educational methods are experimental and as such it is urgent, prudent and expedient to examine them from time to time, so as to prune off any morbid growths which may be found thereon and to re-adjust such parts thereof which might have got out of joints. This, then, is the purpose of this article and we propose to examine *seriatim* the system as a whole and lay bare such parts thereof which need re-adjustments. There is need for a good deal of re-adjustments and consolidation of the work that has already been done. This can only be satisfactorily and adequately done by co-operation and collaboration of the various agencies by which Education is spread and here lies work for Government, the Missionary Bodies and our Educationists as well as the governed. Herein we shall estimate and guage the amount of hope there is for the African in the prospects that lie before him in Education. For he must ask himself "What can I hope for as I look forward to the future?"

The Past, Present And Future Outlook

The history of Education since the introduction of Christianity in this country shows that the instruction of the young was formerly the exclusive work of the Church and that it is only quite recently that by the granting of financial aid the State, that is Government, came in, not with the express object of directing or controlling the work of the instruction of the young, but to assist in the work so ably and nobly begun by the Church. There is very scanty record of early educational effort in this country; the only available information shows that this was mainly the result of mission enterprise. From the very commencement Education seemed to have been discarded; no attention was paid to Education by the early European traders who settled in this country; at least there is no evidence that the Portuguese who first made a permanent settlement in 1471 did; the Dutch, Danes and English who immediately followed the Portuguese were said to have established schools at their respective headquarters but these schools were exclusively for their own descendants. The first mission to the Gold Coast paid no heed to Education and up to 1737 no effort was made to educate the

African. Most of the poineer work in Education in this country was done by the missionaries who came out for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the first of whom was Reverend Thomas Thompson, a clergyman of the Church of England who landed at Cape Coast in 1751 and worked for 5 years after which he was obliged to retire on account of ill health. Three of his pupils were sent to England to study but two of them died and only one returned home and established a school at Cape Coast which is the Government Boys' School at Cape Coast.

Progress Hindered By Internal Troubles.

Real and progressive work in Education was not started until 1847 after the Basel Mission Society came to this country and established itself permanently in the Eastern Province opening in 1843, a Girls' School and in 1848 a seminary at Akropong in Akwapim for training catechists. The Wesleyan Mission also came in 1835 and began opening up schools at Cape Coast and other parts of the Central Province. A High School was opened in 1876 but as this was a secondary school it did not last long and in 1909 the Mfantsipim College was formed. In 1847 the Bremen Mission Society also began educational activities in the Volta and the Roman Catholic Missionaries had in 1880 kept the educational ball rolling by founding its first school at Elmina; during the next ten years following it opened other five schools and began paying attention to female education. In 1881 there were about 139 schools in the whole country of which one at Cape Coast and two at Accra were under the management of Government; the Basel Mission had 47, the Wesleyan 84, the Bremen Mission 4, the Roman Catholic 1 and the enrolment of these exceeded 5,000. During these years the work was carried on by the various Christian Missionary Bodies. In 1898 the Zion Mission also joined in the work and in 1906 the Church of England re-entered the field after an absence of about 150 years. In that year it opened at Cape Coast a secondary school which is known today as St. Nicholas' Grammar School. No doubt the unsettled state of affairs in the country due to the Ashanti risings hindered the progress of Education to some extent; from that time forward both Government and the Missions began to forge ahead and since 1900 Government has opened primary schools particularly in districts or areas in which the Missions did not do much. Today we have over 600 schools including Achimota, which is the result of a new emphasis and interpretation placed on Education. Despite this large array of schools all over the country, the future of Education in this country is not very re-assuring. We shall in subsequent issues endeavour to trace out the possible flaws and examine them and proffer suggestions for re adjustments.

Is There Much Hope For The African?

The condition of affairs of the day in the political domains of the African indicates that as a people we have arrived at that stage of evolution which teaches a cardinal and outstanding fact of life that we have to save ourselves and the only one fundamental means of acquiring this is to educate ourselves and posterity to know, acquire and jealously guard those rights which belong to us as a nation and it is by education that we can acquire a correct estimate of the true values of the things which make for social, economic, industrial and political progress. We have to know the value and importance of Education as a potent and indispensable and essential factor for this acquisition; as such, we are determined to have it in its best form. We realise that there is some intention or desire to deprive us of these means; whether rightly or wrongly the African has received from the good whiteman of the days of old the value and importance of Education and whatever others may do now to deprive him thereof is bound to prove abortive, for it is too late in the day to seek to re-usher in the time worn-out policy of some class of the whiteman who says that the African should be given only that low brand of education which will fit him to fill subordinate positions to serve the whiteman and promote his interests. The African has come to appreciate the true value of Education as a potent factor in working out his salvation and he has got to be educated and raised to be an active personality, not repressed so as to become a passive automaton. If this is not done, then he must educate himself to this standard. And this he can do; for there is a Hand that directs and guides aright the destinies of men of every nation, people and race on the face of the earth; we may therefore rest assured that ours is not an *opus desperandum* and there is no reason why we shou'd falter, faint and despair.

The Visit of Tshekedi's Advisers

Though Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Jennings are in London as the advisers of the Chief Tshekedi their visit is a completely unofficial one, of which the Dominions Secretary has no official cognisance. They certainly intend to ask Mr. Thomas to receive them, but no application has yet been received from them. They will naturally take counsel with Tshekedi's friends in London and with those who are disinterestedly concerned with African native affairs.

By an authority on that subject it is pointed out to me that the recent incident may quite easily lead to a discussion of the whole question of the protectorates and the provisions of the South Africa Act which created the Union of South Africa in 1909. There are three protectorates, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland, and they have among them altogether a native population of about a quarter of a million. When the bill was passing through Parliament the greatest fight was for native rights. The protectorates stood outside the Union under the Act, but it contemplated that in the course of time their transfer to the Union might be advisable. There was included in the Act a detailed schedule which defined the conditions under which these native territories should be transferred if and when the time came. The Act did not provide for any such transfer taking place at any time; it merely enacted provisions to ensure that, if it should take place, all the promises and pledges that we had made to the natives should be fulfilled.

There is a strong public opinion that unless and until the anti-native legislation of South Africa is altered there should be no transfer. Statements have repeatedly been published in South Africa that Mr. Thomas, General Smuts, and Mr. Havenga, the Finance Minister of the Union, have discussed the whole question of the transfer of these territories. On the other hand, it must be said that there is no present sign that the conditions laid down by the South Africa Act could or would be fulfilled, and they must be fulfilled.

Mischievous Fetish

Gold Coast Independent 10-14-33 Accra, Gold Coast West African

Bondage In Ada District.

There are numbers of mischievous fetishes in Ada. It is right the worship of which requires young women to serve in bondage for life. The names of these fetishes in order of their notoriety are:—Ada-Dasuma; Agravie-Adsemu; Sukpoe Korti; Bakpa-Tsaduma and Vener; Mlefi-Korlier, Avakpo and Gbe; Meps-Adid; Battor Atigo, Tsimor and Agbadso; Volo Eme and Lomor.

The main object of these anthropomorphous fetishes, as asserted by the ancients, is to guide the interests of their individual owners and their townsmen, against arrogant capture, murder, robbery, theft and other serious crimes which were very commonly committed in those days. But to be impressive in this brief allegation, I must throw a little light on the astute methods in which the priests and the fetish owners indulge to show the vindictive power of their fetish. When a tout brings in information that some body is thus put into the fetish, these ill-minded people take steps in secrecy to poison the nearest relatives of the supposed offender, till they would succeed in destroying lives of many notable members in that family. After a good deal of anticipation to know the cause of these consecutive pre nature deaths occurring, these poor bereaved family often times resort to the native seer. There they would be told that such and such person in the family has commited a crime for which the whole house has been put into fetish, and, unless a propitiation of a maiden is given to serve the fetish in bondage the house could not be at rest.

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

NIGERIA.

Personal.

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The continued erosion by the sea at Victoria Beach, Lagos, culminated in a great flood which swept over the beach on June 7, destroying many fishermen's dwellings and almost demolishing a building belonging to the Church Missionary Society. So great was the force of the flood that the water cut several channels into the lagoon on the other side, and when it receded many buildings were isolated, a temporary bridge having to be built at one point to obtain access to the houses.

Poll Tax Trouble in Ilorin Province.

There is much unrest in the Oro district of Ilorin Province owing to the Native Administration's decision to enforce the collection of poll tax at the increased rate of 12s. 6d. per head. The district contains nine small towns, with a total population of about 30,000, and is one of the poorest parts of Ilorin Province. The poll tax was first introduced 25 years ago at the rate of 1s. per head, and was subsequently increased to 3s., 7s. 6d. and then 10s. When it was proposed to further increase the tax to 12s. 6d. the people unanimously protested to their over-lord, the Emir of Ilorin, but on failing to obtain satisfaction after several meetings a deputation of nine chiefs and other prominent men was sent to Ilorin to negotiate. These spokesmen have been arrested by the Administration with the threat that they will be detained until the tax has been fully collected, and this high-handed action has greatly inflamed popular feeling in the district.

NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN NYASALAND.

Extensive New Legislation Passed.

Important native legislation has been passed in the Nyasaland Legislative Council, states the Bulawayo Chronicle's Blantyre correspondent.

The object of the Native Authority Bill is to give effect to a system of decentralisation compensurate with the education of the people by the establishment of native authorities. The Bill gives the inhabitants of an area large self-governing powers, but also establishes the central check to ensure their activities will be properly directed. The authorities will be under the control of the Government and will not exercise authority over non-natives.

The Native Courts Bill is supplementary to the foregoing and provides for the establishment of native courts, both civil and criminal. Jurisdiction in these courts will be limited to cases where both plaintiff and defendant are natives. The administrative officer has the right to attend hearings of the native courts and transfer a case at any stage of the proceedings. Provision is also made for an elaborate system of appeal from native courts to a final court of appeal within the Protectorate. Being a High Court, it is hoped these courts will relieve political officers of a good deal of judicial work and permit them to give more time to administrative duties.

Natives to attend Students' Congress

Johannesburg, Tuesday.

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This means that the students will be asked to admit Bantu representatives from Fort Hare to join in the discussions affecting the students of universities throughout South Africa.

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The decision to put forward the motion to admit Fort Hare represetatives to the National Union was a unanimous one on the part of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Witwatersrand.

Basutoland's Loss

We have been trying to shut our eyes to the fact that Basutoland is losing her Native taxpayers, fast. Postively if the outward flow continues the loss will be irreparable in a year or two. The Territory must devise sure means of retaining the Native taxpayer in Basutoland as he is a valuable asset; and unless the rigor excercised by the chiefs in cases where tax is owing and their method on the rights of land tenure, together with the appropriation of huts encourages no poor man to remain under their iron rods. These poor loyal subjects of the King have sad tales to tell of the treatment they have received from the chiefs for their poverty and fearing to face again the iron rod, they have involuntarily decided to pay their taxes where they have sojourned or where they are commiserated. Some of these fellows may be believed and some not. But the fact remains that from their behavior they don't intend to return to their country Therefore one sees hundreds if not thousands of them seeking permanent abode where they can live.

Let us now suppose that Basutoland depends largely on the bulk of revenue derived from Native tax. Is it not a wise course then to protect such taxpayers? To get the milk out of a cow is not only to bring the pail under the cow but to insure that the cow of

Race Problem - 1933

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Basutoland Teachers

(The Editor 'Mochochonono'

In the full interests of my people, may I again seek the courtesy of your columns to ventilate my opinion on the above subject. I have refrained to venture my opinion without any fear of public criticism. Yet, I have no desire whatever to be unnecessarily and worthless controversy.

BASUTOLAND TEACHERS

When I take my pen and sit down to write on the foregoing subject, I wish to be clearly understood that I am not thinking of Std. IV, V and VI type of a teacher, who is merely employed to hinder the progress of our children. Though a continuation of slackness may be found on his work, the superintendent durst not dismiss him for two obvious reasons, (a) Financially the said superintendents are not prepared to pay higher wages to better teachers, (b) Religiously the teacher in questions may be serving not only as teacher but Evangelist as well. The teacher that I wish to pin thoughts on is a teacher in the true sense of the word with full teachers Certificate. Even here it is most regretful to note that the appointment of such teachers is really disgusting to all lovers of good education. They are not true to themselves not even true to their own people. They are a lot of bad example. Perhaps the Church has a great deal to blame towards this state of affairs. I say the Church because it seems to take the prominent part in the appointment of the teachers. The Church as it is, does not appoint teachers on the strength of their educational capacity but rather on the strength of their Christian ability as I have already pointed out in one of my preceding articles.

It is really absurd to have to imagine for a moment that in order to be a good teacher you must first qualify as a good Christian. I daresay you should but that should not debar the more intelligent teachers from getting into those posts. By their appointments they may eventually become members of the Church. One thing above all, for the convenience of the public it would be more appropriate to appoint teachers to any School irrespective of their creed.

Through the medium of your paper Sir, I wish to make a special appeal to all you teachers of Basutoland irrespective of creed. I sincerely hope you will endeavour to do the right thing. I have full confidence in you gentlemen that one day you will turn out some worthy results. I hope you will understand the responsibility on your shoulders, and that you are not teachers whilst in classrooms only but you are teachers even in your outside daily movements. It behoves you all to be good examples of your own people.

Yours.

F.J.S. MODIBEDI

SOUTH AFRICA AND NATIVE ESTATES

"Incorporation"

(From a Correspondent.)

It used to be said in South Africa, in Rhodes's day, that if the two European races were at one the third race, the native Africans, would do well to keep their eyes open. Hot on the heels of the news of a party turn which leaves the Union Parliament practically without an Opposition comes the report of a movement in Bechuanaland having for its object the incorporation of the Protectorate in the Union. It is stated that there is an overwhelming majority of the European settlers in favour of this course. There always has been such a majority on such an issue, and probably always will be in like circumstances, for the simple reason that the success of such a movement means, upon one pretext or another, the transference of the land from the one race to the other, and, as a not unimportant detail, the provision of more labour.

There are still three important native States, or Protectorates, in South Africa—Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. Both Swazis and Basutos are far more capable of effective self-defence than Bechuanas are. The Basutos, especially, many years ago showed a courage and resourcefulness in face of attack which earned lasting respect. Ultimately an arrangement was made whereby a British Resident, or commissioner, was placed at the capital, and this condition of things has continued; but the Basutos will not permit any "development," mineral or agricultural, which would deprive them of their lands. As to the other two Protectorates, the Transvaal Boers in President Kruger's day and the Chartered Company in Rhodes's time made repeated attempts to get the consent of the British Government to the "incorporation" of Swaziland and Bechuanaland respectively, on the general ground of the backwardness of the native Governments and the particular ground of contiguity of territories. It is a reasoned certainty that if the Bechuanaland movement succeeded—if, that is, Great Britain abandoned its position in plain disregard of the steady retrogression of South Africa in native policy since the union,—the next Protectorate selected for similar treatment would be Swaziland; and then, of course, it would be argued that it would be unworkable and anomalous to have one native enclave, Basutoland, outside the Union orbit, to be an Alsatia for malcontents from the former Protectorates, &c.

To a great extent these native States are in a cleft stick. If they remain primitive and undeveloped, their people living from hand-to-mouth, with little surplus but few wants, they are told by their European neighbours that they are a blight and an incubus and ought to be subdued. On the other hand, the native State cannot show the results of the loan system and of modern commercial development because, naturally enough, it clings desperately to its land, well aware of the fate of other dispossessed African races. Liberia in its first simple-life days realised the ideals of its founders. But later it essayed modern development—and the loan-holder got his grip.

What can be done by friends of the African races in this country, where, as in South Africa, there is in existence a Parliament almost without an Opposition and where, moreover, none of the Parliamentary spokesmen of the Dominions and Colonial Offices has given much evidence of strength? At least the Bechuanaland movement should be watched. Its authors state that they will send a deputation to General Hertzog to obtain his approval and support. They might just as well save their railway fares, for everybody knows that every Union Government is always in favour of "incorporation."

At the same time, we in this country should rid ourselves of the notion that sentiment hostile to the native States is an exclusively Dutch South African attribute. Except for a section, by no means wholly British South African, of 5 per cent at a liberal estimate, there is not a pin to choose between the two European races on this issue. If in due course the Union Government formally identifies itself with this new movement our own Government should be made unmistakably aware that, in view of the trend of all recent native policy in South Africa, public opinion here will require practical evidence of a reform policy before it will consider any change of status in the Protectorates.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

The League of Coloured Peoples.

There was a good attendance of members and friends at the Memorial Hall on March 17 when the annual general meeting of the League of Coloured Peoples took place, with the President, Dr. H. A. Moody, in the chair.

The chief feature of the report was the effort made to get hospitals to open their doors to coloured students. Even the Colonial Office, it seems, has approached 18 hospitals without success, but in one instance a simple letter from the President of the League had secured a promise of admission for two students, and there is reason to hope that, with the co-operation of the Joint Council for Better Understanding, the Free Churches, and the Missionary Societies, further progress will be made.

Other practical works by the League and the Joint Council included pecuniary aid to a student, the preparation of a much-needed boarding-house list, and the acquisition of Aggrey House, 62 Doughty Street, as a hostel for Coloured people in London. It is this last, no doubt, that has produced evidence in certain Nigerian papers of what is perilously near antagonism to the League on the part of the West African Students' Union, which, it will be remembered, courageously started a hostel of its own in January last.

A Call to Co-operation.

There should be no need for friction, however, for, as Dr. Moody said in his presidential address, the League was jealous of no existing organisation, but would be glad to co-operate wherever and whenever it could do so. This, clearly, is the right spirit. Full co-operation where aims are the same, and independence in other respects, are all that intelligent West Africans have claimed in any sphere, and while the practical difficulties of the African student in London arise, unfortunately, directly from colour, it is idle for him to consider that he can grapple with his problems by cultivating narrow national distinctions that Europeans, in their ignorance will never understand. Al they see is one section of the African race suspicious of another, and, to adapt a tag beloved of Coast politicians, while Africans divide, they rule.

However, not all West Africans are of this narrow mind, and it is good to see that the new committee of the League has a West African, Mr. Stephen Thomas, as its secretary, and another, Mr. A. Koi, as its Vice-President, while Miss Stella Thomas has been re-elected librarian, and Messrs. Amegatcher and Mbanefo have been elected to membership.

Another point raised at the meeting was Mr. Baldwin's use of the word "Nigger" recently, but since it is unthinkable that there was any deliberate attemp to offend, there is little doubt that in due course th matter will be put right.

Mr. H. S. Newlands.

The feelings of esteem which Mr. H. S. Newland aroused were never more clearly seen than in M W. W. Vaughan's appreciation of the late Governor of Barbados in "The Times." As a visiting member of the Achimota Inspection Committee, Mr. Vaughan worked under the chairmanship of Mr. Newlands for a month, and as his guest at Kumasi had an opportunity to see the extent to which Mr. Newlands had gained the confidence of high and low.

When, however, he writes of him as "the ideal ruler of a child-like people," he is using words which Newlands himself would have criticised, for that officer's great natural modesty would not have permitted so truthful a description of himself or his loyalty so ambiguous a reference to his friends. In Mr. Vaughan's short visit it is possible that he mistook the natural vivacity of the African for racial childhood, but I should have thought that, even had he had no time to study the political, military, or artistic evolution of the people, his month's contact with them at Achimota and elsewhere, particularly in the company of so fine an interpreter of the racial soul as Mr. Newlands, would have been enough to show him that the race had reached adolescence.

Mr. A. C. G. Hastings's West African Novels.

This week's number contains the last instalment of Mr. A. C. G. Hastings's novel of West African life, "The Proof," the first publication rights of which we had the good fortune to obtain. I feel that I express the feelings of many readers as well as my own—indeed I know I do, from several spoken and written communications from readers—in saying that the story is one of marked originality, sincerity, and that rare quality, "understandingness," and that it is to be hoped it will appear in book form later on. I believe that another novel of West African life by the same listinguished author is well on the way to completion

The Irish Sweep.

West Africa has not had much luck in the great weep this time. The list of names of persons drawing a horse in the National Sweep is now completed, and here is only one West African name, "F. F. and Willis," Farkwa, and the horse is Rock Hill. There seems a West African touch about the drawer of Ballyhanwood, "Alofus," whose address is Unilever House. The money available for prizes amounts to £1,986,731, and is divided as follows: 19 of £30,000 each, 19 of £15,000 each for the second, 19 of £10,000 each for the third, 1,007 of £660 7s. 6d. for drawers of unplaced or non-running horses, 1,900 consolation prizes of £100 each, and 10 residual prizes of £8,673 each. The two last-named categories have not yet been disposed of, and will not be in time for me to include them in this note.

The Nigerian Census.

THE results of the census taken in Nigeria in April, 1931, have been published in six volumes, now obtainable from the Crown Agents. The first, containing a general survey of the figures, by Mr. S. M. Jacob, Government statistician, costs 12s., those dealing with the Northern and Southern Provinces and Lagos cost respectively 12s. 6d. and 6s., and the medical volumes on North and South, by Drs. R. C. Jones and J. G. S. Turner, are 7s. and 8s.

The need for economy prevented the task from being attempted on the scale at first intended, but nevertheless, an intensive census of 200 villages and some 444,000 persons in the North gave particulars that should form a useful basis for future comparisons, although, of course, there is little in the past with which they can safely be compared.

Crude totals provided by the count show a population of 19,928,171, or 9,579,485 males and 10,348,686 females, but in the South particularly, where the form of taxation has led to over-concentration on the adult males, two probable sources of error occurred, an error in count of the males, and an incorrect assumption of the proportion of females and children, so that Mr. Jacobs modifies these figures, and considers that 21,902,000 is a conservative estimate—11,778,000 in the Northern, and 10,124,000 in the Southern Provinces, or an average density of 53.5 per sq. mile. This last ratio, however, is of little practical importance owing to the extremely irregular grouping of the population in the crowded Yoruba States, Niger Delta, and Kano-Kaita areas.

Of the largest six towns, Ibadan still leads with a population of 387,133, which is an increase of 63 per cent. on the last estimate, and Lagos is second with 126,108, an increase of 27 per cent. Kano, with an apparent increase by 94 per cent. to 97,031, has risen from sixth to third in the list, and the next three towns, Oyo, Osogbo, Iwo, and Ede, which show increases of from 2 to 8 per cent., are all in the Yoruba area.

By occupation, 695 people per mille in the North, and 209 in the South were returned as farmers, while the South has fewer in personal service, and more in commerce than the North. The Yorubas have the highest degree of literacy, extending to 300 per mille among males and 85 among females, but it is rightly pointed out that literacy or otherwise is no indication of racial capacity for development.

The general birth-rate, it is said, shows no sign of rising fertility in Nigeria, and even in Lagos there has been a steady fall since 1904, which may, of course, be due to the growing proportion of temporary sojourners in the town. There is, however, no reason to expect any general increase yet for the medical census shows that so far the public health services have improved the environment of but 1 per cent. of the people, while the majority are but moderately nourished, and dietary generally is ill-balanced. Lagos, with its infantile mortality of 134 against the general 300 or so, and an ordinary death-rate 80 per cent. below that of the North, shows what may be expected when the vast problems of general health are attacked.

The two medical censuses are, of course, but preliminary investigations of small groups in typical hill, forest, urban, and swamp environments, and are of value chiefly as a basis for future comparisons. Some

would seem particularly dangerous to world peace. An attempt to coerce general acceptance of any disarmament plan, however, sound its principles. Such a plan, to be successful, must be entered into freely and willingly; because of the uncertainty which prevails in Europe, any attempt to tie a nation's hands might easily goad her into war, simply because the occasion is inopportune. In other words, the greatest dangers to peace at the moment are many, if not most, of the pacifists themselves. After an interval of a year or so, after other distracting problems have had time to settle down, a disarmament Conference which had adjourned amicably would have an infinitely greater chance of achieving success than the present exhausted assembly, meeting in an atmosphere of ill-concealed tension and distrust.

It is almost ridiculous to expect concrete results from a Disarmament Conference when surreptitious "gun-running" is recognised to be one of the few "booming" occupations. This is a substantial fact, of which the outcry which led to the repeal of the Arms Embargo recently is an additional proof.

SIERRA LEONE

Population, 1,768,479; Capital, Freetown; Governor Sir Arnold Hodson. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Coal, Tobaccos, Apparel, Flour, Bags and Sacks, Liquors. Chief Exports, Kernels, Kolas, Ginger, Palm Oil, Gold.

The Trade of Sierra Leone.

In spite of reductions of some £26,000 in Government imports and of £122,000 in specie, the total imports into Sierra Leone last year increased by £106,735 to £1,248,346. The chief increases were, as might have been expected, in cotton goods and unmanufactured tobacco, and in kerosene and motor spirit, but there were improvements also in numerous minor items.

The exports for 1932 amounted to £975,106, against £923,613, or, excluding specie and non-domestic items, to £879,477, against £616,337. This was due chiefly to an increase of about 50 per cent. in quantity and value of palm-kernels and a smaller increase in palm-oil, while gold accounted for £58,917, against £21,672. A considerable increase in kola exports was not unfortunately, accompanied by a rise in value, and among the lesser items the chief increases were in platinum, rice, and peppers, the last-named commodity having quadrupled in quantity and value during the year.

The total customs duties collected amounted to £452,880, against £340,056, the chief items being £109,912 on imported tobacco and £113,743 on palm-kernel exports.

The Mineral Production.

The annual return of mineral production for Sierra Leone for 1932 shows an output valued at £69,789, of which £65,669 is from 12,099 ozs. of gold (apparently a conservative estimate of value), and £4,118 from 527 ozs. of crude platinum.

Taken by quarters, the gold output has increased steadily from 2,094 ozs. in the first quarter to 4,126 in the fourth, and there is every reason to hope for a continuance of this increase in the coming year.

The Consolidated African Selection Trust, which applied for a diamond-mining lease over 252 acres towards the end of the year, exported 747 carats of stones in October, estimated to be worth £1,565.

Egungun in Freetown.

After an interval of about half a year, the masked figure of an egungun, or ogugu, has again appeared in the streets of Freetown, and has aroused discussion as to whether its revival is advisable.

Professor Abayomi Cole, after explaining the significance of the figure in Yoruba funeral ceremonial, points out that egungun has now become nothing but a play, and has ceased to be an object of dread. He overlooks, however, the fact that in recent years in Lagos it has become a mask under cover of which many acts of hooliganism have been perpetrated, and indeed Freetown itself has had some experiences of the same kind.

No doubt it will survive in public demonstrations, as the figures of certain municipal giants and dragons have survived in civic processions in England, but there seems to be good reason for controlling its public appearances to a greater extent than was formerly done.

The Girls' Vocational School.

Mrs. Casely-Hayford's report for 1932 on the Girls' Vocational School, Freetown, is an interesting document, for she is making an effort, in a city where literary education and the Local examinations have become a fetish, to teach parents that where 99 per cent of their girls will get married the education needed is the sound literary grounding which will provide, for those who wish, the key to storehouses of knowledge, accompanied by practical training in the secrets of home-making.

It is an uphill struggle, but Mrs. Hayford has done good work in the most adverse conditions, and it is good to see that during a year of specially trying financial problems she has been given the encouragement of a small Government grant. Added to this she has received a personal tribute in her election to the Council of Headmistresses, which does much to formulate the educational policy in the local girls' secondary schools.

Smallpox in Freetown.

Freetown has just had a fresh smallpox scare, for four cases of the disease were discovered in a single house and, of course, were promptly removed to the isolation camp. It is not many months since a bad smallpox epidemic swept across the Protectorate and there were a few cases in Freetown itself, but it was hoped that the very energetic vaccination measures taken at the time had effectually ended the outbreaks. If they have not quite done this, they are sure, at any rate, to limit the spread of infection from the new cases now found.

The introduction of a municipal meat van into Freetown to carry carcasses from the slaughter-house to the markets has displaced, it is said, about 60 labourers who formerly carried out this duty.

AFRICAN ACADEMY SEEKS AID

CHICAGO, Jan. 12—(ANP)—In a letter to the Associated Negro Press, L. Awoonor-Renner, general secretary of the African Academy located at Sekondi, Gold Coast West Africa, and African journalist of note, appeals for contributions from American Negroes for the institution.

"We are appealing," stated Mr. Renner, "to the American public and the Negro in particular for donations in the form of works of Negro artists and writers. We need these four our library and museum. Langston Hughes, poet and Elmer Carter, editor of Opportunity, have already assisted us and we have been encouraged by their aid. If we could receive the works of other writers and publications of Negroes or others, in America, it would be of great help to our work."

That the Academy is making substantial progress was disclosed at the recent annual meeting of the committee in charge, which was attended by the acting governor of the Gold Coast. The committee is composed of William A. Hanson, Dr. F. V. Nanka-Bruce, member of the legislative council and vice-president of the Academy, acting governor, Amos Dazie, G. A. S. Horthcote, Attorney F. Awooner Williams, president of the Academy, A. C. Russell, Dr. J. B. Danquah and L. B. Awooner Renner, general secretary.

African Leaders Look To Educated Negroes Of U. S. For Assistance

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Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

WHITE SETTLEMENT IN AFRICA.

GENERAL SMUTS' STRIKING SPEECH AT NAIROBI.

General Smuts, who paid a brief visit to Nairobi in mail week when en route to England for the World Economic Conference, was the guest of the South African Society of East Africa at their annual dinner on June 3. Mr. C. B. Burton, President of the Society, was in the chair, and the other guests included H.E. Sir Joseph Byrne, Governor of Kenya, Col. R. B. Turner, C.M.G., D.S.O., South African Trade Commissioner for the East African Territories, Col. R. Wilkinson, D.S.O., Col. T. of Lizgerald and Mr. W. G. M. MacDonald. The company numbered over two hundred.

Improving Trade Relations With the South.

Proposing the toast of "South Africa," H.E. the Governor said:—Last year I expressed a hope that this South African dinner should become an annual affair. I little thought then that such a stimulus should be given to this idea by the plucky presence among us to-night of a great South African statesman known and respected throughout the Empire, and in particular in East Africa, where he and General van de Venter rendered fine service as leaders during the Great War.

"Gentlemen, we in Kenya have much to gain from hearty co-operation and friendship with our big sister in the South. We have many problems in common, including, I am sorry to say, locusts and drought: I understand also that South Africa possesses a Kakamega with all the benefits and difficulties attached thereto. The post war growth of trade with the Union may be dated from the visit of Sir Ernest Chappell in 1923, who was sent to East Africa by General Smuts to inquire into the possibilities of increasing trade relations between the South and East on a reciprocal basis. This visit resulted in the appointment of a Union representative in these territories, and I am told that inter-trade has increased by well over 100 per cent. since this appointment was made. I should here particularly like to express our gratitude to the Union for sending us some exceptionally capable officials who have rendered good service to this Colony."

A Reunion of Races.

Responding, General Smuts said:—"Like you, we have been passing through very hard times. Like you, we have suffered from world depression; we have suffered still more from drought perhaps, and like you we have learnt a great lesson. As far as South Africa is concerned that lesson has been driven home to us by adversity—the lesson that union is strength. We have waged a battle royal for the last twenty-one years in politics in South Africa. Most of my public life has been spent in that form of warfare. It took this depression, it took this unprecedented suffering under the infliction of the gold standard, for us to learn, at last in politics, as in other aspects of national life, that union is strength.

"You are here to celebrate Union Day, May 31, which is always looked upon as a great day in our history. It may be that in years to come it will be found there is another great day in the history of South Africa, the day when political peace was made. After twenty-one years of warfare to the uttermost, peace has been made. In form it is a political peace; in substance it is more. In South Africa parties have to some extent been divided on racial lines, and because of this division between parties the political disunions in South Africa more and more assumed a racial character. The peace which has been made in the last couple of months is not merely a political peace between two parties but a peace between two peoples.

"In the last few months since the peace was made a change has come over South Africa which would have been considered incredible by people who actually had not seen it with their own eyes. We have fought the general election which has, as it were, set the seal on this racial reunion, and to-day, if you visit South Africa, instead of hearing the old racial cries of the past you will hear quite a different thing. There seems to be a spirit abroad of unity, co-operation, loyalty, and friendship, such as I have not known in my lifetime.

"We have learnt our lesson, and this message I bring to you, a message of good hope, good cheer, and great achievement from South Africa. We shall reap the fruits in South Africa; you will reap them here, and I am sure the British Empire will. Instead of being a weakened member of our commonwealth, we shall in future be able to pull our weight as a united people. I do not think I could have brought a happier message than this one, which has brought new heart, new faith, new hope to the people of South Africa.

White Leadership in Africa.

"A great work has been done on this continent already. The white man has left his mark in a couple of generations very deeply on its history. There are people who resent the influence of white civilisation. They are people, perhaps not numerous but very vocal, who look upon the white man as an interloper in Africa—who regard him as trespasser. But when you see what has been done in so short a time for the advancement of this continent, then you see that the white man is very largely justified. He is not an angel of light; he has made mistakes and will make more, but there is no doubt that he is the carrier of a great civilisation and a great message to Africa. More and more in the future this civilisation will be pressed home, and developed, and more and more with these new forms of communication will there be co-operation between the various parts in the advancement of civilisation.

"Seventeen years ago South Africa gave a helping hand to Kenya. In one form or another it may happen again. We are going in the future to co-operate much more closely in the advancement of the big task which has been entrusted to us.

"I say that the future of this continent is dependent on two factors, and two only—white leadership in the first place, the gospel of work in the second place.

"To my mind white leadership means acting up to the ideals we have brought to this country: the ideals we have learnt in Europe, the ideals of personal and public conduct—those ideals we should continue to practise in Africa and not leave them in Europe. The white man should be an example in private and public life to the black man of what European civilisation means. These are the two factors on which, in my humble opinion, the progress of the continent depends.

"You cannot rule out the white man, and simply look to the missionary and official. If two forces of white leadership as the carrier of European civilisation and the imbibing of the doctrine of work by the black man have a very full belief, there is hope for this dark continent, but not otherwise. I do not want to enter into controversial matters, but I am sure that what I am saying here to-night will be assented to—the necessity of the European civilisation of this continent."

Decisive Battle for Civilisation.

Referring to his mission to London, General Smuts said:—"I look upon this World Economic Conference as one of the decisive battles for civilisation. Our fate will be decided not at Cape Town, or Pretoria, or in Nairobi, but far away in London, by this congress of nations that is going to meet there. I am sure that the conference to which I am going will be a turning point in the recovery or going backwards of the world. The world will not be the same after the Conference—it will be better or worse.

"We are to-day in a position where a change is imperatively called for by the circumstances of the world. There is no feeling of security, no certainty about the future, no confidence, and this economic disorganisation is sapping the vital life of the nations. Things cannot go on thus any longer. We have been sick for years, since the war, and we have reached a state when it cannot continue much longer. That is why this Conference may be the real turning point in the affairs of the world and perhaps in the continuance of our European civilisation.

"I am sure that the Conference will be one of the decisive points in the history of the world. It may be far more important than the Peace Conference at the end of the war. In another form warfare has been contined on an aggravated scale. We shall have to make an economic peace, to raze the tariff walls of the world and raise commodity prices so that the producer, especially the farmers, will breathe once more. Your fate, as farmers, as producers, in this Colony, will be decided in London, and not by any steps or measures you can take here.

"That is the lesson brought home to us, that mankind is one, and it is impossible to apply local and partial solutions when a general solution is demanded by a unity of civilisation in its post war form. This Conference will be a recognition of that unity. We shall have to raise prices, we shall have to get the best world currencies, we shall have to make it possible to sell and exchange products for values we can understand, we shall have to see to this policy of tariffs we have been going in for at a mad pace since the war, we shall have to take a number of other measures to restore confidence, to establish good relations among nations, and once more set the wheels of the world going.

"This task is by far the greatest set any body of men, and I hope and pray that the statesmen of the world may prove equal to this job. Let us help the statesmen taking part with our good will and support to find a solution, and even if that solution be not to our particular liking let us take it, because we know the alternative will bring disaster not only to individuals but to civilisation."

Notes at Random

Mochoconono

Black Houdini.

6-14-33

That there are Natives in Johannesburg who have made a name for themselves in the criminal world and above all are experts in the execution of their exploits can be found in this: "Tom Mix" a notorious criminal for whom prison bars and iron cages do not a prison make, is well known for his escapes from prisons. He has not only been escaping from the small prisons on the Rand but also from the Johannesburg Fort—where it has hitherto been held nobody can escape. To this day the authorities do not know how he effected his

escape. It was only from the Pretoria Central prison that he did not escape. "Tom Mix" is not only satisfied with breaking through prison walls but continues his life of crime. The police of the whole Rand are now looking for him again on a charge of rape.

"African Defender"

During this week end we are expecting to see the first issue of the "African Defender" which will be edited by Mr D. G. Ballinger and assisted by Mr J. G. Coka, formerly assistant editor of "The Bantu World." Incidentally this journal will incorporate the "African Leader" which, for sometime now has been showing signs of going underboard. The "Defender" will be a purely labour journal and some of the profits accruing, it is reported, will be used for promoting other Native business concerns.

White Law and Black.

Writing from Canberra Australia the "Sunday Times" correspondent says Northern and Central Australia are the only portions of the Commonwealth in which aboriginal races are still to be found in a wild state and goes on to say of late there have been a number of tribal killings, resulting in arrests and the passing of the death sentence on the murderers.

Although no executions have taken place, it is recognised that the situation is not at all satisfactory; and the Australian Government is seriously considering the advisability of setting up special courts to deal with offences of a purely tribal character.

It has been suggested that a court system on the lines of that of Papua, which takes into consideration native codes and customs and the native viewpoint, should be introduced. Whatever the outcome, it is manifestly unfair that primitive blacks should be tried for tribal killings by white man's law, and before a court which cannot take cognisance of aboriginal laws and customs.

Gaol As a Hostel.

The authorities of South West Africa are faced with a difficult task. The Natives there are taking advantage of being put in prison where they can get shelter and food for nothing. The Natives have taken to stealing and killing farmers' sheep, leave skins lying anywhere and every where thereby leaving clues for the police to arrest them. When arrested they say they do this purposely so that they may be sent to gaol where they can get shelter and food for nothing. No doubt this is caused by the depression.

Applying for a Commercial

Mochocomoho Post
6-14-33
Maseru, Basutoland

The applicant who has recently passed an intro-duction to an employer or who, having applied by post for a position, has been summoned to an interview, should not go empty handed The junior should take with him any certificates he has gained. He might also take a specimen of his typewriting, his shorthand notebook, and any other exercise book that will show his handwriting, figure-work, and so on. Then, if an opportunity of showing these books presents itself, his forethoughts will be rewarded—it may indeed turn the call in his favour. The applicant of experience should have with him any references he may possess. He should also compile a complete list of his qualifications. If set out effectively, this is bound to impress an employer, and it will give him a bird-eye view of the case. Such a list should be headed with "Name," "Address," and "Age." Then should follow "Particulars of Education."

Under the general heading of "Qualifications and Certificates" should be given the exact speeds and attainments in various subjects studied during the specialized commercial training, each subject being dealt with separately.

Under the head of "Previous Experience" should be given: (a) Name of last employer: (b) length of service, (c) duties, (d) reason for leaving. Then might be added the names of two people (personal and business) to whom reference may be made as to character. The particulars should be set out in a consistent manner throughout, with generous spacing and with discriminate red ruling.

(K.A.S in Pitman's Journal.)

you might be interested to know what I look for when I am interviewing a boy. On my desk I have forms, one of which I use after each interview. These are some of the headings printed on the form: Appearance, manner, alertness, power of attention, and Confidence. All these are of great importance to an employer For instance take the first point "Appearance" No one wants a slovenly individual in an office, because a slovenly appearance usually indicates an untidy brain. Then take "Manner;" a boy should cultivate a firm manner without being boorish; he should be respectfull but not cringing.

J. F. Mac Cartney in "The Listener."

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

QUESTION TIME AT THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Weekly News
III. 6-5-33.

Freetown Sierra Leone West Africa

WE will to-day deal with one more of the questions asked by the People's Representatives and to which are impressed satisfactory answers have not been given by Government. There are, of course, other questions asked which have elicited answers to which no objection could be taken. The questions we are dealing with are such as have in some way reflected policies set out, for which the present administration cannot be made responsible except so far, as they form a sort of heritage and it is committed in some way, whatever may be the private judgment of the Executive, to maintain and perpetuate a blunder by the exercise of what may be described as the "official conscience." One such matter has to deal with the attitude of Government towards the efforts towards higher and more satisfactory qualifications for some positions, which present a somewhat contradictory aspect to generally accepted principles.

It was a step in the right direction, we thought, when this Government placed a new emphasis on the need of a higher standard of qualification as the goal towards which African members of the Civil Service should aspire. The wisdom of such a course was generally accepted as intrinsically sound, and it was thought that the foundation was being laid towards the qualification for higher preferments which by the law of evolution and in accordance with the development of Race Consciousness, the African must naturally look forward to.

As a recognition of the satisfactory results of such higher efforts at qualification, and a natural encouragement to such aspiring candidates, special financial arrangements were made by which the commencing salary should be at a higher rate than the ordinary. This proved a healthy stimulus and soon the Sierra Leone Civil Service was becoming an attraction to better qualified young men and a higher standard of qualification was being created.

But soon, the evil eye of prejudice was becoming manifest, the position was becoming uncomfortable in some quarters where the duty of Administration was becoming difficult on account of a rather limited degree of intelligence. The solution was met by Government in two ways. On the one hand there started to be connected with the service Europeans of higher scholastic attainments and on the other, to meet some representations about the sort of competition which was naturally created, and the inducement offered to qualified aspirants engaged in other walks of life, particularly the Religious Bodies, a succeeding Government revised the scale of the initial salaries by removing the special arrangement which had hitherto marked the difference between an ordinarily qualified candidate and one who had taken the trouble and incurred some greater expense to attain to a higher degree of intellectual qualification, by takieg some further public examinations.

That was discouraging enough as it was plain that the policy was short-sighted, backward, because it threw a "damper" on the aspiration of the African youth, and placed some serious restrictions to the prospect of the African being called, as is being done to-day, to fill appointment which in the past were regarded as "European preserves." It is in this way the situation has arisen which has called forth a question relative to the emoluments of some Africans in the staff of the Health Department who had taken the pains to secure some recognised qualification in England, higher than what they had when they were barely conneceted with the Clerical Service.

This was the case of a cultured young lady who was offered a ridiculous pittance by the Education Department because, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, certain definite emoluments had been fixed for such departments and no alteration could be thought of. It was however interesting to note that in this particular case, the young lady subsequently received an appointment direct from the Colonial Office which placed her conveniently amongst the staff of the European Establishment. We refuse to believe that there is any difficulty on the part of Government, represented by the Heads of the Departments, to appreciate the ludicrousness of the arguments generally adopted to block the way towards a reasonable adjustment of such a situation whenever it occurs. We think it illustrates a bad principle, subversive of the very line of progress and development which forms the central force of its existence. The enlightenment which has come about naturally, has exposed such a position revealed in the answer given to that particular question as lame and impertinent, and which could only be justified by reference to the law. The plan by which Government has raised the scale of emoluments of school-teachers under the amalgamated scheme, is an indication that it knows better and if it errs, or deviates from it, it would not be from want of a guiding principle—It is rather fortunate for this Colony that its financial arrangement had long before the present financial crises, been placed on a sound and healthy position, not in any way extravagant and not on the other hand parsimonious; in consequence, there is not that need—thanks to a sympathetic and considerate Head of the Executive, of doing the revision and cut which have been forcing themselves in other Colonies. It only remains for some adjustments to be made only in the direction indicated by the question asked, and the Sierra Leone Government would afford to go on in the even tenor of its way and carry out a model of financial administration to all and every who may be disposed to take a leaf out of its book.

A BILL ENTITLED

An Ordinance to Provide for the Training and Registration of Midwives and to regulate their Practice.

Weekly News
6-10-33

Freetown Sierra Leone West Africa

[, 1933]

BE it enacted by the Governor of Sierra Leone, with the advise and consent of the Legislative Council therefore, as follows:—

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Midwives Ordinance, 1933, and shall apply to the Colony and Protectorate. It shall come into operation on such date as the Governor may fix by a motion published in the *Gazette*.

2. In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires:—

"The Board" means the Midwives' Board constituted under this Ordinance.

"Certificate" means the certificate granted by the Board under this Ordinance.

"Registered" means registered under this Ordinance and "registered midwife" shall be construed accordingly.

"The Roll" means the register of midwives directed to be kept under this Ordinance.

3. Any woman who not being a registered midwife takes or uses the title of qualified midwife or any name, title, description or badge implying that she is registered or that she is a person specially qualified to practice midwifery or is recognized by law as a duly qualified midwife, shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding five pounds.

4. (1) No person other than—

(*a*) a qualified medical practitioner, or

(*b*) a registered midwife

shall attend women in childbirth for payment or reward within the limits of any town or place specified and defined in the Schedule, and any person who contravenes the provisions of this sub-section shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds.

(2) The Governor in Council may, by Order, add any town or place to the Schedule or delete any town or place thereform. Every such Order which adds any town or place to the Schedule shall define the limits of such town or place.

5. Any registered midwife who employs an unregistered person as her substitute shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on summary convictions, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds.

6. Registration under this Ordinance shall not confer upon any woman any right to be registered or licensed under the Medical Practitioners, Dentists and Druggists Ordinance, 1924, or to assume any name, title or description implying that she is by law authorized to practice medicine or surgery or to grant any medical certificate, or any certificate of death or still-birth, or to undertake the charge of cases of abnormality or disease in connection with parturition, unless as provided by rules made with respect to such cases under section 12.

7. Any woman shall be entitled to be registered as a midwife if—

(*a*) she holds a certificate issued by the Board under this Ordinance; or

(*b*) she holds a diploma or certificate which entitles her to be registered as a midwife in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; or

(*c*) she produces satisfactory evidence that she has been registered as a midwife in some other British West African Colony or Protectorate in which there is for the time being any law in force for the certification or registration of midwives; provided that the standard of training and examination required in that country is, in the opinion of the Board, whose decision thereon shall be final, equal to the standard adopted by the Board; or

(*d*) she was registered as a midwife by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services prior to the date to be fixed for the commencement of this Ordinance.

8. Every woman registered under this Ordinance shall be entitled to demand, sue for and recover, in any competent court of Law, reasonable charges for any services performed as a midwife.

9. (1) On the commencement of this Ordinance there shall be constituted a Midwives' Board consisting of—

(*a*) the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services,

(*b*) the Assistant Director of Health Service, and

(*c*) four other persons appointed by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, each of whom shall be a qualified medical practitioner or the holder of the certificate of the Central Midwives Board of England.

(2) On the death, inability to act, resignation or absence from Sierra Leone for more than six months of any member of the Board appointed by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services under sub-section (1) (*c*), the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services may appoint to the vacancy any person fulfilling the conditions imposed by that paragraph.

(3) The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, or in his absence from any meeting the Assistant Director of Health Service, shall be the Chairman of the Board.

(4) The Chairman and two other members shall form a quorum.

(5) The Chairman of a meeting shall have a casting vote.

10. The Board shall from time to time appoint any person, whether a member or not, to be Secretary to the Board, and may replace at its pleasure any person so appointed.

[, 1933.]

11. (1) There shall be kept a Roll of Midwives containing the names of all registered midwives. The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services shall be charged with the custody of the Roll.

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(2) Every entry on the Roll shall indicate the qualifications by virtue of which registration was granted.

(3) A copy of the *Gazette* containing the Roll of Midwives for the year and purporting to be

issued under the authority of the Board shall be *prima facie* evidence that she is not registered.

(4) In a case of a woman whose name does not appear in such copy, a certificate under the hand of the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services shall be conclusive evidence of the fact and of the date of her registration.

(5) A certificate under the hand of the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services that the name of a woman appearing in such copy of the *Gazette* has been removed from the Roll, shall be conclusive evidence of the fact that she is no longer registered and of the date upon which she ceased to be registered.

12. (1) The Board may make rules for all or any of the following purposes :—

(*a*) regulating their own proceedings ;

(*b*) regulating the course of training and the nature and conduct of examinations, and prescribing the conditions under which persons are admitted to such examinations :

(*c*) regulating the issue and prescribing the forms of certificate ;

(*d*) prescribing the issue by the Board of badges for registered midwives and regulating the wearing of such badges ;

(*e*) regulating the practice of registered midwives ;

(*f*) regulating the manner in which supervisory authorities appointed under section 17 (1), and persons or bodies of persons to whom they may delegate any of their duties under section 17 (2), are to exercise general supervision and for facilitating the exercise of such supervision ;

(*g*) prescribing the conditions under which registered midwives may be suspended from practice and authorising the Board to suspend a midwife from practice for such period as the Board may think fit, in lieu of striking her off the Roll, and to suspend from practice until the case has been decided and (in the case of an appeal) until the appeal has been decided, and midwife accused before the Board of disobeying rules or of other misconduct ;

(*h*) prescribing the particulars required to be given in any notice issued under this Ordinance ;

(*i*) prescribing the fees to be paid for any matter or thing to be done under this Ordinance or any rule made thereunder, provided that no such fee shall exceed the sum of one pound ; and

(*j*) generally for any purposes incidental to any of the foregoing.

(2) Rules made under this section shall be signed by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services and two other members of the Board, and shall be subject to the approval of the Governor in Council.

13. The duties and powers of the Board shall be as follows :—

(*a*) to make rules under section 12 (1) ;

(*b*) to appoint examiners and to fix their remuneration (if any) ;

(*c*) to decide upon the places where and the times at which examinations shall be held;

(*d*) to publish annually in the *Gazette* as early in each year as possible the Roll of Midwives kept under the provisions of section 11 ;

(*e*) to caution or censure any registered midwife from the Roll for malpractice, negligence or misconduct, habitual drunkenness, or for disobeying any rule in force or on conviction of a criminal offence ; and also to decide upon the termination of any period of suspension and upon the restoration to the Roll of any name so removed :

(*f*) to issue and cancel certificates ; and

(*g*) generally to do any other act or perform any other duty reasonably necessary for the carrying out of the provisions and purposes of this Ordinance.

14. Any woman who considers herself aggrieved by the decision of the Board removing her name from the Roll may appeal therefrom to the Supreme Court within three months of the notification of such decision to her, but no further appeal shall be allowed.

15. (1) Where the Board has decided to remove from the Roll the name of any registered midwife, it may in addition prohibit her from attending women in childbirth in any other capacity, but such decision shall be subject to the like appeal under the same conditions as the decision to remove her from the Roll.

(2) Any woman who contravenes any such prohibition shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds unless she proves that she acted in a case of emergency and that she reported such case forthwith to the President of the Board.

16. Any registered midwife whose name has been removed from the Roll under the provisions of section 13 (*e*) shall, within fourteen days of the decision so to remove her name, surrender any certificate and any badge issued to her by the Board. Any failure to comply with the provisions of this section shall constitute an offence punishable, on summary conviction, by a fine not exceeding five pounds.

17. (1) The Board may appoint any person or body of persons to be a Supervisory Authority over any registered midwife or class of registered midwives wherever practicing. It shall be the duty of every Supervisory Authority in respect of any registered midwife placed under its supervision—

(*a*) to exercise general supervision in accordance with any rules made under this Ordinance ;

(*b*) to investigate charges of malpractice or incompetence, negligence, habitual drunkenness, or misconduct, and should a *prima facie* case be established to make a report to the Board ;

(*c*) to suspend from practice any registered midwife in accordance with any rules made under this Ordinance, if such suspension appears necessary in order to prevent the spread of infection ;

(*d*) to report at once to the Board the name of any registered midwife convicted of a criminal offence.

(2) Any Supervisory Authority may, with or without any restrictions or conditions, delegate with the approval of the Board any duty imposed upon it by sub-section (1) to any person or body of persons in any particular place or area.

18. (1) Every registered midwife shall, before commencing to practice or holding herself out to practice, give notice of her intention to do so to the Secretary to the Board.

(2) Where any registered midwife who has been practising in any place transfers herself to any other place for the purpose of practice there, she shall within seven days after such transfer give notice thereof to the Secretary to the Board.

(3) Every notice shall contain such particulars as may be prescribed.

(4) Any registered midwife who fails to comply with any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding two pounds.

19. The Board may from time to time, by registered letter addressed to any woman whose name is included in the Roll at her address as appearing therein, inquire whether she has ceased practice or has changed her residence : and if within a period of six months from the sending of the letter no answer is received thereto, the Board may erase the name of that woman from the Roll and may cancel her certificate, but without prejudice to the power of the Board subsequently to restore the name to the Roll and to re-issue the certificate if it appears proper so to do.

20. Any person who—

(*a*) procures or attempts to procure registration or a certificate by making, producing or causing to be made or produced any false or fraudulent declaration, certificate in writing or otherwise, or who aids and abets such person therein ; or

(*b*) wilfully makes or causes to be made any falsification in any matter relating to the Roll of Midwives,

shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding one year, or to both such fine and imprisonment.

THE SCHEDULE.

The City of Freetown as defined in section 5 of the Freetown Municipality, 1927.

OBJECTS AND REASON :—

The purposes of this Bill are :—

(*a*) to restrict the practice of midwifery in certain specified towns and places to qualified medical practitioners and women registered in conformity with the terms of the Bill ;

(*b*) To restrict registration to women holding special qualifications in the science of midwifery obtained in the United Kingdom, Sierra Leone, or some other British West African Colony or Profectorate : and

(*c*) To establish a Midwives Board whose functions shall be to regulate the course of training in midwifery, to hold qualifying examinations and issue certificates of competency ; to regulate the practice of registered midwives, supervise their behaviour and, where necessary, to exercise disciplinary powers.

2. It is desirable that the practice of midwifery should be restricted to qualified medical practitioners and properly trained and qualified midwives, but the Medical Authorities recognise that a long period will elapse before the latter class will be sufficiently numerous to meet the public needs. The present scheme, therefore, is not to place any prohibition upon the practice of midwifery save in certain specified places where there is a sufficient number of qualified medical practitioners and properly qualified midwives. Clauses 4 and 5 are designed to effect this purpose.

3. Clause 7 prescribes the qualifications for registration as a midwife.

4. Clause 8 enables registered midwives to sue for and recover reasonable charges for their professional services.

5. Clause 9 establishes the Midwives Board, and clauses 11 and 12 define the powers and duties of the Board.

6. Clause 14 gives a right of appeal to the Supreme Court against any decision of the Board to remove a woman's name from the Roll of Midwives.

7. Clauses 15 and 16 provide for the case of any woman whose name is removed from the Roll.

8. Clause 17 enables the Midwives Board to control the practice and conduct of registered midwives by appointing persons or bodies of persons to supervise them locally.

9. The clauses of the Bill except clause 8 are all based on similar provisions in the Imperial Midwives Acts, 1902 to 1926.

J. AITKEN,
Attorney-General.

22nd May, 1933.

Africa

The Presidential Adress

of Mr. S. D. NORTEY

The President of the Koforidua Literary and Social Club, Delivered at the Club's meeting room on the 10th May, 1933.

OFFICERS and Members of the Koforidua Literary and Social Club. Gold Coast Independent 6-5-33

THE object of this gathering as you are aware, is for the purpose of hearing my presidential address as the President of this Club. What induced me to become a member of the Club was the presence in the Club of your best brains from whom I could easily learn.

I always appreciate the Club's motto, namely, "We live to learn."

I am glad to notice that you have recognised my services to the Club.

In electing me to be the President of this Club, you have done me an unexpected *honour*. I am very grateful for this mark of confidence which you have placed in me. It is indeed very kind of you. I hold you in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer. Burns says "Where ye feel your honour grips let that aye be your border." My own modesty and perhaps the inadequacy of my qualification, however, does not permit me to share the opinion of my fitness to occupy such an important post, and I almost think my election is perhaps not a very suitable one. The need of this Club could have been met by the appointment of a capable man—a man whose opinion and experience we all respect. Johnson says "Where necessity ends, curiosity begins." If this Club had been a fighting Club, I, as one of the members of advanced age, would have said with all due deference to the Club that it was intended to use me as a cat's paw in conveying insults.

It is not my purpose to touch the history and progress of this Club. I should like to endeavour to show how the Club can best benefit you and how you can best serve it. The true criterion of a good Club is the promotion of the mental advancement of its members. In my opinion it is not advisable—much less advantageous for one to study alone, for after leaving school, whatever studies one does alone is only a reflective study—I say reflective for one repeats what one has learned previously but it is through Clubs and Societies that one builds what is called the superstructure. Roscommon says "We may revive the obsoletest words and banish those that now are most in vogue. Use is the judge, the law and rule of speech." In Clubs, we meet for the interchange of thought, the promotion of socialism and the endeavour to overcome that difficulty of speaking with success to an audience. Readiness to acquire such habits may be practised also by those who have no natural gift of eloquence. You can best serve the Club by showing your loyalty, regularity and punctuality. Be always engaged, for the greatest happiness in the world is with a mind that is always engaged. On this point Hooper says "I slept and dreamed that life was Beauty! I woke and found that Life was Duty."

Gold Coast Independent 6-5-33

I must confess that I can do the work in this Club only with your assistance. To contend that the President and one or two members can carry out the duties of this Club is like attempting to empty the sea with a tea cup.

In this connection I would mention the good work of my immediate predecessor. On the whole I owe, I think, more to the past President Mr. Edgar Okra, a man with great literary experience. In his time, the Club achieved an immense success which was due no doubt to the able manner in which he conducted the affairs thereof. His arrangements during debates lectures etc. were excellent and with his presence and that of the other members, I could boast of success in the running of the Club.

So far as difficulties in the Club are concerned, I would invite your attention to the fact that it is the duty of each older member to set a good example to a younger member. It is a fact that each member of this Club has his associate whom he usually visits, but as members of this Club we should visit one another and introduce mutual encouragement and friendly intercourse. We should each realise his own responsibility and obligation to the Club.

The success of this Club as a whole lies on me so far a I remain its president. I am therefore responsible for the removal of little troubles which are always inseparable from the working of Club.

The only promise I can offer is that I will do everything that is possible to secure the happiness of the members of this Club.

As my policy I would mention that late closing is dangerous to health and we should therefore adhere to the hours of closing and thereby gain a sound mind in a sound body. Learning is important but to me, preservation of health is much more important. My chief aim is to solicit your advice to enable me to introduce some innovations into this Club and to canvas for candidates. The general opinion to which I agree is "quality," but I may be permitted to add also that my ambition in this case is numbers and not selection, for if I had to write an expression over the doors of our meeting room, it would be "Let them all come." I personally would never underrate the value of success in Literary Clubs.

Gold Coast Independent 6-5-33

Let us play our part by endeavouring to sow the seed of the spirit of socialism for it is this spirit in the young that animates a country. We should start to make a record that will become a public property, for there are examples of things done by one man before they become the properties of the world. Dr. Samuel Johnson founded a club which became the famous Johnson's Club in London. He was the famous English Dictionary compiler.

John Wesley was the founder of the religious sect known as the "Wesleyan Methodists." Printing is now a public property. It was William Caxton who introduced printing into England and to him we owe the vast number of cheap books and newspapers to-day. Shelley is an authority on this. He says "The seed ye sow another reaps; The wealth ye find, another keeps; The robes ye weave, another wears."

I think it is possible for me to secure your co operation and assistance. Accordingly, I would respectfully ask you to continue to give your kind encouragement and co-operation. Let us unite as firmly as the bundle of the sticks of which we read and which could not be broken because they were together, but which when separated, was easily broken one by one. An old proverb says "A faithful friend is a strong defence."

There are other items on the programme to follow, but I cannot resume my chair without again thanking you for the honour, the confidence and the loyal promise to me of your co operation.

Gold Coast Weekly Press

Lesotho as our Educator

Mochoconono
5-31-33
Maseru, Basutoland.

It is a fact known from experience that as time changes, education and conditions of life change.

Past conditions: The general ideal of our education in days past could be thus summed up:

1. Pupils were allowed to study freely as far as Standard VI; this was done in all Basutoland schools.
2. Many children availed themselves of the opportunities of obtaining a Std. VI certificate, because they attended whichever school they liked, and stayed in that school until they passed std. VI according as they liked.

Present Conditions.

1. Pupils are deprived of possibilities of attending schools; hence very few can ever obtain a std. VI certificate. For that mere deprivation, fathers cannot afford to support their children in regard to foodsupply and clothing, in their long stay at remote intermediate schools such as we have to-day. Therefore lack of support, as to the upkeeping of those of their children who attend intermediate schools far from their homes—is the stumbling block.
2. There are times when young children generally like to live solely with their parents, hence they that have to be secluded inasmuch as that from their parents' company, often leave school immaturely.
3. These modern times, failure in an examination renders, at all costs, both parent and child unbearably despondent; hence no further trial nor any more schooling.
4. At times the sentiment of dislike for school gradually develops in a child who is not well supported; he or she then leaves schools, whereby undesirable mischiefs are incurred; e.g. Boys eloping with girls; girls getting pregnant; and the unusual marriages at nonage.
5. Only a very few teachers are given a heavy burden to shoulder (teachers in intermediate schools); while in by-gone days all teachers were equally burdened; yea, it stands to reason the deliberately had to be so, for they practically held the same qualifications all over as they do hold to-day. In a way, poor teachers (I am sorry to say) are left in pensive mood where they cannot help beguiling their time any how, viz. drinking intoxicating beverages etc.

Is there any marked difference between a std. VI or a std. V boy of to-day compared with one std. VI or a std. V of previous years i.e. before intermediates were established? Yes, there may be a slight difference; because as times change so does education. But nowadays we have not any pupils, who can be said to have gone as far as the standards I have pointed out.

In Butha-Buthe district where I live, there used to be not less than 60 pupils sitting for the std. VI examination—needless to make mention of standard V pupils who were far above the figures. But what are the figures like to-day? Oh, shall we be cursed!—for instance only 6 pupils sat for the standard VI written examination in that district, in 1931—4 boys and 2 girls!

I am not in a position to divulge all secrets of our educational conditions at present; but my contention is that we should be given 'open-handedly' as we are given, and we should be given—not only a few of us—but all of us. Are schools in Basutoland not for our nation? If they are; is the Basuto nation not made up parents? If therefore, our parents are the people concerned in this case, why then should they be deprived of their possibilities for sending their children to school? I say this, because even those who could educate their children to standard VI stage, when we still had the privilege in all Basutoland schools, are to-day impelled to fail at all probabilities. Thank God! that I attended school during those days when we still had ample chances to attend anywhere for any standard possible; for I certainly could not have attained to my present educational status.

Last but not least, I am in a way indebted to assert how grateful we must be to the Government for such a great endowment of blessings as of having established Government Intermediate Schools. These cannot any how be depreciated, they are a model; may they remain as such for long! I shall not be mistaken. I take it—to say that we expect them, in years to come, to coach pupils as high as std VII or higher.

Many of the Basuto young-men and women in the territory could have been at least educated to the std. VI stage; but ever since parish intermediates were founded, poor children are impeded and their privileges debarred from them Many parents no more take interest in our modern education, not because they do not like it; merely because they find it a puzzle to understand why their children should leave their homes for any long time as they are generally lonely, so to speak, in intermediates.

We need education, but it must needs help us all too in some way or another.

"It moves us not great God, I'd rather be a pagan suck-

J. E. SELIKANE.
Comrade of the Basutoland students.

This I see! What do you see?

So, now of late.

So says, 'Wordsworth.'

'One man's music is another man's noise' So said Ballard, led in a creed outworn. So, standing on this pleasant lea, Have glimpses that would make less forlorn."

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Mochoconono
5-31-33
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1. Pupils are deprived of possibilities of attending schools; hence very few can ever obtain a std. VI certificate. For that mere deprivation, fathers cannot afford to support their children in regard to foodsupply and clothing, in their long stay at remote intermediate schools such as we have to-day. Therefore lack of support, as to the upkeeping of those of their children who attend intermediate schools far from their homes—is the stumbling block.
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Africa.

"Witchcraft and African Doctors."

Gold Coast Independent
6-1-33
Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA

Sir,—I regret that some recent correspondence in your columns on the subject of witchcraft has only just come to my notice, but I trust that it is not too late to comment on "Nwigbo's" letter. Omitting the herbalist, who is really a medical practitioner, we may readily accept the distinction which your correspondent draws between the "witch-doctor" (or magician, a term which avoids an unfortunate connotation) and the "witch or "wizard." It is not so easy to follow him, however, when he states that the former enters the category of the witch, when he assumes the power of laying curses on people. Nor can I agree that he assumes this power primarily in order to intimidate the laity. Surely the distinction is that the magician is a tribal official, recognised as such and vested with certain sanctions which depend on his inherent power, whereas the witch has personal and anti-social motives, which are not recognised as valid by the community. The curse wielded by the magician is a legal instrument, which maintains and regulates the social behaviour of the community: the curse of the witch is a very different thing, since it is directed towards the gratification of personal ambitions, which do not, as a rule, conform with public interests, are secret and often sinister, and are never socially approved. It is possible that the magician may occasionally yield to temptation and abuse his power for private ends—an aberration to which our own public officials have been known to succumb; but, generally speaking, the techniques of magic and of witchcraft are so different as to make this unlikely to happen, and even if it does happen on rare occasions the general hypothesis is not invalidated by an exceptional lapse.

The second observation which calls for comment is that, to counteract and to remove the curse of a witch, the witch-doctor must do it in some material way, "and" (your correspondent adds) "to my mind the only rational way is by the use of herbs or medicine." This may be so to the mind of an African who is so deeply imbued with Western ideas and cultures as your correspondent: but is he sure that the uncontaminated African looks at it from the same angle? While drugs have their uses for him as well—indeed, the native pharmacopœia is surprisingly extensive and adequate—yet in my experience he would be the last to expect a purely material treatment for witchcraft, and in general the treatment may more accurately be termed psychological.

Certainly the whole question does not "centre on herbs," as "Nwigbo," with perhaps an excess of sophistication, suggests, and though a study of native herbal remedies would doubtless be of interest, as well as a possible benefit, to our own medical science, this has no bearing either on witchcraft or on the practice of magic.—Yours, etc.

I. H. DRIBERG.

Sir,—Many of us have read slobber recently written about the West African "medicine man." He has no knowledge of anything new to the medical or surgical science of to-day. I have sent specimens of his "outfit" home, and to the Medical Department on the spot, systematically; the result in every instance was negative.

To the editor of one important English paper, in which appeared a lengthy slobbering over "witchcraft" and advocating sympathetic treatment of the "medicine man," I forwarded a description of how I found a girl dead in the bush, the work of the "medicine man" beloved of some of our countrymen.

I have never found the "medicine man" anything but an intelligent rogue, specimens of which, in large numbers, are found in all "Christian," "refined," "civilised," "intelligent" countries. Sometimes amusing and clever, but a rogue. I do not deny that, here and there, may be found men and women possessing psychical powers.

This "witchcraft business" is staged to provide appointments or to obtain notoriety, and unless scotched, it may be as successful as the women of many countries have been in substituting for the worship of God the worship of the dog. It is reasonable to believe that this kind of "thrill" to the British public, and to the people of other countries, combined with "wise" noddings of the head, knowing looks, murmurings of "occult," something we don't understand, black magic, most mysterious," and all that, will be exploited by the astute, unscrupulous and the tender-hearted in Britain, as well as by people in the Continent of Africa, with evil results.

The man on the spot, the administrative officer, can be relied upon to take care of the safety, honour and welfare of the people committed to his charge, but his task will not be rendered the less difficult by an orgy of exaggerated thrills.

I know what I would do were I a "medicine man" being made aware of the sympathy of "eminent" and other men and women in Britain; I would exploit this knowledge to the utmost, and so he will! He won't love me when he is made conscious of this exposure, but he will admit that what I have said is true.—

Yours faithfully,
W. ADDISON

SUSSEX.

[*West Africa*].

COTTON GROWING PROSPECTS.

Sir Richard Jackson's Report.

At the recent meeting of the Administrative Council of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, held in Manchester, Sir Richard Jackson, chairman of the Executive Committee, gave a brief account of his recent tour in South Africa, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in the course of which he had visited all the Corporation's experiment stations in those countries.

He expressed himself as being very pleased with the work done by the Corporation's staff at all stations. At Barberton the work had at first been mainly directed towards the breeding of cotton that was resistant to the jassid pest. This cotton was known as U.4, and selections from it were now proving highly successful in many areas, including Nyasaland and parts of Tanganyika. Although he hardly thought the country immediately round Barberton would produce any large quantity of cotton, the work of the station was extremely valuable to other parts of Africa. Swaziland had undoubted possibilities, and the crop was beginning to be taken up by native growers.

In Southern Rhodesia quite a slight rise in the price of the commodity might well cause many farmers to grow cotton again, and if ginning charges could be reduced and some concession given in railway freight rates, these would undoubtedly prove additional incentives to an increase in the acreage under the crop. The experiment station under the Corporation's staff was doing excellent work. Nyasaland had now been supplied entirely with U.4 seed, originally bred at Barberton, but reselected at the Corporation's experiment stations in the Protectorate. It was giving very high yields, so that, despite the low price, the natives were eagerly taking up seed, and increased crops could be expected with some confidence. The Agricultural Department were encouraging cotton growing, and the area to which seed had been distributed, which had formerly been restricted on account of the low price, was now being extended again.

The Corporation had given some financial help to the Central Cotton Exchange, Durban, which it was hoped would tide it over its present difficult period. The Exchange provided assured marketing facilities to growers, not only in the Union, but in Swaziland and Rhodesia. The work was well done, and it was very much in the interests of cotton growing that this organisation should be kept in being.

In Northern Rhodesia, the Government had decided, for reasons of economy, to curtail very seriously the work of their agricultural research station. This work, in the opinion of the Corporation, was absolutely vital to the whole agricultural life of the country, and essential to any possibility of development. The Corporation had decided to represent to the Colonial Office as strongly as they were able the desirability of maintaining fully the work of the station.

GAMBIA

Population, 211,000; Capital, Bathurst; Governor, Mr. H. R. Palmer. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Rice, Kolas, Sugar, Apparel, Cement, Edible Oils, Tea, Tobaccos, Lubricating and Fuel Oils, Motors. Chief Exports, Ground Nuts, Palm Kernels, Hides, Beeswax.

Irrigation Prospects.

At Basse and Georgetown the Gambia Agricultural Department is making its first real attempts to solve the irrigation problem, which has been under discussion for 30 years. In each case a single *shaduf* is used to lift water to the land under cultivation, and the areas treated are one-third acre at Basse and two-thirds at Georgetown, each being divided into beds of 150-300 square yards and sown with suitable crops.

It is too early as yet to say what the harvest is likely to be, but the system is so simple that it should stimulate local interest as soon as full experience has been obtained in regard to soils and crops suitable for irrigation.

Administration in the Protectorate.

The introduction of local self-government, as opposed to so-called Native Courts in which the Travelling Commissioner was the real force, into the Protectorate of the Gambia was not accomplished without some fears, as shown in a petition, by the more advanced sections in Bathurst that they were about to be made subject to the rule of illiterate Chiefs.

Before the receipt of the petition, however, the second reading of the various Bills had brought amendments to the Native Authority Ordinance giving more than the petitioners had asked, for exemption was accorded not only to the usual official elements, but also to persons, born in the Gambia, who were natural-born British subjects resident in the Island of St. Mary. If, however, they held land in the Protectorate under ordinary customary tenure, the Legislative Council held that they could not reasonably expect to enjoy there privileges higher than those enjoyed by the local people, but their position would be safeguarded like that of Europeans and Syrians, who also owed a duty to the Native Administrations in similar circumstances.

The ruling, however, again draws attention to the difference in status, made prominent by the Ajayi passport case, between persons born on either side of the boundary—an imaginary one for most practical purposes—that divides each West African Colony from its Protectorate, although both are expected to develop on similar lines.

Rates at Bathurst.

Following the general tendency to seek every means of saving revenue, the Governor of the Gambia has brought in a Rating Bill for Bathurst which provides for the appointment of valuing assessors, who will keep the valuation of rateable property up to date and so avoid the many anomalies that exist at present. Various concessions are made in extending the time of payment and also in permitting payment in two instalments, but in his address to the Legislative Council on the subject, Sir H. R. Palmer pointed out quite plainly that the general taxpayer could no longer pay for amenities enjoyed solely by the dweller in Bathurst, especially when the cost to the revenue was some £32,000 per annum.

After explaining the principles of levying rates, the Governor showed that property-owners who were too poor to pay for the amenities they enjoyed could sell out and move elsewhere, a hard doctrine, but one more easy to practise in the Gambia than elsewhere, at least for those who were willing to work.

Summing up, Sir H. R. Palmer said that there were three choices. Indigent property-owners could work harder—an attainable ideal since he recalled that a cargo-boat was recently held up because it was inconvenient for persons to work it on a Saturday afternoon. Failing this, they could sell their land and move to Kombo, to which place a road was being built at a cost of £20,000, or the wealthier citizens could agree to pay a poor rate, a plan which would hardly be acceptable to them while the poor can support themselves.

The Improvement of Bathurst.

The suggestions of self-help made to the people of Bathurst by the Governor of the Gambia have not been welcomed everywhere, and a group of residents have shown themselves particularly critical of the arrangement by which the boys' elementary schools of the town were closed for a week in May to enable the pupils to carry sand from the shore to fill up low-lying sites in the town.

Obviously, such work for the community may be turned to great educational advantage, but the parents of the scholars, who in any case would probably not have understood this, have strongly objected to the scheme, for the absence of the teachers from supervision of the work robbed it, to their minds, of any connection whatever with education.

Perhaps if the critics can be brought to see that this is but an application of the principle that, elsewhere on the Coast, provides the helpful cleaning-up on "health days" and in "health weeks," the ready co-operation of all the parents will be secured. In the meantime, all interested in education could do much, by inspiring Scouts and Guides to such work, to show that the purpose is not merely to secure a form of juvenile forced labour in the Colony, but to inculcate a practical interest in public health.

The African and the Future.

After many years' experience in Africa, both in the South and West, one finds certain facts vividly impressed upon the mind, notably concerning the indigenous people of the countries one has served in, more particularly Nigeria.

It is difficult to write of the inhabitants of a country numbering 20,000,000, but first and foremost there is the vast difference between the people occupying the coastal area, those of the central portion and again the inhabitants of the North, all of whom have been drawn much closer together since modern transport conditions were introduced. The African as a type is extremely adaptable, from the "boys" who attend to one's personal needs, right up to the artisan, clerk and professional man, all of whom are assuming larger responsibilities every day. Experience teaches that continually greater trust and reliance can be placed upon him, and considering the comparatively short time he has been in touch with modern affairs, machinery and the like, it is amazing, the progress that he has made. There is little doubt that the next 25 years will see a still greater improvement in this respect, and, with fewer Europeans directing affairs, the African will gradually assume more power and control. He has good traits; he has made remarkable strides during the comparatively short time he has been in touch with our type of civilisation, but the pace has been rapid, and until recently education lacked thoroughness. The African, like many other races, does not prefer manual labour, but Government clerkships and the prestige which they confer. This, however, is gradually undergoing change, and he sees that good prospects exist in the workshops throughout the country, the mines, with contractors, or "on his own" in building, commerce, etc.

Importance of Continuity.

An important matter is continuity, more especially in the control of the larger Departments of Government.

When the incidence of leave is considered, and in some cases illness, it is essential that an officer once selected to take charge should remain in the position for a number of years. It takes the whole of his first tour to get to know the country and the people whom he has to help and control. Another year will be necessary to inaugurate any new schemes, and a further lengthy period to see them carried out and brought to fruition. There is too much changing and transfer of senior officers between Colonies; once you have selected your man, he should be allowed to remain.

Nigeria is a large enough country to warrant this procedure, and its adoption in connection with the large technical Departments would in the long run be of benefit to the Colony. Leave is frequent and officers can during their absence keep in touch with the trend of modern practice and so be up-to-date.

E. M. B.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Opening of the mines in Basutoland

The Comet
(Mochudi)
7-12-33

Mr Editor:-

Let me have space in your valuable paper to make known to the public my veiws in connection with the above burning question which seems to rage in the minds of our many men who think in terms of national prosperity and advancement: the Basutoland question is of a national importance, because of the present state of affairs: the Educated class of our men (some of them) are badly disturbed in mind and seriously annoyed because of the present happenings: The solution and remedy are greatly wanted to bring about an ultimate amelioration to our already ruined nation, the able pens are very busy in promulgating numerous articles about the Opening of mines in Basutoland. Some see the salvation of the nation through the operation of the mines in this territory; some are dead against the scheme with all their seriousness; the fact remains that the nation is passing through untold difficulties, the dreadful-ness of the situation under-which our people are labouring is beyond doubt, the danger of starvation is becoming the topic of the day; the effects of unemployment with its results is a theme in the lips of both older and younger people, the mul-titudes of men are clamouring in the camps for the doors to be opened for them to the mines in the Union. Despite all these; the space is too narrow to absorb this poor crowds: In short, I might say the nation as a whole is destute. The cause of all these is not primarily because of the present world depression but generally for the country being without industries and commerce.

Sons of Basutoland

The Comet
(Mochudi)

In an article written in Sesuto I note that one of my countrymen, Mr Nchee, writes to say our Nation is ruled or is run under the sole influence of traders and that they set the boundaries to Basuto trading. That Basuto have no say against it; or at least they are powerless. 7-12-33

If it be so, whose fault is it? Are we not timid enough to place our grievances before the right authorities? Are we not forever expecting others to lead us even though we see the road for ourselves? In fact, are we not cowards and fools enough even to build "lions" in our way of progression to frighten us and our children? Are we not delaying our Nations progress by unnecessary quarrelling amongst ourselves and blaming others instead of blaming ourselves? Do we not praise ourselves for having accomplished nothing? In another copy of 'Mochochonono' one of my countrymen said "Mpa-tsehla ha e bolae? What a phrase to follow! When I am filled with Kaffir Beer to the brim I can say the same.

Basutoland

but you all know that at that time I should be irresponsible or incapable of looking after myself and others. Let us leave nonsense. Let us reason soberly if at all we expect to solve the problem of our country. Let no mouldy notions shake off our determination to progress. Others there are who would help us on our way They must find us ready to accept their assistance. We are a young Nation and naturally we must expect difficulties but we need not stop fighting them. We must move on, toil on and make our mark.

Let us organise our Nation properly and work together. Our first duty is to face the retardative SPOOK. Resolutions must be passed and laid before the right people. Petitions must be filed in order to acquaint those in authority of our grievances. Let us use our brains, education, energy wealth and all our talents for ourselves, our loved ones and our country. Surely if we are not satisfied with our lot we know how to act constitutionally. And if so, what barriers are there? We are afraid of our self-made spook. Those who see us kneel and pray in fear of this spook laugh us to scorn! Have we ever tried any door and found it quite locked? Why have others opened it then? Those of our countrymen who do not believe in the spook are trading in the country. Kick the spook out of your road. Our rights are our rights if we claim them. "Leave the sleeping dogs alone" has been said because we are asleep and when we get up we whine. Will that save us? No. We submit too much to other people's judgments so much that we are unable to use our faculties. Sons of Basutoland! let us blame ourselves and see ourselves as others see us. We are lucky enough to have the protection we have. We are a young Nation and better make use of that luck. Let us prove to the world that we approve of the efforts of the good ministers of Religion who brought us education; and the efforts of the Sons of Great Britain who have for so long shown their good countenance to us, that we are grateful by organising ourselves as a Nation. "Self-help" be our watchword. By self help I mean usefulness to oneself and others. Despair never helped anyone out of any dilemma Rally, like your forefathers, Sons of Basutoland, and who knows, with God's help, your victory may be at hand.

J. MONAHENG

Free Lancers In Bantu Journalism

The Comet
(Mochudi)
7-12-33

When reading through the columns of Bantu papers nowadays we find that there is a new craze in the field of journalism, the craze of writing on any subject, There are, of course, those who are serious-minded and write about matters seriously affecting, and of interest to, of affairs in Bantu life for a constructive ideas.

The fact that the policy of most exploited subject see most of the Bantu papers has to be that of levelling abu changed may, to a degree be invectves, vituperations and accountable for this. But one "letting off steam" again thing is certain, for this we each other. There is far must look to the present state much of criticism and less

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When reading through the columns of Bantu papers nowadays we find that there is a new craze in the field of journalism, the craze of writing on any subject, There are, of course, those who are serious-minded and write about matters seriously affecting, and of interest to, the race. However, these are many more of an exception than the rule to the prolific free lancers with trenchant pens, whose writings cannot stand the test of reason. And if so, what interest to, or what good purpose has ever been served by criticism unless it be abuse, supported by a constructive policy or suggestion. And in connection this most far too abused people are the leaders must look to the present statemuch of criticism and less of whose policy of administering

Bantu organisations in the past has been subjected to so much criticism that nothing more remains to be said about it except to consign it to the limbo of things past and forgotten. Yet during all this time the free lancers and the intellectuals, who claim to be the men of the moment, have advanced no tentative suggestions in support of their claims but continue to find fault with the old order of things. We do not deny that much that was good in the Bantu organisations was clouded and marred by the personal ulterior motives, selfishness and the incapacity of some of the leaders in handling racial matters; far and above all, their intolerance towards each other and their inability to realise that opinions, like the minute hands of clock, differ.

While this is offered as no homily to the free lancers and the intellectuals and those who are aspiring to leadership they would be well advised to search themselves and find out whether they would not be liable to the same trivialities and mistakes as those that affected their leaders. They should realise, in effect, that the mistakes of the past have done more harm than good; that those they would lead are loathe to follow them. That it will take a man with a sane, plain, uncomplicated policy intelligible to the average individual to rally the masses to his support Further, that while the policy of the past was primarily intended for the urban and industrialised areas, the new policy should and ought to embrace even the rural areas —not as centres to draw upon when no sufficient support is forthcoming from other areas, but whose disabilities should be closely studied and an amelioration thereof sought for. Then and only then will they succeed.

AGGREY DAY IN WINNEBA

Gold Coast Independent

1933.

8-5-33

Interesting Sermons at Zion, Methodist and St. John's Churches.

In commemoration of "Aggrey Day," special divine services were held at the Wesleyan and Zion Churches under the auspices of Aggrey Remembrance Day Committee on Sunday the 30th July on which day fell the sixth anniversary of the death of the late Dr. Aggrey of blessed memory. The members of the committee attended the services with their "Aggrey badges" on. There were also a goodly number of the prominent people of the community. The Rev. Isaac Sackey, the superintendent pastor of the local Zion Church who conducted the morning service in his church preached a practical and inspiring sermon full of historical and eternal verities from 2 Kings chapter 5 verse 1. The theme of his discourse was "What constitutes real greatness." In expounding this subject he pointed out that real greatness whether spiritual, scientific, intellectual, military, financial or otherwise consisted in deliverance or service to mankind. He proved this fact diving into history, biblical and modern, how great men had delivered their nation from their states of afflictions or done service to humanity, for example, Moses, David, William Wilberforce, John Brown, Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther, John Wesley, and in the Gold Coast history John Mensah Sarbah, Casely Hayford and James Kwegyir Aggrey. The pastor further pointed out that it would seem now that in this country patriotism and philanthropy were gradually dwindling away. In this connection he said professional men and University graduates nowadays care more to seek their own interests and comforts than to use their talents in the service of their country. He even went as far as to say that some of these highly trained people instead of helping to uplift their less favoured brethren rather use their education or opportunities in cheating or destroying them. "The World", he said, "is in want in the midst of plenty because of capitalism or greed on the part of highly or fortunately placed men." He who would, therefore, be great, must be he who would denyhimself to save the interest of humanity whichwasthe be all and end all of life.

At 6.30 p.m. at the divine service at the Wesleyan Church, the Rev: A.B. Dickson, the superintendent minister, eloquently preached to a large congregation from Daniel chapter 12 verse 13 wherein he emphasised the important facts brought out in Sackey's sermon in the morning at the Zion church and proceeded to the combination of qualities of the late Dr. Aggrey his international recognition, his humility and nobility of character all of which he has left as a legacy to his people. Rev: Dickson pointed out with deep emotion how Dr. Aggrey's, people had thought him to be the man who would have saved this country, but God who knew better said in the words of his text:— *"But go thou thy way till the end be for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days"* "The world", the preacher said, "was a vineyard and the sons of men placed in it were workers." They were to do service for the relief of humanity. Dr. Aggrey received the commission to do service to his people and he was not disobedient to the call, but as labour had an end and that without rest there will be no perfection, Dr. Aggrey had to be called to his rest in order to perfect his works. The Rev: Gentleman closed by saying the Gold Coast now stood in need of well educated people tempered by inspired leadership whose examples might radiate and animate others. Both sermons were well received and we offer our sincere congratulations to the two Rev: Gentlemen.

On Monday the 31st July—Children's Day—at 3 p.m. all the local school children were gathered together at St. John's school (E.C.M.) under the auspices of A. R. D. Committee. After the singing of the Hymn—"O God our help in ages past" and prayer and introductory remarks by the Rev. Isaac Sackey as to the purpose of the meeting, the first speaker Mr. Bob. Williams took as his theme the Fanti proverb—"*Mbre abe wa ebu adan ma opro wu ara nyin.*" He pointed out in the course of a short but interesting speech that man could become master over his environment or circumstances or that what man had done man might do provided he had the right ambition and determination. He thought therefore that it was not impossible to produce an Aggrey from among the school children he spoke to even in these days of unparallelled economic depression with its concomitant hardships. Mr. Charles Swatson who followed Mr. Williams in a fairly long and inspiring speech was classical. After pointing out certain attributes of the late Dr. Aggrey which, he said, most impressed him, for example his accessibility to all sorts and conditions of people, his humility and respectfulness, to high and low and his willingness to extend help to others or to be of service to humanity. Mr. Swatson showed education to be of two kinds—the one to be acquired in school which was the foundation and the other after school days—self-cultivation which was the superstructure. In support of this statement he quoted Gibbons and Sir Walter Scott. Mr. J. Francis, the President of the Committee followed with brief but animating remarks in which he thanked the school teachers and the children for responding to the invitation of the committee and exhorted them to bear in mind what the previous speakers had said. The meeting was enlivened by the singing in turn by each of the schools, and was brought to a close by the singing of "Now thank we all our God" and the pronouncement of Benediction by the Rev. Isaac Sackey.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

NECESSITY FOR AN AGRICULTURAL BANK!

Gold Coast Independent
8-5-33
Accra, Gold Coast West Africa

URGENT NEED OF THE HOUR.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD LEAD THE WAY.

PART II.

WE need hardly offer any apology to our readers for reverting to this subject with which we dealt at some considerable length under these columns in our last issue, in view of the burning and vital importance thereof and which is accentuated by the economic fact that agriculture is the main stay and backbone of the prosperity of this country and its people. On the unique advantages of such an institution and the benefits which will accrue therefrom to our farmers and people in general all what should be said has been stated and it will be a repetition of a multi-told story were we to re-state them here. Enough has been said in making a case for the establishment locally of an Agricultural Bank and as we last observed the need for this is most urgent both for conserving the interests of farmers and developing our trade and commerce. In presenting the case for the necessity of such an institution to Government and soliciting its support to initiate the scheme, we incidentally hinted in an oblique way upon the strong influences militating against the interests of our farmers and people at the hands of those who whilst seeking to preserve and promote their own interests at the expense of our people proffer ill advice to discourage Government from taking up the scheme for fear lest such a venture might clash with their interests and so be the means of depriving them of a monopoly they have all along enjoyed without any disturbance. We still wish to impress upon Government that such fears are needless and if this is the only reason Government has for dilly-dallying in the matter, it should now rid itself thereof and act at once by giving a concrete turn to the proposal.

The Farmer's Burden.

The fact cannot be disguised that but for the Cocoa Industry this country would have been without an industry and goodness alone knows what would have happened to it and its people. When it is borne in mind that the Cocoa Industry is the only prop upon which the commercial prosperity and economic stability of this country depends and that this was started by the natives themselves without any outside assistance. either by Government or any foreign trading firm. it will be owned how much the farmer has done in helping himself and herein lies every justification for his claim to be assisted by Government. For it is a stubborn fact that others too have participated in the benefits which have accrued from this industry in which Government takes the lion's share. It is therefore only fair and right that Government should do something to revive this waning industry, whose days now seem to have been numbered. Our farmers have done remarkably well; they started on a small scale with little individual holdings which have grown now to such proportions that they are able today to export hundreds of thousands of tons annually. They cannot do much now and certainly this should not be expected from them as with the growth and expansion of their holdings their expenses and other charges have also grown in proportion. If they are to produce the best quality they have to engage labour for which they must pay the price although their product fetches them poor prices in the market. Being thus handicapped they are forced to resort to money-lenders who charge exorbitant rate of interests which they cannot help but to accept because they have no other avenues from which they can find the requisite financial assistance. This often proves suicidal to their interests. The burden of farmers has been very heavy and tottering with the overweight they are carrying they should be given the necessary help they urgently need. This need is financial and the only practical way it can be provided is by Government establishing locally an Agricultural Bank which should run side by side with the Co-operative Societies which were recently inaugurated by Government and are directed towards the same end We stated here last that although the intention behind the introduction of these Co operative Societies is good yet what the country really wants at this moment is an Agricultural Bank as the Co-operative Societies system will take too long a time to fructify. Both by policy and interest Government is bound to take up the proposal and help both the farmer and our mono-industry. This Bank should not be limited to cocoa only but should be extended to other industries thereby to encourage our people to take up other industries besides cocoa.

Government Should Lead The Way.

The deadlock which the economic crisis and trade slump has brought about can not be relieved by inertia and resting on our oars. That seems to us to be just what Government has been doing. We have got to exert ourselves and betake ourselves from the awful deadlock and muddle and as we have more than once suggested Government has got to be enterprising and venturesome, otherwise we shall be just like the rustic who wanting to cross the river before him decided to wait where he was until all the waters of the river should flow out; we shall wait till Doom's Day and there is no wisdom in this way of doing things. It is folly to keep on marking time; it is idle to sit down with folded arms and expect some sudden windfall from the heavens. What we are here advocating for is nothing strange. There are Agricultural Banks in other places supported by Government. In Cyprus for instance there is an Agricultural Bank into which the Cyprian Government sank some £300,000 so as to assist farmers and agriculture. Speaking on this topic Sir Ronald Storrs the Governor said *inter alia* that "I am convinced that the Co-operative Societies, fed by the Agricultural Bank, whose capital guarantee has been raised from £50,000 to £300,000 are among the most sure and certain signs of better times." The plight of our farmers is no less better as the majority of them are financially embarrassed and writhing under the clutches of money-lenders. It argues a reasonable conclusion that if in Cyprus where the population is far under 400,000 the Administration could afford the indigent farmers such generous financial help by sinking £300,000 into the Agricultural Bank, there is all the more reason why our Government should be more liberal to do for our farmers equal if not greater assistance as it has reaped huge benefits from our labours. The same thing obtains in the French Colonies; there are Industrial and Agricultural Banks for the benefit of farmers and just next door in Lome they have one which has greatly enhanced the interests of the farmers. Sometime in the year 1928 a similar institution known as the Land Bank was established in Kenya for the benefit of farmers and agriculture and Sir Edward Cregg the then Governor in informing the Legislative Council of the approval of the Secretary of State for its establishment suggested that Kenya could raise a loan for the purpose more than this because Government is convinced that the material position of Kenya could speak in such bold and sure terms and make such a big venture encouraged by the Colony's favourable financial position, we see no reason why our Government should be halting between two different policy from what obtains in the Are we to take it that difference in Colonial policy is based on colour? If that is so, then we confess to considerable misgiving and distrust and we say no more as we gasp for breath stunned by surprise.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

NECESSITY FOR AN AGRICULTURAL BANK!

Gold Coast Independent

8-5-33

Accra, Gold Coast West Africa

URGENT NEED OF THE HOUR.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD LEAD THE WAY.

PART II.

WE need hardly offer any apology to our readers for reverting to this subject with which we dealt at some considerable length under these columns in our last issue, in view of the burning and vital importance thereof and which is accentuated by the economic fact that agriculture is the main stay and backbone of the prosperity of this country and its people. On the unique advantages of such an institution and the benefits which will accrue therefrom to our farmers and people in general all what should be said has been stated and it will be a repetition of a multi-told story were we to re-state them here. Enough has been said in making a case for the establishment locally of an Agricultural Bank and as we last observed the need for this is most urgent both for conserving the interests of farmers and developing our trade and commerce. In presenting the case for the necessity of such an institution to Government and soliciting its support to initiate the scheme, we incidentally hinted in an oblique way upon the strong influences militating against the interests of our farmers and people at the hands of those who whilst seeking to preserve and promote their own interests at the expense of our people proffer ill advice to discourage Government from taking up the scheme for fear lest such a venture might clash with their interests and so be the means of depriving them of a monopoly they have all along enjoyed without any disturbance. We still wish to impress upon Government that such fears are needless and if this is the only reason Government has for dilly-dallying in the matter, it should now rid itself thereof and act at once by giving a concrete turn to the proposal.

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DEVELOPING A POLITICS SENSE.

Gold Coast Independent

THE NEED FOR COMPLETE SUPPORT OF EXISTING ORGANISATIONS.

8-3-33

Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

THERE is no doubt that during the last few decades the African of the Gold Coast has considerably progressed along the road towards fuller development in many ways. There is no doubt that he has been growing critical of many things which before were regarded by him with merely a passing show of interest. But the same cannot be said with truth in regard to his attitude toward politics. Generally the line of approach to the subject is more adventitious than deliberate, and the average man so long as he is not immediately and closely affected by any measure put forward by the governing body, is for the most part quiescent and inarticulate. Such a condition is indeed far from bringing about that healthy state of politics in which the governed take a lively interest in the means recommended by other people for their government. In other words the average native of this country is content to leave the conduct of his political affairs in other hands, happy in being free to continue the even tenor of his way. To be just to him, however, it must be stated that politics have never been the pastime of the masses. In every nation of the world the conduct of affairs relative to this question has been always left to the few. Yet it is evident that the Gold Coast man has been over-doing it to the point of apathy and gross indifference. It is not possible to have and to enjoy the fruits of political efforts if we are not ready to pay for same both in moral and financial support. Occasionally we are roused from our lethargy by the projection of certain Government measures which fortunately are able to penetrate in time our dulled perception with the import of their danger to our interests. It is then that we begin to look round for the means of salvation to those organisations which have once served us. But we blissfully forget that machinery that is not kept continually in proper working order, soon grows rusty with disuse.

The National Congress.

There are hardly any expressions of concern on the part of the masses that the National Congress of British West Africa has not, of late, been showing those active signs of life that it should. If there are, they are particularly inarticulate. Yet a remembrance of what the Congress achieved in wresting from the unwilling hands of Governmeut, concessions, far-reaching in their nature toward the ultimate emancipation of the aborigine from the political thrall in which he languished, entitles it to a kindlier consideration. Its present condition should evoke from grateful hearts more concern than to-day is being giving to it. By its labours the four corners of British West Africa have had conceded to them the elementary principles of popular representation in the granting of the Elective Franchise. In comparison with what yet remains to be won, the restricted representation granted the several countries on their law-making bodies may be negligible, but it should not be forgotten that the smallest breach in the ramparts of a strong and jealously guarded citadel is more than a hopeful sign that the time is not far distant when the whole fortress will be taken by storm. It is an earnest of the future and its value is not so much in its immediate magnitude as in its promise of greater things to be.

Perhaps by official decree or perhaps by their own pusillanimity African officials entertain an unholy dread of being by any means found identified with politics in any shape. Yet if now it is admitted that the door of opportunity is open to them to aspire to higher appointments in the Service, to what but the political exertions of the Congress are they indebted? This introduces the question whether such officials are justified by official restraint from supporting that which directly benefits them. To our mind there are politics of a kind which are bad, predicating the existence of an opposite kind which are good and constructive and therefore helpful to Government. If it is considered perfectly in order that officials should stand on party platforms and address electors on behalf of a candidate for election, there ought to be no bones about officials supporting such candidate on election throughout his political life by attending his meetings and advising where necessary on policy. It is indeed time that our official elements took more interest in the politics of the country.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

SIERRA LEONE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

Weekly News

5-13-33

COLOURING ORANGES FOR EXPORT.

The work begun and conducted by the Director of Agriculture has shown us that we must colour our oranges before they will be accepted in England, for the demand there is by those who think that all green fruit is unripe and therefore will not risk buying it. As the great South African expert Professor ~~H. Clark~~ Powell says (*in The Citrus Industry in Palestine*) colouring through the use of ethylene gas, or by the use of paraffin oil stoves, is not an elaborate process and is not expensive." He states further that it could be done satisfactorily by the "average grower" (whatever that may be) in Palestine; but in the first stages at any rate in Sierra Leone it will be best for it to be done centrally, under the control of the Agricultural Department.

Freetown Sierra Leone

What the Green Colour is.—The green of fruits is the same as that of living leaves, and like this it is constantly being destroyed and renewed as long as it is seen. If therefore we stop the green from being formed by any means, when that which is already there has disappeared in the usual course, it will be replaced to the sight by the yellow that already exists in the leaf or fruit. In fact we disclose the fruit ratherthan colour it.

Substances Used for Colouring Fruit.—The first people to colour fruit used paraffin stoves in which burning was incomplete, thinking that it was the heat from these stoves that changed the colour whereas it is actually the carbon monoxide and some other substances (unsaturated hydro-carbons) made by the incomplete combustion. Stoves are still used, but others employ ethylene gas (which has to be bought in cylinders, like the dentist's "laughing gas" or like oxygen) or carbon monoxide, etc., as from the stoves, but in this case in the exhaust fumes from motor engines. As our newspapers sometimes tell us, carbon monoxide is very poisonous, persons having died through inhaling the exhaust of their cars because they were careless or tired of life. We know too, that it is used in the same way for killing dogs in Freetown. Carbon monoxide from incompletely burning stoves is however obviously unlikely to be inhaled in any quantity, and in any case it does not poison the fruit for like the ethylene it simply does its work and passes on.

According to information from the Imperial Institute, to which the Director of Agriculture is indebted for useful knowledge of the subject, a later development for the purpose is acetylene gas, which we all know as an illuminent prepared from "carbide." This is generated with water in the ordinary way, and like the other gases passed over the fruit in air-tight enclosures.

According to a Report on a visit to the Citrus Districts of Florida and Puerto Rico, made for the Trinidad Department of Agriculture, fruit packers in these countries are undecided as to whether stoves or ethylene is best in itself for the purpose. Most of them employ colouring rooms or drop tents (tarpaulins) for colouring, even though conditions are such that the fruit goes yellow on the trees during part of the season. The chief matter in deciding which method to employ appears to be convenience in use.

Producing the Gas.—It would not be proper in this general article to go into details about gassing the fruit. It is hoped that inquirers will be able to get these from the Agricultural Department, which should be in a position this season to carry out the process on a profiitable commercial scale.

The kerosene stoves used are cooking stove burners of the ordinary size, one being required roughly (according to an American publiction "The Cultivation of Citrus Fruits," Hume) for each 1,500 cubic feet of room space. The stoves are made to give off an increased amount of carbon monoxide, etc., by reducing the supply of air to the flames by placing in them horizontally a strip of perforated metal, and in the most developed application of this method the stoves are used in a room separate from the colouring room, into which the gases from them are driven by a simple form of blower. This method seems now to be in common use in Brazil (which exports oranges very much like our own), from which country the Department is trying to get more detailed information about it.

The use of carbon monoxide in motor exhaust gases needs no description.

"Farming in South Africa" for January and March of this year contains very good and detailed descriptions of colouring with ethylene. It is shown that to carry this out with air-tight, easily ventilated rooms a mixture of ethylene in air 1 to 5,000 is usual. The gas is not poisonous and will not explode with air in mixtures below one in twenty, and its being about as heavy as air makes any blowing appliances unnecessary for its use.

Acetylene colouring is described in useful detailed in the "Qneensland Agricultural Journal" for September 1932. This shows that a very small quantity of the gas is needed: about one part in 2,750, or the use of 1 oz. of carbide for every seventy-five cubic feet of space. About a dozen charges are required for every lot of fruit.

Cost.—It is likely that stoving and the use of motor exhaust (especially that from a motor giving power for some useful purpose) are cheaper than the more specialized methods, inexpensive as these are. The South African authority mentioned states regarding the ethylene process: "The expense of the treatment in relation to the net financial gain of those able to make use thereof is neglible; it is not so much the outlay as the personal element which is the stumbling block in its operation." With acetylene the information from Queensland is that the average running cost works out at about one-seventh of a penny per case.

Applying The Gas.—The use of drop tents (tarpaulins) for this needs no detailed description.

The American publication mentioned above states that for stoving the, colouring room should be of brick, concrete or stone, built by itself to prevent fire, with double or refrigerator doors and an unloading platform on one side and ventilators near the floor and in the roof, the best size of each room being 3,500 cubic feet (or room for one railway car-load).

The South African journal goes into detail with sketches giving the dimensions of the colouring room. This is prescribed to have cement plastered brick cavity walls, a ceiling of floor boards air-tightened with tar and paper, doors and ventilation flaps of floor boards reinforced by strips of metal to prevent warping and air-tightened with felt, a cement floor with a slat false floor, about four inches above it, and a sheet-iron roof covered with grass or palm leaves to keep it as cool as possible.

In Queensland, if the accommodation is specially required, "a chamber having double walls insulated with

sawdust, fitted with an air-tight door and draught port on the opposite wall" is advised. Very sensibly (but ungrammatically) however it is stated: "any ordinary room lined with timber can be used providing it is air-tight." Roofing paper and hot asphalt are used in Puerto Rico for this purpose. A good size for such a room is stated to be 200 to 250 cubic feet.

It is thus seen that we have a choice for the gassing, giving equally effective results as regards the colouring, from the use of tarpaulins and the simplicity of Queensland and Puerto Rico to the comparative complexity of South Africa. Obviously in the early stages we should preferably use an existing building or buildings, or part of a building, adapting it as simply as possible and not making ourselves liable for any expenditure beyond this until we are certain of the best place and capacity of the outfit, and of the return that is going to pay for it.

Colouring is hastened by applying the gas in several short periodsinstead of one or two long ones.

"UNTOUCHABLES" IN HINDU TEMPLE.

African World 6-5-33

Strange Scene in Nairobi.

NAIROBI, May 29.

For the first time in East African history Indian "Untouchables" have been permitted to enter a select Nairobi Hindu temple. Although the trustees had locked the temple doors, they were opened to admit the wife of a high-caste Hindu. Immediately afterwards a large procession, organised by the Kenya "Gandhi Association," arrived on the scene. It included a large number of men and women Untouchables, who waited for an invitation to enter the temple. Although some of the trustees continued to oppose the entry, the majority gave their consent. A special force of European and African police were posted in the vicinity of the temple, but the large crowd was very quiet, and the "Untouchables" entered the temple without any demonstration.

A further step to carry out Gandhi's wishes was the organisation of a luncheon at the Hindu Institution at which several Hindu leaders entertained a number of "Untouchables."—Reuter.

ANOTHER EMPIRE GOLD PRODUCER.

Nigeria, which has long been one of the most important sources of Empire tin production, now figures for the first time as a gold producer, and the official returns for the first quarter of the current year given in our news columns this week will be noted with interest. The quantities of gold so far won are comparatively small, but local advices state that prospects on the Birnin Gwari field and adjacent areas in the Northern Provinces are extremely favourable. In the past gold has been recovered from alluvial deposits, chiefly in the Minna district, but experience has shown that these deposits are rapidly exhausted and are unlikely to yield any appreciable output in the future. It is only now that the exploitation of the lode formations located at Birnin Gwari and elsewhere is being seriously undertaken, and while it would be premature to express an opinion as to the probable value of the deposits at depth, it is permissible to hope that the efforts of those interested in the undertaking will result in a substantial and profitable addition to the mineral resources of what is, in point of population and potential wealth, the greatest of our African Dependencies.

The Aborigines Rights Protection Society.

Gold Coast Independent 8-5-33

Whatever sense of security is enjoyed in the right of ownership to the lands of this country, it is to the Aborigines Rights Protection Society that we are indebted. Of late years it has been sought chiefly through the agency of Government to substitute another body, that is the Provincial Councils, for this veteran body which had waged three sanguinary conflicts over certain rights of the people of this country and every time emerged victorious. What has got to be properly assimilated is that whatever its imperfections, the Provincial Councils can never exactly take the place of the Society, for the Councils are more or less Government controlled, while the Aborigines Society is free and unhampered in its work. As a result of the setting up of the Provincial Councils the Society has lost not a little of its pristine importance yet it is determined, judging from its recent activities and the elaborate programme before it, to make its voice felt with its accustomed weight in the political councils of the country. Should she be deserted in this perilous time of her existence? It is for the people now to pay that due attention to the things that matter. The need of the hour is a clarion call that would stir the dry bones weltering in the vale of apathy and indifference and re-vivify them to a realisation of their duty to themselves and to the country. We must acquire that politics sense that would make us ashamed of delegating our political responsibilities to others. We must learn to give active support, both moral and financial, to the political organisations set up to fight our battles—The National Congress, The Aborigines Rights Protection Society and if needs be—the Provincial Councils—so that our feet may in time be firmly planted on the road that leads to political manhood.

THE MARKETING OF COCOA.

Industrial co-operation, although of comparatively recent introduction into West Africa, has met with a remarkable measure of success there, and the Gold Coast cocoa producers in particular, have not been slow to appreciate and to imitate those schemes for centralisation and combination which have been adopted by various industrial groups in Europe and America within recent years. The growth of the system of collective selling has been gradually altering the ratio between the number of producers of cocoa and the number of buyers of that commodity, and the latest developments with regard to the marketing of cocoa, which are described elsewhere in this issue, appear to be aimed at the complete reversal of the old ratio. In addition to the obvious advantages to the African cocoa farmer and to the industry in general from co-operative marketing, a more centralised control of the Gold Coast crop, which represents close on half the world production of this commodity, offers promise of a greater measure of control over the fluctuations in market prices of cocoa. The low price to which cocoa has fallen cannot be attributed entirely to over-production, as the difference between world consumption and world production amounted in 1932 to only 51,000 tons, or less than 10 per cent. of the total world crop. Bear operations in America and elsewhere have been responsible to a considerable extent in keeping the price of cocoa low, and are supported in some measure by the heavy increase shown in visible stocks at the end of last year. It should not be overlooked, however, that one result of the economic depression has been that stocks of commodities of this nature usually held by manufacturers have been allowed to decrease very considerably, so that much of the cocoa afloat and in storage at ports at the end of last year would, under normal conditions, have been already purchased and held as invisible stock by manufacturers. The International Cocoa Corporation, whose activities in the Gold Coast are referred to in this issue, are understood to be seeking the co-operation of those countries which are large producers in a scheme for the utilisation of the apparent over-production of cocoa to manufacture a new and easily marketable product. Such a scheme, if successful, would lead to a closer balance between world production and world consumption of cocoa, and at least indicates an attractive alternative to the proposals now being put forward by the West Indian growers for the regulating of world supplies as a means of raising prices.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

The Case of Tshekedi

Public comment on the incident in Bechuanaland does well to be restrained until the full facts are known, which may not be for some weeks. A detailed report from the Acting High Commissioner is on its way to London, and the deposed chief is also coming to lay his case in person before the Colonial Office. Meanwhile it is worth noting a curious contrast in the public reactions to the news of the incident at home and in South Africa. Here it has been made by some the occasion for those customary little sermons on the need for upholding "white prestige," but in South Africa much of the white sympathy appears to be entirely with the deposed chief—even in Boer quarters that no one would suspect of excessive tenderness towards the native. Many questions are being asked, both regarding the merits of Tshekedi's deposition itself and regarding the methods of the official inquiry. Was it necessary, it is inquired, to uphold British prestige by dragging two hundred marines and "field howitzers" miles into a native reserve? Why was the chief refused the services of legal counsel? Is it true that his complaints to the authorities about the man Mackintosh were ignored? And if they were, how far does that excuse or condone his conduct? Why was this comparatively trumpery case made the occasion for his suspension? These are questions which the "man on the spot" (whose opinions are usually so lauded in some quarters here) is asking. Whatever the answers to them, the attitude in South Africa disclosed by them is significant.

THE SUSPENDED CHIEF

Tshekedi's Intention to Appeal

The suspension of Tshekedi, the Bechuanaland native chief, by Admiral Evans, Acting High Commissioner, is to receive the personal attention of Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions, when the papers in the case reach England. The Dominions Office is already in possession of the full text of the statement made by Admiral Evans in announcing his decision after the formal inquiry, but the authorities in London have yet to receive a full report of the proceedings at the inquiry. The present position is that Tshekedi has been suspended—not deposed—"during his Majesty's pleasure," and has therefore ceased to exercise his functions as a native chief. A suspended chief can be restored to office only by the action of the Secretary of State in terminating the suspension at any time that may be deemed proper.

The case has constitutional aspects of great importance and no action is likely until these have been thoroughly examined. Tshekedi's claim to be above the law that prohibits native courts from dealing with a European in any circumstances is the crux of the whole matter. It is suggested that the higher authorities might be disposed to take a less serious view of the case if Tshekedi made a complete withdrawal of this claim.

The official attitude in London is that it is impossible to ignore the alleged "defiance" of the rules imposed in the 1891 Proclamation on all native chiefs and courts. Apparently Tshekedi, while admitting the existence of the law, claims that he is exempt from it by special treaty rights. The authorities, however, deny that he possesses any such exceptional rights.

Another aspect of the case on which there will be a separate inquiry, is the Chief's allegation that he had made representations to the local British Administration about Macintosh's conduct and that it had refused to deal with Macintosh, who has now been ordered out of Bechuanaland.

TSHEKEDI AND HIS ADVISERS

A Deputation to Mr. Thomas?

By our Political Correspondent.

LONDON, MONDAY.

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"It seems surprising that this decision should have been announced without prior reference to the Secretary of State for the Dominions One must wait for the full account of the proceedings, but so far as the public in this country have been informed the Chief appears to have acted in the best interest of the tribe owing to the alleged ignoring of his complaints.

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Race Problem - 1933

Africa

The Case of Tshekedi

Public comment on the incident in Bechuanaland does well to be restrained until the full facts are known, which may not be for some weeks. A detailed report from the Acting High Commissioner is on its way to London, and the deposed chief is also coming to lay his case in person before the Colonial Office. Meanwhile it is worth noting a curious contrast in the public reactions to the news of the incident at home and in South Africa. Here it has been made by some the occasion for those customary little sermons on the need for upholding "white prestige," but in South Africa much of the white sympathy appears to be entirely with the deposed chief—even in Boer quarters that no one would suspect of excessive tenderness towards the native. Many questions are being asked, both regarding the merits of Tshekedi's deposition itself and regarding the methods of the official inquiry. Was it necessary, it is inquired, to uphold British prestige by dragging two hundred marines and "field howitzers" miles into a native reserve? Why was the chief refused the services of legal counsel? Is it true that his complaints to the authorities about the man Mackintosh were ignored? And if they were, how far does that excuse or condone his conduct? Why was this comparatively trumpery case made the occasion for his suspension? These are questions which the "man on the spot" (whose opinions are usually so lauded in some quarters here) is asking. Whatever the answers to them, the attitude in South Africa disclosed by them is significant.

THE SUSPENDED CHIEF

Tshekedi's Intention to Appeal

The suspension of Tshekedi, the Bechuanaland native chief, by Admiral Evans, Acting High Commissioner, is to receive the personal attention of Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions, when the papers in the case reach England. The Dominions Office is already in possession of the full text of the statement made by Admiral Evans in announcing his decision after the formal inquiry, but the authorities in London have yet to receive a full report of the proceedings at the inquiry. The present position is that Tshekedi has been suspended—not deposed—"during his Majesty's pleasure," and has therefore ceased to exercise his functions as a native chief. A suspended chief can be restored to office by the action of the Secretary of State in terminating the suspension at any time that may be deemed proper.

The case has constitutional aspects of great importance and no action is likely until these have been thoroughly examined. Tshekedi's claim to be above the law that prohibits native courts from dealing with a European in any circumstances is the crux of the whole matter. It is suggested that the higher authorities might be disposed to take a less serious view of the case if Tshekedi made a complete withdrawal of this claim.

The official attitude in London is that it is impossible to ignore the alleged "defiance" of the rules imposed in the 1891 Proclamation on all native chiefs and courts. Apparently Tshekedi, while admitting the existence of the law, claims that he is exempt from it by special treaty rights. The authorities, however, deny that he possesses any such exceptional rights.

Another aspect of the case on which there will be a separate inquiry, is the Chief's allegation that he had made representations to the local British Administration about Macintosh's conduct and that it had refused to deal with Macintosh, who has now been ordered out of Bechuanaland.

TSHEKEDI AND HIS ADVISERS

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Dear Mr. Editor, thanks very much for space allowed.

Yours truly,

THOMAS OSEI.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

THE BLACK MAN'S ENEMY

Gold Coast Independent

7-9-33

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!"

Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

By Solomon Saul Mettle,

From every quarter of the globe where Africans dwell comes the complaint that the black man's enemy is the black man. In the United States of America but for the race weakness of pulling each other down the black man's cause there would have been long ago vindicated. The same is true in the West Indies; and on the African continent we are confronted with the same canker of race weakness Sensible pioneers of our race have found out that unless and until we eradicate this root cause of African ineptitude, all our effort is but waste energy. We must therefore tackle the evil at the root and speak plainly in order that those who truly love their country and who are really seeking for its advancement may be thoroughly aware of the causes of our defeat in the past,

Take the United States for example. The disabilities from which black man in that community suffers are the common talk and concern of every intelligent African. Among leaders there are some with greater sagacity and foresight; and here jealousies are engendered with the result that the attacks that are made upon one another are not so much due to want of common ground, as to a childish feeling that Ata or Kofie as a leader may outdistance Mensah or Quao in popular estimation, and there comes in all the mischief and the waste of energy. The same is true in the West Indies, and again in Mother Africa, and nowhere in Africa, perhaps, more prominently than in the West.

Selfishness of Human Nature.

It may be said that the evil we are decrying is common to humanity at large. It may be advanced that it is due to the selfishness of human nature, which only cycles of experience can alter. Nevertheless, it is such an impediment that unless eradicated and removed, as we have said all effort is vain. In world history, turning to the advanced and civilised races, it cannot be said that in their political affairs self-interest does enter largely but while in political circles individuals seek to shine and earn popular applause, any leader would be hissed down if he betrayed the common cause.

Supposing in the last war any political figure among the political parties in Britain had set his face to thwart the considered popular view of the situation, he would have been immediately and permanently outlawed.

The habit of attacking an institution, not because there is anything inherently wrong in that institution, but because one happens to disagree or to dislike the pioneers of such an institution is a dangerous disposition which every community must strangle for it is a poisonous element which if allowed to remain in the body politic must eventually destroy its vitality.

Let us apply these considerations to the National Congress of British West Africa whose bitterest enemies have had to own that it has been the means of safe-guarding the common liberties of British West Africa: It is historical the many advantages that have been gained for British West Africans through the quiet, unosentatious efforts of Congress, yet it is apparent that there are some prominent Africans who would rejoice tomorrow, if the activities of Congress, ceased. It would not be because they do not realise the absolute necessity of keeping Congress activities alive, but for the childish reason that if Congress activities ceased, it would be keenly felt by leader Ata or Kofie against whom there is some personal animosity. That is the folly of this selfish, senseless attitude. It is like cutting your nose to spite your face, and that is exactly what a good many otherwise intelligent Africans are doing at the present moment.

Push, pull or get out of the way

They are doing their country's cause incalculable harm. They are retarding progress. They are calling upon their heads the condemnation of posterity. In the apt saying of a distinguished speaker at the second Session of Congress in Freetown, *"If you cannot push, pull; but if you can neither push nor pull for God's sake keep out of the way, for the steam roller of Congress is coming along, and if you do not get out of the way, it may crush you to powder."*

Why may Congress be compared with the steam-roller in this connection? Why, for the simple reason that its activities embody a national and a racial idea which is permanent and abiding and which will influence posterity when you and I are gone and forgotten, for the banner of liberty, the symbol of Congress, will remain forever unfurled in the history of West Africa. Therefore any of us little pigmies, who may attempt to assert himself against this almighty idea, is beating his strength in vain against an impregnable fortress.

Therefore it is that we sound the alarm once more today, and bid Africans throughout the world to close their ranks, for this is the day of Africa and the flow of the tide is with us, and trouble and confusion to those otherwise intelligent sons of Africa who recklessly go out of their way to thwart the popular cause.

These and like other examples are a bar to progress, and unless they are strangled out of existence there is no *Ethiopia* in view.

Progress in Nigeria in 1932.

SINCE the demand for economy has cut down the number and size of the annual departmental reports, the Annual Report on Social and Economic Progress in Nigeria (Col. Annual 1625, H.M. Stationery Office; 3s. net) becomes of greater interest than has been the case in the past, although, of course, matters such as social institutions, including the aims of the leading "secret" societies and clubs, can only be touched upon in the most general way.

The section on health shows that facilities for hospital treatment are steadily growing, and in addition to the 12 European and 52 African hospitals the Native Administration dispensary scheme is extending steadily and there are now 73 dispensaries in the Northern, and 96 in the Southern, Provinces, while the 14 missionary societies possess between them 13 hospitals and 17 fully qualified doctors, besides a number of workers with inferior qualifications.

West Africa

The general incidence of disease as treated at these institutions showed little change, but the need for a yet wider extension of such defensive-offensive points as dispensaries and better water services is shown by the discovery that yellow fever is widely spread among the population, that the *Ædes* index is very high in the Northern towns, and that the more closely the incidence of sleeping sickness is examined the greater is the menace found to be. These are points that primarily affect African health in the villages, and no concentration on the health of a few large centres is going to provide adequate defence against them. The control of leprosy is now well understood, and depends chiefly on sufficient financial provision being available, while it may be hoped that the medical training now made available at Yaba and elsewhere will soon begin to provide the African personnel on which public health measures in Nigeria must chiefly depend.

2-33

Research work has naturally been much reduced through financial stringency, but it is good to see that progress is still being made in our knowledge of schistosomiasis, local dietetic conditions, and in the study of the tsetse-fly and trypanosomiasis. Another extension that is of great future promise is the opening of the first two maternity and child-welfare centres in the Northern Provinces, where Moslem womanhood has hitherto proved as conservative as its menfolk.

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With regard to housing, it is interesting to read, after so many strictures elsewhere about "squalid mud-huts," that where real African conditions prevail conditions are neither bad nor insanitary. In place groups of labourers. like Lagos, the worst slums have been created, as The Nigerian Trade elsewhere, by landlords, often educated men, who July 1, gives full pa find the wherewithal to keep up their own standards production, but the p of living by the unconditional renting of compounds to interest is also being production, and in th

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has done most valuable work in the development of water-supplies, over 10,000 feet of well-shafts having been constructed. Progress in mixed farming, too, is very satisfactory, and although the number of mixed farmers, rose from three to 44 only between 1928 and 1931, it was 112 last year, which shows that at last the population has begun to believe in the system.

In regard to forestry, too, some progress is being made, not so much in regard to the European market, where it takes time for new timbers to become known, but in regard to utilisation locally. A seasoning-kiln at Ijora has been started and has proved most successful, while an impregnation tank promises to make many of the less durable timbers suitable for local constructional purposes.

In regard to education the report has little new to add, for financial conditions reduced the main policy to a struggle to maintain the general educational structure for better days. Nevertheless, a first batch of students started at the new Higher College, at Yaba, although the buildings for this will not be ready until 1934, and the education of girls in the Southern Provinces has been greatly helped by the appointment of a Lady Supervisor. In this respect it is good to read that Queen's College seems to have survived its early difficulties and is now on the road to permanent usefulness.

FLOGGING A EUROPEAN

Chief Suspended and White Man Banished

PALAPYE ROAD, BECHUANALAND, SEPTEMBER 13.

After an all-day sitting in the sweltering heat the Commission of Inquiry into the alleged flogging of a European by order of the native court of Chief Tshekedi ended with the announcement that Mr. P. W. Macintosh, the European who was flogged, would be prohibited from living in any native reserve. Chief Tshekedi has been temporarily deposed from his chieftainship pending the further outcome of the inquiry and has been ordered not to leave the limits of the Government camp at Palapye Road during his Majesty's pleasure under pain of imprisonment.

The court was held under a canvas awning, and was composed of

Captain H. P. Neale (Acting Assistant Resident Commissioner).

Mr. Liesching (political secretary to the High Commissioner).

Captain G. E. Nettleton (magistrate at Gaberones) was also nominated as a member of the inquiry, but excused himself from sitting.

The inquiry was appointed by Admiral E. R. G. R. Evans, the Acting High Commissioner.

Giving evidence of his flogging, Mr. Macintosh said that in answer to a summons he had appeared before a native court on a charge of assault. The court sentenced him to be lashed, whereupon a crowd of natives had fallen upon him and thrashed him while he was on the ground. He declared, however, that he was satisfied with the Chief's sentence and did not wish to take action against Tshekedi. In answer to cross-examination by the Chief Macintosh added that he lived with a native woman in a hut as man and wife

Chief's Submissions

When his turn came to speak Chief Tshekedi, looking cool and self-possessed and dressed in a dark suit, a white shirt, and black tie, read a long statement taking exception to the proceedings on the following grounds:—

1. That on August 23 he had sent a petition to the Secretary for the Colonies asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission to define the powers of the British Administration and of the native chief. The matter, he contended, was therefore still sub judice.
2. The court was illegal.
3. The proclamation annulling the right of Europeans to choose to be tried by a native court did not apply to the Bamangwato tribe.
4. Macintosh lived as a native and was therefore subject to native laws.
5. Despite repeated complaints to the British Administration about Macintosh's conduct no action had been taken, and the Chief was therefore compelled to act in the public interest.

Chief Tshekedi declared that he had no desire to force any constitutional issue and emphasised that he was loyal to the King and desired to assist the Administration.

The President of the Court overruled Chief Tshekedi's objections, but intimated that the Resident Commissioner and Mr. Liesching (political secretary to the High Commissioner) would investigate specially his allegations that his representations to the authorities regarding Macintosh's conduct had been ignored.

Prompted by his legal adviser, Mr. Douglas Buchanan, K.C. (who had been refused permission to conduct the defence), Chief Tshekedi put searching questions in his cross-examination of the Government witnesses. An interpreter repeated the questions and answers while the native audience listened intently to every word.

Chief Tshekedi failed during the day's proceedings to secure the Court's permission to call witnesses regarding Macintosh's character, which he maintained had compelled him to act as he did, nor was he allowed to call witnesses in support of his constitutional contention that the Government proclamation depriving Europeans of their previous free choice of trial either by native or by a magistrate's court does not apply to the Bamangwato tribe. The President of the Court explained his refusal by pointing out that the Court was merely appointed to ascertain whether Chief Tshekedi had acted as alleged.

Dr. Morgan gave evidence as to finding two weals on Macintosh's back such as could have been caused by his being struck with a sjambok or stick.

Tshekedi's secretary said, "Macintosh lived like ourselves in the native, but was of a different colour."

Mr. T. E. Bodker, a European dispenser of Serowe, said he had complained to the magistrate about beer-drinking in huts occupied by Macintosh and another white man.

Whatever the outcome of the inquiry, there seems little doubt that this matter will be taken farther, as important constitutional points are involved.

TSHEKEDI AND HIS COURT

(From a Correspondent.)

People who met Tshekedi on his only visit to England three years ago remember him as a boyish-looking negro of 25 years, who had reluctantly left his studies at Fort Hare native college to take over the responsibility of ruling his tribe until his nephew, the son of the former chief, then only five years old, should be ready to succeed.

Mr. A. M. Chirgwin, general secretary of the London Missionary Society, who during a visit to South Africa two years ago saw a good deal of Tshekedi, told me that the young chief, who, like his late father, the famous chief Khama, is a Christian, takes his responsibilities seriously. "He seems to work day and night," said Mr. Chirgwin, "and if some think he is rather conservative, I think it may be that he feels he must guard the privileges of the chieftainship for the real chief, who will take his place in five or six years' time. He is jealous for the status of the native chiefs, and is keenly aware, I know, that their authority is being gradually whittled down.

"Chief Tshekedi no longer lives in a mud hut as he used to do and as his father before him did, but has bought a European bungalow and lives in European style. When I visited him there last year," said Mr. Chirgwin, "he had a motor-car. During a Sunday service which I attended at the church—a service for which some 1,200 people had crowded into a building meant for 900—an old man fainted and was carried out. Chief Tshekedi followed, had him put into his car, and drove him to his home, where he stayed to see that he was properly looked after."

White Supremacy

THE British removed an African Chief and sent him into exile because he tried in native courts and sentenced to be publicly flogged a white British subject for sex crimes against tribal women. It is against English colonial laws for white Africans or Europeans to be tried in native courts. The British admiral sent to pass judgment upon the native Chief for violating the colonial laws in the protection of African women had this to say:

"It appears that you are an extremely capable and good chief, able to deal with your people and lead them, but you admit flogging a European after judging him in your own court. Knowing full well that you had no legal right to do this and no jurisdiction, you have set a very bad example to your own tribe and to other chiefs."

Chief Tshekedi, English educated, may have flouted English laws, but as the *Pittsburgh Courier* well says he has "set a very good example to his own people, and to other chiefs and to Negroes throughout the world."

English colonial laws take jurisdiction over Englishmen out of the hands of native courts for the very reason that Chief Tshekedi boldly took jurisdiction in the case of the man who flouted English civilization in his relations with native women. In this case it appears that white supremacy in the name of higher civilization is a hollow mockery.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

What The Bantu Reads

Gold Coast Independent

AN interesting enquiry into the question of what the Bantu Native of South Africa reads, or would read, supposing books of his choice were made available, has been carried out by Mr. Maurice Webb, a prominent Quaker in South Africa, who is chairman of a committee formed to administer a Carnegie grant of £500 for the provision of books for non-Europeans in Natal.

Mr. Webb is in London on his way to U.S.A., under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation, to study adult education. To a correspondent who saw him he described an experiment in the circulation of book boxes among African students at a number of educational institutions.

"The administration of this experimental lending service," he said, "was undertaken by Miss M. C. Hewitt, the Librarian of the Municipal Children's Library at Durbas. An initial stock of 346 volumes was purchased and these were sent out, in boxes of 60. At the end of three months, the book boxes were called in. The books were found to be in excellent condition; many of them, indeed had not been opened! It was evident that a careful investigation was needed into the kind of book required, and this Miss Hewitt and I undertook. We visited Schools and institutions of various types, interviewing headmasters, teachers, students, librarians, missionaries and others. We found a certain amount of interest in the book lending scheme but it was quite evident that the Bantu Native had not yet acquired the reading habit. The idea of reading as a leisure time occupation is new to them. If they read at all, it is generally not for any pleasure they may get out of it, but for some useful purpose which the ability to read may serve. Often too, they have little leisure time. Few Natives possess books of their own and what books there are in the schools and training institutions are often kept carefully under lock and key! If our non-European library service can awaken in these native people a desire to read and capacity for enjoyment in reading, it will accomplish much. But this will be no light task

"With the Indian community in Natal it is different," Mr. Webb went on. "The reading habit has already been formed, and there is an eager demand for a book service. Owing to poverty, reading among them is restricted to books which can be bought in very cheap editions and the need is simply for the free loan of better books.

"The difficulty of providing an adequate collection of books for the African lies in discovering what books he will read if he can obtain them. The librarian seeking to arrive at an idea of the African's reading interests is faced by a dual problem. In the first place, English is a foreign language (and there is not sufficient reading matter in Zulu); and in the second place, the whole subject basis of most English books is also foreign. The expedient of treating the African as a child does not solve the problem. The code of the English nursery is emphatically not that of the African boy of 16. This was illustrated by the Zulu schoolboy who returned "Peter Pan and Wendy" to the library with a request for a book in 'firm English.' It is only by constant personal contact between the local librarians and those who borrow the books sent out that we shall eventually discover what the Natives reading interests are.

Meanwhile, during his tour of investigation, Mr. Webb asked a number of Natives what books they had, and what they would like to have included in the book boxes and the answers were illuminating. A teacher at a Zulu night school had not heard of Dickens, had tried to read a Shakespeare play, but given it up and wanted adventure stories, told in simple English. A lay preacher said he had only a Bible and some religious books. Another teacher had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin' and part of the 'Life of Livingstone' and Booker Washington's "Up from Slavery." A young woman teacher said she had no books and could not afford to buy newspapers. She was therefore doing no reading at all. She expressed a desire for love-stories. At a co-educational training school there was a demand for books of verse, books telling of other lands, of earth, the stars and animal life, of the lives of successful men, especially of the dark skinned races, and finally of books written in "fine English," which, Mr. Webb explained, means high-sounding verse or prose.

At an Indian night school where he asked each student to name a book which he would like to have included in a book box, the list included "Arabian Nights," the "Tarzan Books," "Alice in wonder land," Three Musketeers," "Coral Island," Scott's Novels, "All Quiet on the Western Front" and the works of Rabindranath Tagore.

What is needed most in this matter of books for non Europeans, in Mr. Webb's view, is more real fellowship between Europeans engaged in educational and social work and the Natives with whom they have to deal. The few cases of real interest in books which we discovered among Natives, he said, was found to have its root in an enthusiasm for reading on the part of a teacher or social worker which the Native had been privileged to share. Mr. Webb criticises the rigid separation in some Mission Stations of the Natives from the European staff, who live in cultured homes which the Natives do not share.

RESTORATION OF ASHANTI NATION

By J. K. POKU

HAPPY life, hope and confidence are gradually returning to the people of Ashanti.

Gold Coast Independent

For the past few months since it became common knowledge that Ashanti would be restored to her former prestige and power amongst the Nations of the world, there has been a jubilee of rejoicing in the country, far and near.

The atmosphere has also been tense and fraught with happy songs of men and women who witnessed those days of yore, and who can testify to the truth of what a happy unit the proposed one will be as compared with that of the past; we are told that it was pleasant to see Ashanti in her glory, but it must be pleasanter still to be an eye-witness to her return in a civilised and christianised manner to power and charm.

8-12-33

National consciousness that was once highly valued, and as a result of the split of the nation into many divisions, was numbered amongst the things that have been, is now gradually returning, and the questions uppermost in many an Ashanti mind are: What will the restoration mean to Ashanti; knowing as we do that things are not what they were, and that the old order has changed and is giving place to the new?

Gold Coast Independent

At present we are compelled by force of circumstances to acknowledge the new order of things whereby we are taught to despise our social institutions manners and customs as things of which to be ashamed; yet it is plain to every rational being that there are certain things in our institutions, manners and customs worthy of conserving and not detrimental to progress. Will the restoration bring in its train an improved dignity and authority to be sufficiently able to wield a scattered and discontented people into a happy nation in order to march the onward move of the other nations just bourgeoning from a deep sleep?

Our Chiefs, it is certain, will hail the restoration; although among sheep there are wolves, but in the majority of cases our Chiefs are loyal subjects of our revered Golden Stool and the British Government, therefore a change for the better in the present administration, as is being proposed will not be anything like an uphill task.

Here and there, as a result of the new lease of life attendant upon the new order of things, are petty differences of feelings existing amongst our Chiefs which are hindering our progress as a

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Gold Coast Leader 8/12/33

Mr. Webb is in London on his way to U.S.A., under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation, to study adult education. To a correspondent who saw him he described an experiment in the circulation of book boxes among African students at a number of educational institutions.

"The administration of this experimental lending service," he said, "was undertaken by Miss M. C. Hewitt, the Librarian of the Municipal Children's Library at Durbas. An initial stock of 346 volumes was purchased and these were sent out, in boxes of 60. At the end of three months, the book boxes were called in. The books were found to be in excellent condition; many of them, indeed had not been opened! It was evident that a careful investigation was needed into the kind of book required, and this Miss Hewitt and I undertook. We visited Schools and institutions of various types, interviewing headmasters, teachers, students, librarians, missionaries and others. We found a certain amount of interest in the book lending scheme but it was quite evident that the Bantu Native had not yet acquired the reading habit. The idea of reading as a leisure time occupation is new to them. If they read at all, it is generally not for any pleasure they may get out of it, but for some useful purpose which the ability to read may serve. Often too, they have little leisure time. Few Natives possess books of their own and what books there are in the schools and training institutions are often kept carefully under lock and key! If our non-European library service can awaken in these native people a desire to read and capacity for enjoyment in reading, it will accomplish much. But this will be no light task

"With the Indian community in Natal it is different," Mr. Webb went on. "The reading habit has already been formed, and there is an eager demand for a book service. Owing to poverty, reading among them is restricted to books which can be bought in very cheap editions and the need is simply for the free loan of better books.

"The difficulty of providing an adequate collection of books for the African lies in discovering what books he will read if he can obtain them. The librarian seekieg to arrive at an idea of the African's reading interests is faced by a dual problem. In the first place, English is a foreign language (and there is not sufficient reading matter in Zulu); and in the second place, the whole subject basis of most English books is also foreign. The expedient of treating the African as a child does not solve the problem. The code of the English nursery is emphatically not that of the African boy of 16. This was illustrated by the Zulu schoolboy who returned "Peter Pan and Wendy" to the library with a request for a book in 'firm English.' It is only by constant personal contact between the local librarians and those who borrow the books sent out that we shall eventually discover what the Natives reading interests are.

Meanwhile, during his tour of investigation, Mr. Webb asked a number of Natives what books they had, and what they would like to have included in the book boxes and the answers were illuminating. A teacher at a Zulu night school had not heard of Dickens, had tried to read a Shakespeare play, but given it up and wanted adventure stories, told in simple English. A lay preacher said he had only a Bible and some religious books. Another teacher had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin' and part of the 'Life of Livingstone' and Booker Washington's "Up from Slavery." A young woman teacher said she had no books and could not afford to buy newspapers. She was therefore doing no reading at all. She expressed a desire for love-stories. At a co-educational training school there was a demand for books of verse, books telling of other lands, of earth, the stars and animal life, of the lives of successful men, especially of the dark skinned races, and finally of books written in "fine English," which, Mr. Webb explained, means high-sounding verse or prose.

At an Indian night school where he asked each student to name a book which he would like to have included in a book box, the list included "Arabian Nights," the "Tarzan Books," "Alice in wonder land," Three Musketeers," "Coral Island," Scott's Novels, "All Quiet on the Western Front" and the works of Rabindranath Tagore.

What is needed most in this matter of books for non Europeans, in Mr. Webb's view, is more real fellowship between Europeans engaged in educational and social work and the Natives with whom they have to deal. The few cases of real interest in books which we discovered among Natives, he said, was found to have its root in an enthusiasm for reading on the part of a teacher or social worker which the Native had been privileged to share. Mr. Webb criticises the rigid separation in some Mission Stations of the Natives from the European staff, who live in cultured homes which the Natives do not share.

RESTORATION OF ASHANTI NATION

By J. K. POKU

HAPPY life, hope and confidence are gradually returning to the people of Ashanti.

Gold Coast Independent 8-12-33

For the past few months since it became common knowledge that Ashanti would be restored to her former prestige and power amongst the Nations of the world, there has been a jubilee of rejoicing in the country, far and near.

The atmosphere has also been tense and fraught with happy songs of men and women who witnessed those days of yore, and who can testify to the truth of what a happy unit the proposed one will be as compared with that of the past; we are told that it was pleasant to see Ashanti in her glory, but it must be pleasanter still to be an eye-witness to her return in a civilised and christianised manner to power and charm.

National consciousness that was once highly valued, and as a result of the split of the nation into many divisions, was numbered amongst the things that have been, is now gradually returning, and the questions uppermost in many an Ashanti mind are: What will the restoration mean to Ashanti; knowing as we do that things are not what they were, and that the old order has changed and is giving place to the new?

Decay, Modernity, Restoration

At present we are compelled by force of circumstances to acknowledge the new order of things whereby we are taught to despise our social institutions manners and customs as things of which to be ashamed; yet it is plain to every rational being that there are certain things in our institutions, manners and customs worthy of conserving and not detrimental to progress. Will the restoration bring in its train an improved dignity and authority to be sufficiently able to wield a scattered and discontented people into a happy nation in order to march the onward move of the other nations just bourgeoning from a deep sleep?

Our Chiefs, it is certain, will hail the restoration; although among sheep there are wolves, but in the majority of cases our Chiefs are loyal subjects of our revered Golden Stool and the British Government, therefore a change for the better in the present administration, as is being proposed will not be new lease of life attendant upon the new order of things, are petty differences of feelings existing amongst our Chiefs which are hindering our progress as a anything like an uphill task.

But if any difficulty is met. which is not sure to be met, it is because of the freedom of action and movement which out Chiefs have enjoyed for a considera ble length of time, and therefore they would naturally object to being subjugat ed to a higher Power for the better administration of the Country, and which will inevitably ring out the old bitter animosity and dissension among them.

The fight for the national right has been relegated to the back ground of things that don't matter, and no longer do Chiefs shoulder their responsibilities for which they were created rulers over their fellow human beings, but rather want their material weifare assured.

The reason for this new spirit amongst our Chiefs is not difficult to find out. It is due to the absence of a recognised leader of Ashanti as a Nation, and now with the return of her leadership in the person of Nana Ossei Agyeman Prempeh II, it is confidently believed that order, faith and justice would return to the ancient land. which is now the butt of much clumsy ridicule amongst the nations of the world.

DEATH OF KING FEISAL

The news of the sudden death of King Feisal of Iraq, which occurred from heart failure on Friday morning at Berne, came as a great shock to his numerous friends in Great Britain.

Although he had been confined to his room for some days his death was unexpected. It is understood that his Foreign Secretary, General Nuri Pasha, was with him when the end came.

At the end of June, King Feisal paid a State visit to England, and after staying as guest of the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace for a few days he made an extended tour of the industrial areas and spent some time with friends in Scotland. Afterwards he left for Switzerland, where he was under medical care, but he returned to Baghdad on the 2nd August, as his presence there was considered desirable in view of Assyrian trouble. He remained in his capital despite ill-health until the 1st September when he left by an air liner to resume his cure in Switzerland.

King Feisal was 49 years old. He was the third son of Husein Ibn Ali, Grand Sheik and Emir of Mecca, afterwards of Hijaz. He gained great distinction during the war for when his father raised a standard of revolt against Turkey he led many daring raids into and behind the Turkish lines.

Having been freed from Turkish rule, Iraq after the war was recognised as an independent state with Great Britain as mandatory power. In August 1921, Feisal was elected and proclaimed King of Iraq. In December 1927, a treaty was signed between Britain and Iraq by which Britain undertook to recognise Iraq as an independent State. As a sequel and on the advocacy of Britain Iraq was admitted to the membership of the League of Nations in October, 1932, when the mandate was terminated.

King Feisal's body was on Friday embalmed and will be taken from Berne, to Baghdad. At Brindisi it will be placed aboard a British cruiser and taken to Haifa, where it will be transferred to a Royal Air Force machine which will carry it to Baghdad.

The cruiser will leave Brindisi on Monday. Jafar Pasha the Iraq minister in London visited the Foreign Office on Friday morning, and is later leaving for Berne.

King George's Message.

King George has sent the following message to the King of Iraq: "The Queen and I have learnt with profound regret of the sudden and unexpected death of your illustrious father, His Majesty King Feisal, whom we so recently had the pleasure of welcoming as our guest and we would ask Your Majesty to accept our heartfelt condolences on the grievous loss which you and your Royal house and people have sustained through this melancholy event.

"At the same time I take pleasure in offering to Your Majesty my cordial congratulations on your accession to the Throne, together with my heartiest good wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your reign.

Lord Allenby's Tribute.

London newspapers pay a warm tribute to the late King, both as a soldier and a statesman, and recapitulate his brilliant share in the Middle East campaign,

Field Marshal Lord Allenby, who commanded the forces in Palestine during the War, and who was attached to Feisal's staff during his recent State visit to London, described him as a loyal friend, a charming personality and straightforward man, a very good soldier and an able politician. Lord Allenby added that the King was not well during his visit to England, but felt that his duty called him back to Baghdad. "I suppose he sacrificed himself to his country. A King has to do that sort of thing," added the Field Marshal.

The New King.

In Baghdad on Friday the late King Feisal's son, Emir Ghazi, was proclaimed King of Iraq.

He is 21 years old and was educated in England at Harrow.

When the late King left for Switzerland a few days ago he appointed the Crown Prince as Regent. In accordance with Arab Custom Emir Ghazi was proclaimed King at a simple ceremony, and the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber, and Cabinet Ministers afterwards took the Oath Allegiance.

The public were notified by a salute of 101 guns. (B.W.P.)

Race Problem – 1933

Africa

Native Institutions In British West Africa.

Gold Coast Independent

8-26-33 Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

By Dr. Norman Leys, M.B. etc.

During a recent visit to West Africa what surprised me most was to find that the various indigenous Governments, whether called Kingdoms or States or Tribes, did so little for the people and left so much to British Governments. The things everybody wants, education of all kinds, roads good enough for motor traffic, agricultural grading and marketing for example, are done and given, not by the people's own institutions but by the foreign British institutions. And everybody thought that quite natural, so that as naturally everybody looked for more and better social services to the Legislative Councils.

When I asked people, whether African or European, why that was so, why when they had State Councils and other such bodies of which they professed to be proud, nobody tried to make them really useful, I could get no rational answer. So I shall propound one myself, knowing it cannot be more than partly true and hoping others with more knowledge will give me and your readers fuller and truer answers.

It seems to be the fact that the constitution and functions of these State Councils—I shall use this Gold Coast term to include all the indigenous national or tribal governing bodies—have remained without change for a century or more. The methods by which they are elected are the same. And the things they are expected to do are the same. That is surely a very extraordinary state of affairs. I doubt if it exists in any other part of the world except in such places as Thibet and Abyssinia. That very fact is my answer to the question that everyone in West Africa seemed to think so strange.

The reason that in nearly every country the political institutions have changed enormously during the last hundred years is that duties expected of them have changed enormously. In few countries then did there exist a national system of education, in none were there motor lorries or organised marketing. And when people found their old institutions couldn't give them the new things they had come to want, they either made new institutions or, as was more natural, changed their old institutions so as to adopt them to the new functions they were wanted to serve.

So our next question is to ask why it is that in West Africa modern social needs are served, not by modernised indigenous institutions but by institutions that are not only new but alien. I think there are three reasons. First, almost all the men who have represented Britain in Africa wanted to have all the power in their own hands. They had no faith in the capacity of Africans to govern themselves. They thought it is best for them to remain under authority. So they did all they could to preserve indigenous autocracies, and even make them absolute as no native custom they formerly were not. Second, Africans themselves have too often been satisfied with and even proud of the appearance of independence, when more and more the real work of society, the doing of the things modern men and women most want, was slipping into the power of foreign authority. They have often felt flattered when Europeans told them their institutions and customs were "Really African" and just as good as anything in Europe, better indeed, in Africa. Whereas they ought rather to have felt insulted to be told that it wouldn't be natural for Africans to give up beliefs and laws and habits that Europeans themselves used to have long ago and since abandoned. My third reason is by far the most important. Modernising is a very inadequate word for the changes that have been going on in practically all the world outside West Africa. What has really been going on is the shifting of power sometimes gradually sometimes by leaps, from the few to the many, from kings and nobles to the common people. That shift has not gone on uniformly. A nation has sometimes reversed the process. Germany has just done that; and France did the same in 1815. In fact the change from monarchy or oligarchy to democracy is more evidently going on in Asia than in Europe. We all know that those who govern in Africa discourage democratic ideas, and even venture to get people to suppose they are living under a democratic system. If that is the case, if Africans are always going to be satisfied with what satisfied their great grandfathers, then they will prove right those Europeans who have a poor opinion of their capacity and look on them as inferiors.

The brilliant work in Tanganyika of Sir Donald Cameron and Mr. Philip Mitchell, who succeeded in adapting tribal Governments to perform some of the modern functions I mentioned earlier proves to my mind that all that Africans elsewhere need is intelligent encouragement in order to develop their institutions in the same way. But I am afraid that reforms, in West African State Councils, are so long overdue that they will have to be drastic when they come about.

If I am wrong, will someone else answer the question why it is that schools and colleges and all the other needs of modern life are provided, in British West Africa, not by the people's own Governments, but by foreign British Governments?

Chief Tshekedi Reinstated.

The late R. E. Dennett, good friend and untiring student of Africans, used to say that it was all very well to talk about trusting the man on the spot, but what about trusting the *men* on the spot? Mr. J. H. Thomas, who as Dominions Secretary has, except Parliament, the last word to say in the matter, has with equal promptness and wisdom decided that not Admiral Evans, the Acting High Commissioner—"Evans of the Broke," as the sillier sort of London newspapers have irrelevantly had it to the point of weariness—but the leading Europeans of Bechuanaland and that part of the daily press of the Union which is in the most responsible hands, to say nothing of public opinion here, should be listened to in passing judgment in the Tshekedi affair, and he has reinstated the Chief.

West Africa

10-30-33

This result is in keeping with that spirit of fair play among British people both here and in Africa, which was instantly offended by the first hasty decision. The incident will lead to good if it leads certain British Governments in Africa to probe and reform a system which with equal unfairness and illogicality holds Chiefs responsible yet denies them all freedom of action.

London, England

As to the accompaniments of the "trial," the howitzers and the Marines and the rest of the pantomime, perhaps the kindest reflection of those of us who recall the Admiral's superb courage and resourcefulness in the Great War, and before it, is that he was apparently as complete a stranger to political conditions and needs among the Bechuanas as he was to fear of his country's enemies in the War.

Africa's Early Books.

With reference to a note in WEST AFRICA of September 16, Dr. Werner tells me that it is not quite accurate to say that the first book in a Bantu language was published in Angola in 1642, for she says:

"The *Doutrina Christaa* ("Christian Doctrine") of Father Marcos Jorge was translated into *Kongo* (the late Dr. Bentley thought, the dialect of Sonyo) by Father Matheus Cardoso, in 1624, under the title: *Mulongwi achristao waludipilwa mumwanu akubobaya kuwutula muna kulonga o aleque.*

10-30-33

The book referred to by your contributor would be a similar work in Mbundu, by Fathers Paccanio and De Conto, 1642. The copy in the British Museum belonged to Southey, and has his autograph, dated Keswick, 1810."

The Himan Estate and Refractory Tenants.

Gold Coast Independent

8-26-33

Fruitless Litigation Not the Only Way

(From a Correspondent)

Twifu, Aug. 4.

Mr. Joe E. Arthur and his staff who started the counting of cocoa trees at one penny per tree, and collecting of all tributes and tolls for Himan Estate, from Nfuom (Denkera) have now reached this place, being boundary between the Himan Lands and Morkwa Lands.

Mr. Arthur, it is understood, is the son of Mrs Janet Alliswall Arthur of the Himan Estate and grandson of late Francis Emmanuel Wood alias Akoto Kodwo, Omanhene of Akwamu.

It is rumoured that the Morkwa people intend to take legal steps against the owners of the Himan Estate or Lands. The legal papers upon which Mr. Arthur is basing his claim are genuine, as the boundaries in the Certificates of Purchase etc. clearly show from Obudaim stream on the south to River Prah on the North and it would be advisable if the Morkwa people will not pursue such groundless and fruitless litigation.

Accra Gold Coast
West Africa

Some of the tenants at Twifu are illadvising the Morkwa people but it would have been far better and sensible if the parties can be left alone to fight their own battles instead of taking sides.

The question of ownership to this piece of land is a simple matter which can be determined without trouble and if the Commissioner, Central Province and District Commissioner can invite both parties together and settle the matter amicably, the few pence in their hands can be saved. The claim of Morkwa people over this piece of land is false and shaky and if the Political Officers fail to save the situation, they will ever remain on the notorious rock and cry in the clutches of the owners of the Himan Estate.

The Akwapim people who have bought Lands at Twifu and its neighbourhood and those tenants who have secured plots at Twifu should not allow themselves to be fooled again by the Morkwa people. To remove any doubt from their minds, D. Myles Abadoo Esq. B. L, and Messrs Hayfron-Benjamin & Co., Cape Coast or J. B. Aikins, Receiver or Manager, Himan Estate will show them all necessary papers to their satisfaction, and to avoid having any further dealings with the Morkwa people and at the same time save their monies being wasted on fruitless enterprise.

"A stitch in time saves nine"

Letter to Citizen of Some

Dear Citizer,—In reply to your so called advice contained in the Gold Coast Independent of July 29, I have every reason to feel sorry that our Some State owns a citizen so shallow-minded like yourself. From the contents of your advice one can see clearly that you are a slave born trying to claim citizenship of the remarkable Some State.

If you were aware that Government grants to Schools are only intended for the payment of the teachers' salaries but the Managers of Zion Mission Keta have been using them for building up mansions for litigations and for other business transactions you could no have suggested a further union of the Agbosome School teachers with the Keta rootless Zion, to baffle the mind of the general public. It is only an incarnate fiend like yourself elsewhere that can regard you as a sensible and sympathetic man in this case of ill-treatment to teachers.

3. You may be right if you say some thing in favour of Zion because you are a nuisance to the world yet Zion harbours you with all your moral defects which eventually corrupt the whole of the Zion Churches and Schools of the Keta District.

4. You suggested our application for a Manager for the Zion Schools at Agbosome rather than substitute them with Some National School; but were you hibernating during the seventeen years Zion established in Agbosome? You are the only man, I am sure, who did not investigate to know the real cause of the adverse condition in which our teachers are thrown. Had you known anything about the founding of the Agbosome School, you would not have ejaculated such a bombastic nonsense one never hoped for. Your are hereby referred to the report of the interview held in the District Commissioner's Office at Keta in connection with the School published elsewhere and there you will see that you are a buffoon.

5. It is high civilization and sound education the Some State is craving for and since Zion wilfully meant to bar her in this respect, we do not care for the thousand and odd years she established here; we threw her away with her trail of iniquities so that the National School should wave her proud banners.

6. To conclude, it is hereby pointed out to you that you are a cannibal and a flying fugitive falsely claiming the citizenship of Some and to prevent much being voiced out about you and the Zion Mission in the future, you are cautioned never to hail cut points of national significance in such a trifling manner.

The Bechuana Incident.

Public opinion generally is so united in favour of Chief Tshekedi that there is little to add on the personal aspect of the case, unless it is Sir Abe Bailey's extraordinary suggestion that by withholding justice from him Europeans in Africa are somehow being saved from being made to walk the plank in the near future. His views seem more likely to bring that future nearer still!

West Africa

Interest is shifting rather to the whole question of administrative policy. Should Bechuanaland remain under the Dominions Office, being administered by Chiefs and officials working more or less independently of one another, or should it be transferred to the Colonial Office, and given the chance to evolve true indirect rule on lines that have proved successful alike in Nigeria and in Tanganyika?

18-30-33

To West Africans there seems only one solution, the creation of an evolutionary rule with suitable European advisers to help behind the scenes. Any other course is likely to lead in due course to absorption by the Union and to the many complications caused by its illiberal policy towards Africans.

10-30-33

It has been urged that the Protectorate is too poor to pay for the necessary services, but surely, with suitable safeguards, as in Sierra Leone, it would be found possible to work the mineral wealth, and in any case if a mandated area like the Cameroons or Togoland cannot be run on self-supporting lines it should be found possible to find a grant-in-aid also for one of our older Protectorates.

Lord Olivier

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

SIERRA LEONE

Population, 1,768,479 ; Capital, Freetown ; Governor, Sir Arnold Hodson. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Coal. Tobaccos, Apparel, Flour, Bags and Sacks, Liquors, Chief Exports, Kernels, Kolas, Ginger, Palm Oil, Gold.

The Police Force.

The first report on the Police Force to be signed by Capt. P. T. Brodie, who succeeded Major Hampden King as Commissioner during the year, shows that this body continues to improve in quality. Out of the 264 constables in the Force, there are now 182 literates to 82 illiterates, which is a noteworthy change on the conditions of a few years ago. Men holding good conduct badges numbered 120, and although seven were forfeited during the year, this again was but a small number in comparison with earlier years.

There was a considerable reduction in the cases of crime reported to the Police, the number of cases being 1,355, or 523 less than in 1931, and of the 1,245 persons actually tried, 1,090 were convicted, which speaks well for the investigational side of Police activities. Considering the stringent times through which Sierra Leone has been passing, the reduction in crime is noteworthy, and speaks well both for the people and for the vigilance of the Police. May it continue through 1933 !

In the finger-print department, 615 new prints were taken, bringing the number of such records up to 14,708. The value of these prints is shown by the fact that with their aid no less than 273 previous convictions were proved against prisoners. Other activities of the Police included the registration of 66 aliens, bringing the number up to 1,515, the boarding of 609 steamers, night and day launch patrols of the harbour at Freetown, the registration of 74 motor vehicles, and attendance at 10 fires. In addition, 1,470 dogs were caught and impounded, but although a number of critics have tried to prove the unpopularity of this measure, it is illuminating to note that only 125 of the animals were claimed by owners.

The Wilberforce Hall.

A question in the Freetown City Council by Dr. Pratt elicited information concerning the Wilberforce Hall which is of special interest in view of the various suggestions that have been made regarding some lasting local memorial of the Wilberforce Centenary.

It appears that the City Council are the trustees, but that the trust consists of land and building, with no funds. During the past three years revenue has varied from £234 to £147, and expenditure from £314 to £192, the average deficit being £77 a year, which has been met from City funds. Here obviously is an opportunity for endowment which should take precedence even of the proposal to extend the size of the Hall, for it may thereby be possible to avoid such a rise in the rates of hire as would be prohibitive to all but the most wealthy, or most speculative, of those who now hire the building.

Africans Helping To Perpetuate The Offensive Policy.

Some years ago the Gold Coast Cinema introduced what was termed "European Night" into the running of their shows. Only Europeans are admitted on these nights and Africans whatever their qualifications and social standing are decisively shut out. The West-end Cinema Palladium has followed suit and is now running "European Nights." One bright spot in this hateful business to which particular mention must be made as supplying the exception which proves the rule, was the occasion of the concert given by Mr. Amu at the house of the Honourable Colonial Secretary, Mr. Stafford Northcote, C.M.G. Here all the invitees took their chance of the seats as they arrived and no discrimination was made between white and black. As has been pointed out this is but an exception. But the most reprehensible part and one that cuts to the quick, is the part that Africans play in the perpetuation of the evil. For most of them have so fallen in with the idea, that they apparently could not see the studied insult underlying it. These Africans make no hesitation in seating white and black differently even at functions which they themselves control. Why the Palladium should institute a "European Night" it is difficult to say; but actions such as this tend to defeat the aims and objects of the minute of His Excellency the Governor in which he called upon every member of the European element in the country to mingle and associate with the people so that a better understanding of their mutual points of view might be established. Although its intents and purposes were something quite different, it is abundantly evident that this recommendation of His Excellency's possesses in itself, in a remarkable degree, the means of providing the first step towards the abolition of segregation and a return to more natural relations between the two peoples. It is therefore the undivided duty of every African who calls his soul his own, to strenuously set his face against it and refuse to lend himself willingly to the perpetuation of this partition wall; for it was built up on a foundation of egotism, self-conceit and calculated insult to the African and its continued existence must at all times stir up in him a sense of offence and hate which no wise Government would view without apprehension. Every moment that we supinely bow to it makes its eradication more difficult. Both the European and African communities in their mutual interest must start now to set this matter right.

SEGREGATION.

HOW WE HELP TO PERPETUATE IT.

Gold Coast Independent 8-12-33

ALL the evidence goes to show that that unnatural division of the communities, i.e. those composed of Africans and Europeans into water-tight compartments known by the descriptive name of Segregation has come to stay. Its protagonists generally of the so-called superior race, doubtlessly intend that it should endure indefinitely, and they lose not one of the opportunities that present themselves, to consolidate it, by the simple process of accustoming both themselves and those against whom it is set up, to this embodiment of insult and contempt of one race for anothor by constant practice. But what do they find in segregation? What exquisite pleasure and profit do they draw from wounding the sensibilities of a sensitive race whose qualities and feelings are more or less a closed book to them? Nothing but the unsatisfying pleasure which egoists set up to excite a sense of superiority over others in the breast of the meanest of their kind. To cover up this disgusting self-conceit, health reasons have been naively advanced as an excuse, but the history of the relations between black and white especially in America and the West Indies directly discounts it. During the days of slavery the blackman in the Western Hemisphere, although regarded as little more than a chattel was yet a member of his master's household in daily and hourly association with him and his. The Whiteman's children were nursed by the Black Mammy who even suckle them on her breasts. These slaves formed the servant class and went about their business in close association with their masters and mistresses during their sleeping and waking hours. Then there was no talk of health being jeopardised by their proximity. It was after the emancipation following the Civil War when the erstwhile slave now became a freeman and legally the equal of his erstwhile master that segregation with all its disgusting and vicious Jim Crow discriminations in railway cars, in places of amusement and even in churches began to take shape.

The Spread Of The Virus.

The poison began to be introduced into Europe at first gradually and insidiously as to be hardly noticeable. A definite turn however became apparent during the war when American troops, introduced into England and the Continent in their hundreds of thousands, applied what may be termed the 'mass inoculation' of their ideas as to what the relations between white and black should be. That the infection was very real was proved by the series of racial riots in England, particularly in the districts of Salford, Glasgow, Cardiff and Liverpool in 1918. By this time it had already been introduced into Africa at first tentatively and then openly. Since then development has proceeded as every human institution consistently pursued betimes develop for good or for ill, and to-day we are faced with segregation at almost every turn, particularly at functions in which the two races take part. This apart from the segregation in residential areas with all what it entails in a disparity in the allocation of public funds for the care and maintenance of the areas both sanitarily and aesthetically. There is segregation in churches, at sports meetings, in cinemas and at concerts and other places of amusement. A few instances of this arrangement which is particularly galling to the African will serve to illustrate our point. In the Holy Trinity Church in this city the foremost seats are reserved for Europeans, and sidesmen take particular care that no dusky worshipper gets into any of them especially when a few whitemen happen to occupy them. In the Roman Catholic Church of the "Sacred Heart" the same arrangement prevails and white worshippers are separated from the black. At the recent sports meeting in aid of the Red Cross Fund at the Technical School ground, even plumbers, carpenters, painters and clerical assistants, because they happen to be white, found accommodation on the raised dais, while the African Ruler of the town was stowed away somewhere, as well as many important members of the community [illegible] learned professions and otherwise comparatively higher in the social scale.

Race Problem – 1933

Africa

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE COLONIES.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY'S COLONIAL POLICY.

IDEALISM POSSIBLE OF PRACTICAL APPLICATION.

AT a recent Party conference of the British Labour held at Hastings, a report of the programme outlining the policy the party will set itself to in the administration and development of the vast Colonial Empire, if returned to power at the next elections was issued. Under the heading of "Socialisation and Self-Government our contemporary, "The African World" has given a comprehensive summary of the report, which we have extracted and published elsewhere in these columns for the benefit of our readers. The items of this far-reaching programme embrace the policy relating to Land including Native Ownership, Co-operative Agriculture, Labour and Taxation, Education, and Trade and Commerce.

Apart from the items of reforms under the several heads enumerated, the policy in its generality of purpose has all the colouring of an honest revolutionary process to be introduced into the conditions of administration of territories inhabited by what are called subject races. It is sure to set aflutter the political dove-cotes of the other two great political Parties in Britain who have had the alternate running of these Colonies for so long? as if the sentiments expressed and implied by this Labour Party manifesto have not been the same as that which both Conservative and Liberal statesmen have given voice to in one way or another both before and since the war.

Among the important statements in the report are the following "Labour pledges itself as soon as it is in power, to accelerate the process of turning the Colonies, Protectorates and Territories comprising the four British West African Colonies, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar in the East, Somaliland and Sudan in the North-East and Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in Central and South Africa, into self-governing units. Obviously having in mind the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants in territories already enjoying self-government, such as South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia the following safe-guard is introduced :— "The party would take the steps necessary to give self-government and "responsible government" in Asia and African territories only if at the same time the franchise could be given to the native inhabitants on the same terms as to European minorities, and only if it was assured that the native inhabitants would have an effective voice in the government of the territory."

A Utopian Ideal.

It is impossible at the moment to gauge the mind of the British public in respect of these statements of policy but we can already hear with our minds ear, the sniggerings of party politicians over what they would term a Utopian ideal, impossible of realisation at least within the next five hundred years. But what is an ideal, and what is its purpose. All the great movements of reform in world affairs have been ideals nurtured in the minds of a few seekers after truth and righteousness. Without the innate promptings of noble ideals there would have been none of those free institutions on which the Britisher prides himself so much; there would have been no celebration of a Wilberforce Centenary, there would have been no Magna Carta, and the niches of those great-souled patriots scattered so profusely along the pages of Britain's history, who bled and suffered for the cause of Freedom, and Liberty for the oppressed, would have been empty. It is therefore a sign negativing the idea of the utter absence of nobility of character and purpose in those controlling world affairs, if men can still be found unashamed to reach upwards to the clouds of idealism and draw therefrom inspiration and vision to guide their feet along the tortuous paths of a world overwhelmed with selfishness, avarice, oppression, rapine and the depredations of the stronger over the weaker.

Taking An Honest View.

Whatever politicians might say against this Labour Party manifesto, if anything is certain in this world of uncertainties, it is that whether the sentiments are Utopian or not it cannot be denied that the territories concerned will one day have their own governments run and effectively controlled by the aboriginal inhabitants. Further, it has been the professed object of British statesmen that they are in Africa for the purpose of leading the backward races to the state where they will be able to manage their own affairs. It is therefore to be assumed that there is implied by this an identicality of aims which make any opposition to the terms of this Labour manifesto something not only inexplicable but also opposed to reason. If there is a difference in the Colonial policies of the parties, it is that where the Liberal or Conservative statesman has considered all his duties discharged when he made an occasional speech in this strain, Labour has collated the points into a definite programme of policy to be followed with that singleness of purpose necessary to arrive at a real achievement of the end. In other words while the other parties would not willingly hasten the day when the subject races should come into their own, Labour on the other hand proposes to work definitely for a speedy consummation.

The times in which we are living call for all that is honest in every human endeavour, particularly in politics; for too long have vague and doubtful conventions under an atmosphere charged with suspicion and distrust, and shallow and unmeant promises been allowed to make confusion worse confounded in a world where all interests are at cross-purposes. If the other political parties in Great Britain are really honest and sincere in their professed presence in Africa and wherever else Britain holds dominion, opposition to the Labour programme will be very conspicuous by its absence, and whether it be Labour or Conservative or Liberal that is in power the peoples of these territories will not be left merely with hope to sustain them, but will be imbued with that confident trust in the conviction that instead of grasping imperialism, the very spirit of democracy is working in their interest.

Race Problem – 1933

Africa

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE COLONIES.

Gold Coast Supplement 9-30 33 Acera Gold Coast West

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY'S COLONIAL POLICY.

IDEALISM POSSIBLE OF PRACTICAL APPLICATION.

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The Bamangwato
The Comet
9-20-33

Chief Tshekedi suspended from his duties and banished

Mochudi,
Masera
Palapye Road,

As Vice-Admiral Evans arrived on the ground at a quarter to two, it is reported that a salute of 19 guns was fired from the three howitzers.

Tshekedi with his Native advisers, stood, hat in hand, in front of a raised dias as Admiral Evans read his proclamation. The Natives, who stood in large groups behind Tshekedi, watched in respectful silence as Admiral Evans told what was the Government's intention in regard to them and the future of the Bamangwato.

After reading his proclamation. Amiral Evans left the parade ground in a motor-car, and drove into Serowe town to the Resident Magistrate's house. A few minutes later he was followed by Tshekedi, who sat in the back of a car between two police officers. Admiral Evans is flying back from Serowe.

HIGH COMMISSIONER READ HIS PROCLAMATION.

Addressing the lekhotla from the dias attended by an escort of seamen and marines drawn up on each side; the High Commissioner said:—

"Tshekedi Khama, as His Majesty's High Commissioner I have come to address you before your people. You have been acting Chief during the minority of Seretse, who is hereditary heir to a great tribe, mainly kept great by your father and Seretse's grandfather, Khama. Although you are known to be a decent, clean living man, clever, and a man of education and great intelligence, you have frequently flaunted the administration, while professing loyalty and allengiance to the King, in whose name I appear here today.

"You admit flogging a European, after judging him in your own khotla, knowing full well that you had no legal right to do this and no jurisdiction over him. Your duty as acting Chief was to set a good example. You have not set a good example. You have set a very bad example to your tribe and to other chiefs.

TSHEKEDI'S CHARACTER.

"I have already had to reprove you in the short time that I have held the office of High Commissioner, although you made full and proper apology. A very great deal of trouble has been taken in your case, in order that you should have full justice and that any extenuating circumstances regarding your action in flogging this European should be taken into consideration. Very thorough inquiries have been made as to your character and also as to the way in which you yourself have studied the interests of your people. From these inquiries it appears that you are an extremely capable acting Chief, quite able to deal with your people and to lead them, but it appears that your overmastering passion is your selfishness and your study of your own personal rights and privileges.

TWO EUROPEANS ORDERED OUT OF RESERVE.

"You have not always acted in the interests of your people, nor have you worked in harmony with the Administration and without this harmony and co-operation, the Administration to which you profess allegiance cannot hope to function. I tell you that your action may-in flogging a European has aroused general indignation, notwithstanding the character of the European you flogged. I am satisfied that the man is not a fit person to live in the Native reserve and I have this day given orders for this man and one other to be ordered out of the Native reserve. If they re-appear in this reserve they will be punished according to law.

TSHEKEDI SUSPENDED.

"In addition to other punishment, normally you would have been fined 300 head of cattle. I shall not inflict this fine, but for the deliberate and flagrant violation of the Protectorate law, well known to you, I shall suspend you from the exercise of the functions of acting Chief at His Majesty's pleasure and you will not be allowed to reside in the Bamangwato reserve.

BANISHED.

"Tshekedi Khama, I direct that you shall reside at His Majesty's pleasure in the Tati district, excluding the Native reserve. Your tribe must now return peaceably to their homes and in due course elect an acting Chief in your place and a Council to work with him. The name of the acting Chief is to be bumitted to me as High Commissioner for approval.

"Finally you men of the Bamangwato tribe, I call upon you, in the name of His Majesty to conduct yourselves well and in accordance with the customs and best traditions of the great tribe to which you belong. In conclusion, I wish to impress upon you the necessity to work loyally with the Administration and to follow the advice and guidance of the Resident Commissioner and his officers."

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

MR. G. QUAYE ON EDUCATION IN NIGERIA.

Gold Coast Independent

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS.

19-30-33 Accra Gold Coast

9-30-33 West Africa.

HOW THE GOLD COAST COMPARES WITH NIGERIA.

IN an article published in our last issue, bearing the caption of "Education In Nigeria," Mr. G. Quaye of the Higher College, Lagos, gives us his impressions of Educational Development in Southern Nigeria during the last ten years. As he rightly anticipates. Gold Coast readers, and in fact the entire Gold Coast public, are greatly interested in all matters pertaining to Education and Educational Development in Nigeria. For the Gold Coast people regard the people of Nigeria as their real brothers, being members of the one and the same African race, whose aspirations and hopes, economic, political and otherwise, are common and whose destiny is one and the same. Whenever the welfare or security of Nigeria was threatened by any external forces, whether it be at the hands of Government or from any other quarters, the Gold Coast people had always rallied round as faithful and true allies to champion their cause; Nigeria has also been equally staunch and steadfast in her fidelity to the cause and welfare of the Gold Coast people. In 1929 when the fate of Education in Nigeria was threatened and the Nigerian Government sought to lower the standard of Education in Nigeria by scrapping the Oxford and Cambridge Locals and substitute the efor another local test, a hue and cry was raised by the Gold Coast people and Press and as a result of the bold stand that was taken against the movement, the proposal was dropped and made to die a natural death. We are indebted to Mr. Quaye for his impressions and congratulate him for the pains he had taken to keep our readers and public informed of what has been taking place at the other end. His effort is invaluable to us as it serves the useful and practical purpose of an opportunity to fire our zeal and enthusiasm in pressing forward to attain the goal ahead by profiting from the successes of Nigeria and learning from her failures.

Three Ways To Earn A Living

Ten years ago, the son of poor parents in Nigeria who was compelled by financial reasons to leave school earlier than he should, had one of three ways open to him to earn a living to keep body and soul together; he had either to become a clerk in the Government Service or one of the Commercial firms where he was lucky to get an opening, or to become a teacher, or take up a trade, may be a tailor, carpenter, shoe maker or painter. There were no facilities to qualify on the spot in any of the professions. unless he chose to go in for the ministry, where the local Missionary Bodies could accommodate him. Missionary Bodies such as the C. M. S., the Wesleyan Methodist Society, and the Roman Catholic Society did a good deal of poineering work in education and established several seminaries and institutions all over the country where sound education was given to the youth of Nigeria. These provided Secondary Education for boys and the prominent seminaries were the C. M. S. Grammar School, the Wesleyan Methodist High School, now known as the Methodist Boys' High School, the Roman Catholic St. Gregory's Grammar School, all at Lagos, and the Hope Waddel Training Institute at Calabar run by the Scottish Presbyterian Mission; in addition to these there was the King's College at Lagos, a Government institution, which is more or less a finishing school and is regarded as the premier school in Nigeria. These Missionary Societies had also training centres where teachers and catechists were trained; all these still exist and good work is being done therein. They are assisted by Government by financial grants made from year to year and these in addition to the other local schools owned by Government, namely, elementary schools established in different places all over the country, have been providing education for the boys of Nigeria to meet the demand made by Merchant houses and Government offices for clerks as well as teachers for the Bush Schools, whilst others went in for the Medical and Legal professions. Thus were the exigencies of local conditions met; but it was soon to be found that it would not be practicable to put new wines into old bottles; the times were changing and they required new and changed conditions.

The New Era

The new era was ushered in when Mr. E. R J. Hussey was appointed as Director of Education for Nigeria; this was begun by the amalgamation of the two Departments of Education under one Head and it was at this stage Mr. Hussey made his influence felt by enunciating a new educational policy. What he set himself to solve was the big and fundamental question which was to be the basis of the new educational policy to be evolved, namely, Could not the African be trained in his own country and amidst his natural surroundings in those arts and sciences upon which the industrial system and the life of the modern world were based? From this time the educational policy took a distinct and different shape and turn. This was considered a serious invasion of European preserves as it meant that in course of time efficient Africans would have to replace European Officials in filling some of the higher posts in the Civil Service which had hitherto been held only by Europeans. This new educational policy tallied with the policy of the new Governor Sir Donald Cameron; an earnest of Government sincerity in this wise was given when in 1931 an Engineering Class was started with twelve boys who were promised Higher Posts in the Public Works Department after they had qualified. Extensive buildings are in the course of erection to be used as Higher College where Engineering, Science, Medicine, Agriculture etc. will be taught.

Ten Years Of Progress

Ten years ago science was not taught in any school in Nigeria except the King's College; today it is taught in all the Secondary Schools and an Organiser of Science who tours the Provinces has already succeeded to make Provincial Headmasters take keen interest in science; ten years ago there were not more than five Secondary Schools of note in the whole country; today they are more than nine; ten years ago there was no Government School for Girls; today Queen's College is the premier Girls' School; today the C. M. S. and Methodist

Mission have jointly established a College at Ibadan for training women teachers.

Our Views And Impressions

Interesting and informative as are the impressions of Mr. Quaye on the ten years of educational progress and development that have been made in Nigeria, notwithstanding the fact that his views are those deposed by one of the men on the spot, yet to one standing far off who carefully watches the course of events in matters educational and one who has interested himself in the educational problems of the day, after very close comparing of notes, it will be admitted that there is ample room for considerable difference of views. Situated away from the scene, yet we have closely followed the trend of the educational problems of Nigeria and from our own views on the matter, we are convinced that the case made by Mr. Quaye is true in part yet incomplete in its entirety. From the impressions made by Mr. Quaye one will be tempted to believe that this progress which he speaks of has been steady and smooth; this is misleading: for the fate of education in Nigeria has now and again been threatened by the educational authorities of the Nigerian Government we would instance this by referring to the proposal made by Rev. W. W. Peacock, the European Principal of King's College sometime in 1929 to scrap the Oxford and Cambridge Locals and substitute therefor what was termed "The Nigerian Certificate Examination," against which a serious protest was lodged and in connection with which several mass meetings were held. This is a sure indication that all had not been well with education in Nigeria. It would, however, be interesting to know what Mr. Hussey's policy for the future of Elementary School boys who leave school at Standard 6 is going to be.

Some Features Of Importance

As we have already stated the Gold Coast is thankful to Mr. Quaye for the interesting observations he has furnished us and apart from other considerations there is much the Gold Coast can learn from what is going on in Nigeria. First and foremost the serious attention that is being paid to the teaching of Science in all the Secondary Schools in Nigeria is a feature of importance that should be emulated in the Gold Coast, in view of the fact that Science is playing a far larger part in industry and general progress than any other subjects at present taught. The division of study, to wit, the division into Modern and Classical in the Higher Colleges thereby making the progress of the student easy and in conformity with his future occupation of business, is another important feature to which attention should be given in the educational policy of this Colony. There are those who disagree with too early specialisation in schools; but the fact remains that knowledge in all branches of education has so accumulated that it becomes a waste of good time to specialise in every study. Another feature in the educational policy of Nigeria which it is worth while to emulate is the organisation by Government to teach suitable lads in Nigeria some of the professions. It would be interesting to compare costs to see how much Nigerians are paying for these advantages. Already the cost of education in this Colony is very high and were we to derive such valuable advantages Nigerians have been enjoying, we wonder how much we shall have to pay. We are almost sure that Nigerians are not paying as much as we are doing at the present and here is another important point which our Educational authorities must consider.

A Vital Stage In The Education Of The West African Colonies

The educational problem of the British West African Colonies has been daily assuming sharp and complicated proportions; so acute is the situation that all who have foresight can discern at once some cloven foot which seeks to curtail the educational standard. In Sierra Leone this evil force was scented when about four or five years ago an effort was made to demolish the Arts Course at Fourah Bay College. We in this country have similar bitter experiences and cherish well grounded suspicions and misgivings in regard to Government Educational policy. Educational progress has been retarded by frequent restrictions made in the form of Educational Codes such as that of 1925 the effect of which has been disastrous. Similar Codes have been introduced in Nigeria designed to lower the standard of education, an example of which is that which resulted in the closing down of a large number of "Village or Hedge" schools, thereby creating a situation which Honourable Dr. Adeniyi Jones once described as one which bids fair to defeat its objects by increasing the very illiteracy it was intended to diminish. In Nigeria as in the Gold Coast, Government control of education has been too rigid and this has been a positive hindrance to progress. Had this been otherwise, the outlook would have been far better. Africans have got to know the value of education and it is now too late to attempt to deprive them thereof. By interest and policy Government has got to give them the best British education; if this is withheld from them, they will be obliged to go elsewhere to get what they want and they may seek it from quarters with an anti-British bias. It is a moral duty which Government has contracted from which it cannot back out now; it is a political and economic duty and a sacred responsibility which constitutes a good challenge to its good conscience and good faith.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

SOUTH AFRICA

White Justice

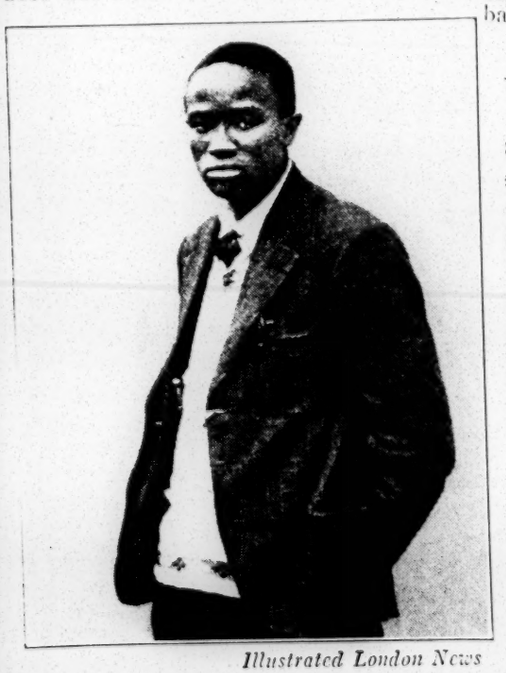
Because soot-black young Chief Tshekedi of the Bamangwato tribe ordered a white man flogged, he was banished from his country by Vice Admiral Edward Radcliffe Garth Russell Evans, Acting High Commissioner for Bechuanaland. (TIME, Sept. 25).

Because the white man, one Phineas Mackintosh, was admittedly guilty of debauching native girls, fair-minded Britons stormed in protest and when the young chief left his native village for temporary exile the wives of white settlers rushed forward to shake his hand—a tribute to native rectitude unprecedented in the annals of South Africa.

Last week Admiral Evans was back in Bechuanaland. Thousands of grinning black tribesmen gibbered and cheered as he received Chief Tshekedi. Under the same withered figtree where the sentence of suspension had been read, the Admiral cleared his throat:

"Tshekedi," said he, "your banishment was pronounced solely because the law does not allow native courts to try white men even though the white men are living in tribal territory. We have had no thought that the white man in the case did not deserve the punishment. . . . In view of your statement that you will always work in harmony and loyal cooperation with the administration His Majesty's Government have terminated the period of your suspension."

Inky black and proud of her son Chief Tshekedi, the Dowager Queen Semane of the Bamangwato tribe beamed upon Admiral Evans, sure that she had influenced King-Emperor George V to reinstate her son. When Tshekedi was disciplined she cabled to Buckingham Palace, "O King, release for me the boy!" Actually King George signed the order reinstating Chief Tshekedi on the advice (i.e. instructions) of his Dominions Secretary, bluff, hearty James Henry ("Jim") Thomas, onetime engine greaser.



Illustrated London News

CHIEF TSHEKEDI

He was called back to the figtree.

DISPLACEMENT OF NATIVES.

Sir Lionel Phillips' Criticism.

In a statement issued to the South African Press on mail week, Sir Lionel Phillips criticises the proposal of the Minister of Labour to train poor whites as a means of their replacing natives as labourers.

He asserts that the proposal is impracticable, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and gives his reasons for this view.

Sir Lionel contends that, beyond a safeguard against miscegenation, no barriers should be erected against any of our inhabitants entering any sphere of husbandry or industry.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE BECHUANALAND CASE.

The Bechuanaland case has proved a fruitful topic, in this country and throughout most of Africa, for correspondence, comment, and criticism. In the prominence which has been given to secondary issues raised during the inquiry at Palapye Road, or which have since arisen, there lies a danger of the original and basic issue of the whole case being lost to sight. The revelations made at that inquiry regarding the mode of living of Macintosh created a not unnatural revulsion of feeling and produced a considerable degree of sympathy for Tshekedi. The charges levelled by the Chief at the local European officials of evasive inertia in dealing with his request for the removal of Macintosh have also been widely quoted in his favour. Divorced, however, from all matter of sentiment and examined free of all colour bias or other form of partiality, the problem with which Vice-Admiral Evans was called upon to deal with dignity and decision resolves itself into a straightforward issue although one, none the less, of serious import. Tshekedi's position as acting Chief of the Bamangwato was based upon a treaty, one clause of which stated clearly and unequivocally that under no circumstances have native courts in the Protectorate any jurisdiction over Europeans. The High Commissioner's ruling was required on the question as to whether the action of Tshekedi, in sanctioning the trial and sentence of a European by the *Kgotla* constituted a violation of the terms of this treaty, and only one answer was possible. Britain's respect for treaties she has made, whether with foreign countries or with dependent States, has been demonstrated in the past beyond any shadow of doubt, and on occasion at very great cost. Strict adherence, under all circumstances, to the terms of treaties we have made with them is a vital factor in the confidence reposed in British rule by our Colonies and Protectorates in all parts of the world, and it would be fatal policy to allow this confidence to be undermined by permitting any latitude in carrying out their obligations by the other parties to such treaties. Tshekedi's action cannot be condoned on any grounds of ignorance or misunderstanding. He is well educated, and, having had legal training, was fully aware of the legal remedies to which he had access when dissatisfied with the behaviour of any European or with the measure of support accorded to him by the British resident. Apart altogether from any further investigation which may or may not be called for as a result of the Palapye Road Inquiry, there could have been no alternative finding but that Tshekedi had broken one of the important conditions of the agreement made by this country with Britain and recognised by him when appointed Regent. The fundamental factor of good relations is the inviolability of treaties. If conditions are harsh, or bear unfairly, the offending conditions can be modified by mutual consent. The tearing up of "Scraps of Paper" is, on the other hand, contrary to all law and to the maintenance of civilisation.

THE BECHUANALAND CASE

TSHEKEDI BANISHED TO FRANCISTOWN — PROPOSED VISIT TO LONDON

Tshekedi, the acting chief of the Bamangwato—who was suspended last week as a result of the inquiry into the flogging of a European—was removed last Saturday to Francistown, in the N.E. district, where he will be given land to live on.

In reply to request made by Tshekedi to the High Commissioner for leave to go to London to lay his case before the Government, the chief was informed that his request had been referred to the Secretary of State for the Dominions.

Vice-Admiral Evans, who arrived in Cape Town on Monday, said he could not make any statement. He added, however, says the Cape Town correspondent of "The Times": "It's easy to stand on a pier and criticise the handling of a ship, but the captain alone is responsible." The High Commissioner's office has issued a statement to the South African Press emphasising that Tshekedi has been suspended during his Majesty's pleasure, not deposed. Deposition would amount to permanent removal from the regency. The statement adds that all the circumstances of the affair are being reported to the Dominions Secretary.

Since it seems that all is quiet in Serowe, the naval detachment was expected to leave Palapye Road for Simonstown on Monday. Mackintosh, the man ordered to be flogged by Tshekedi, and one of his friends, named Macnamee, have been given notice to quit Bechuanaland.

Choice of New Regent.

The Bamangwato, after two days' discussion, chose Seragola to fill Tshekedi's place. Seragola is a young man, but has had experience of chieftainship, since last year he acted as chief whenever Tshekedi was away. There is no significance, states "The Times," in the long discussion before the new chief was elected, for native discussions are always long. The election of Seragola will be confirmed at a full meeting of the Bamangwato tribe on October 11, when the new chief's council will also be elected.

Appeal to the Crown.

Tshekedi's mother, the Queen-Mother of the Bamangwato and widow of King Khama, has addressed an appeal to His Majesty, through the Administration, on behalf of her son. In this she appeals for the Royal intervention and for the restoration of her son.

A letter from Sir Herbert Stanley, the High Commissioner, who is at present on leave, dated August 31, was published in the South African Press on Monday. This letter was a reply to a request from Tshekedi to be told where he stood. In reply to Tshekedi's fear that communications to his detriment might have been sent to the Government, and that the arguments which he had put forward for consideration might be construed into disloyalty to the King, Sir Herbert Stanley says:—

"You need have no apprehension on that account. I assure you that there is no doubt in my mind, or that of the Resident

Commissioner, or the Office of Administration, as to your loyalty to the King and His Majesty's Government. I assure you that if, as High Commissioner, I should have occasion to make complaints about your conduct in the discharge of the duties of Acting Chief of the Bamangwato, I should not fail to communicate to you the grounds of any such complaint before taking action in the matter."

Report to Dominions Office.

According to "The Times" Parliamentary correspondent, a report has been received at the Dominion Office from the Acting High Commissioner in South Africa in which, it is understood, he gives a brief statement of his reasons for suspending Tshekedi from his acting chieftainship. A longer and detailed report which will be sent, probably by air mail, will arrive in the course of the next few weeks.

The Episcopate of West Africa.

In an interesting account of the West African episcopate in the October "W.E.A. Church Magazine" (24, Grey Street, Newcastle, 3d.), the Bishop of Lagos shows how, from the one diocese of Sierra Leone, created in 1852, the following five dioceses have grown: Sierra Leone, with one bishop; Liberia, with an American bishop and an African assistant; Accra, with one bishop; Lagos, with a European bishop and assistant and two African assistant bishops; and the Niger, with a European bishop and European and African assistants. Since 1854 the total African clergy in these groups has risen from five to 230.

The Bishop of Lagos, who has recently visited the African Churches Mission in Liverpool, says that Mr. Ekarte, the superintendent, is doing most useful work with the co-operation of helpers from the University. Funds are provided by, *inter alia*, many missions in West Africa and by Achimota College.

The latest "Mfantsipim," the magazine of the well-known Methodist school at Cape Coast, reports a number of recent improvements, including the installation of electric light and the beginning of the building of the new main block and hospital. The account of the sports shows that many new records (for the school) were created, and there is a most interesting section devoted to articles by scholars past and present, specially instructive being the account, by one of the latter, of the group-atmosphere in which the Akan youth is brought up under the present family system.

The Rev. Father Harrington, Provincial of the Anglo-Irish Province of the African Missions Society, arrived at Liverpool on Saturday by the Accra, after a year's tour in Nigeria and Liberia. In an interview, Father Harrington said that Nigeria felt the present world depression acutely, but that the readjustment to a more normal course was desirable. The prosperous period had been beneficial as the authorities had opened up the country by roads and railways. He also paid tribute to the educational developments now being carried out by the Government.

IT'S A LONG ... from Broadway to Bechuanaland but the jump is worth making to consider the banishment and return of Tshekedi, the native chieftain. Although Tshekedi's authority extends only among his Bamangwato tribesmen, and not to Europeans, he tried a white settler and sentenced him to be flogged for offenses against native women. For this the chieftain was banished by the British High Commissioner of the protectorate after a spectacular trial. But the banishment aroused much criticism among European elements in South Africa, especially among the missionaries, who contended that the flogged man had got what was coming to him. Hence London recently ordered Tshekedi's reinstatement. The significance of the incident lies in its revelation of changing conditions. A quarter of a century ago neither of the major events would have been dreamed of in a region under British rule. The flogging of a European by order of a native would have been almost inconceivable, and had it occurred, the continuance in office of the man responsible for it would have been impossible. But Britain's far-flung line of world imperialism has had to give way. The "white man's burden" has been x-rayed and found to be mostly a moral justification for commercial greed—a rationalization of the need of a hard-pressed capitalist industrialism to exploit the last corners of the world. Not only have the "lesser breeds" revolted against Kipling's phrase but those for whom the creed was written no longer believe it either. The doctrine of the "white man's burden" and the industrial system which it sought to justify have both been crumpled by the march of events.

Bechuanaland—and Geneva.

The Tshekedi incident, the satisfactory ending of which was briefly reported in this paper last week, suggests that though we have not in this country the Government news press bureaux which are the guilty possessions of some wicked continental nations, such a thing as an official nudge to editorial elbows is not entirely unknown.

How, otherwise, can one explain the fact that practically every newspaper not a downright opponent of the Government dwells editorially upon the point that the Bechuana Chief having made it clear that he does not claim jurisdiction over Europeans in Bechuanaland he has rightly been reinstated? The fact, of course, is that Tshekedi never asserted such a claim, and that the Acting High Commissioner in censuring and suspending him did not raise such an issue, but censured him for alleged general non co-operation with the British Government and its agent, the High Commissioner.

The Chief, having thus politely helped the Dominions Office in a bit of harmless face-saving, has been reinstated by Vice-Admiral Evans. The "Manchester Guardian" expresses the hope that steps will be taken to make sure that the expense of transporting the admiral's Marines and howitzers does not fall upon the Bamangwato.

Not so easy to dispose of is the point that while the British Government at Geneva is pleading the cause of disarmament one of its agents has provided critics with the ready jibe, "You don't seem pedantically attached to practices of peace in your own territories."

The League of Coloured Peoples.

The winter programme of the League of Coloured Peoples opened on Wednesday last with a well-attended reception at the house of Dr. H. A. Moody, the president, to Sir Thomas A. Vans Best, the Governor of the Windward I. Following its usual policy, the League has secured for its meetings a number of speakers distinguished for their first-hand knowledge of the subjects they will discuss. The list includes such well-known names as Mr. J. H. Driberg, Miss Margery Perham, Sir Edward Grigg, and Mr. C. W. H. Weaver, head of the International Labour Office.

Mr. Stephen Thomas is honorary secretary of the League for the year, and all communications for the League should be addressed to 164, Queen's Road, Peckham, S.E.15. A special effort is to be made to raise funds for a suitable permanent headquarters, in place of the temporary one afforded by the trustees of the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

COLONIAL POLICY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

Gold Coast Independent 9-30-33

Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.

WEST AFRICAN ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM FAVOURED

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, and through him the Government of Great Britain, is ultimately responsible, and in the case of many Colonies entirely responsible, for the government and administration of about 3,250,000 square miles, inhabited by more than 60,000,000 people. These territories are on mainlands and islands in all parts of the world, their populations are of every colour and religion and of all degrees of development and civilisation.

In its recently issued policy report, the Labour Party of Great Britain outlines the programme of administration which it proposes to follow in respect of this vast Colonial Empire if and when it is returned to power. The objectives of the Colonial policy of the Labour Party are summed up in the two words—socialisation and self-government—and steps will be taken to these ends, states the report, having due regard to the welfare and the stages of development of the people concerned.

African Territories.

The scope of the policy, in so far as African Territories are concerned, is narrowed down by the statement that in consequence of the structure of the Empire, the British Labour Party is not directly concerned with Colonies, Mandates or subject races under the control of the Dominions or Southern Rhodesia. With this limitation the policy is still intended to apply in Africa to the four West African Colonies, to Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar in the East, Somaliland and the Sudan in the North-East, and Nyasaland. Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in Central and South Africa.

Even within these limits the problems facing any party endeavouring to draw up a uniform policy of administration are obviously numerous, but for the purposes of this report the Labour Party groups all these countries together as "African Territories," and of them states that their people are in a condition which would make it impossible for them to take over the government of their country on modern lines. The party proposes, however, as soon as it is in power, to accelerate the process of turning these Colonies, Protectorates, and Territories into self-governing units.

While the Labour Party denies that its plans are either Utopian or unwise, many of the new ideas put forward savour strongly of idealism and, as applied to many parts of Africa, offer little prospect of becoming practicable for many years to come. The granting of self-government, for example, in these territories, which will only be contemplated by the Labour Party if, at the same time, the franchise can be given to the native inhabitants on the same terms as to European minorities.

As for those parts of the Labour Party's programme which are not new, it is interesting to note how strongly this party favours the land system and the system of indirect government which already form part of the administration of the West African Colonies.

Land Policy.

Land policies on Africa are divided in the report into two sections, named respectively the African Policy and the Capitalist Policy.

The former is that which favours the preservation of native rights in the land, assisting the native populations to develop the resources of the land by growing crops or gathering products for export. It aims, states the report, at promoting a native community of agriculturists and arboriculturists and of fostering the growth of large native industries. It does not seek altogether to exclude European enterprise and capital but to confine these within the limits where they can be usefully exercised without infringing the liberties or arresting the progress of the native peoples. It encourages the merchant and issues licences to Europeans and others for the collection of certain forest products, the native communities, which are consulted as to the issue of the licence, being credited with a portion of the fees. Subject to the supervision of the executive authority, leases are issued to Europeans for puposes of cultivation.

Native Ownership.

The basis on which this policy rests is that the land belongs to the native communities which inhabit it, and that the paramount object of government must be to encourage and assist those communities in the beneficial use of the land for their own advantage and profit. This is in broad outline the policy which must be adopted and developed by the Labour movement. This policy is, however, subject to one great danger. states the report, for unless the rights of the native communities are adequately safeguarded, as in Northern Nigeria and Tanganyika, it may lead to the establishment of a system of individual native landlordism.

This policy the report contrasts with the "Capitalist" policy or that which favours the economic development of the country by syndicates and planters through hired native labour, and which includes the confining of the native population to reserves. The argument that the native communities, if left in undisturbed enjoyment of the land, cannot make a beneficial use of it is refuted, states the Labour Party, by the facts and figures with regard to production and exports in British West Africa, and most clearly in Uganda. These go to show, it is contended, that the native, if left in possession of his land, and if he receives the necessary encouragement from the administration, can exploit the land as well as, or even better than, the European capitalist.

Co-operative Agriculture.

The general principle on which the Labour Party policy is based is that the land should be regarded as held in trust for the native community or communities. There should be opportunities for different kinds of land tenure—whether tribal, co operative or individual— and for tenancy under a public authority, but the form of tenure should be subject to the general principle that landlordism is to be prevented or progressively eliminated. Adequate agricultural education should be secured to all those for whom it is desirable, and co operative agriculture and social organisation of producers should be encouraged.

Mineral products where native ownership has not been recognised should be treated as the property of the local administration in trust for the communities. Mines railways and any large-scale industries should be run and controlled by the State.

Labour and Taxation.

The main object of the party with regard to native labour must be, states the report, to prevent a continuance of the general pressure to work for capitalist employers. The prohibition of compulsory labour should be absolute except for purely native purposes of public utility, and then only when demanded in accordance with native law and customs within tribal areas.

Among the various methods detailed in the report by which the native may be made to work for an employer is the possibility that the African is so heavily taxed that he can only get the necessary cash by wage labour, and the Labour Party lays down that taxation should be imposed solely for revenue purposes, and that the native should receive back, in direct and visible forms of Government expenditure, at least as much as they contribute in direct taxes.

Education

The Labour Party in this report places very great emphasis on the importance of education. Measures to protect natives from oppression, it states, and to improve their low standard of living, can only be of permanent value if accompanied by a detailed educational system designed to assist even the more primitive type of native to become a free citizen capable of efficient participation in and control of his industry and his Government. In addition to literary and social training of both sexes, there must be agricultural, industrial, and medical and sanitary education as well as commercial education, directed especially towards co operative associations and ultimately to management of external trade. Encouragement for adults of free association and participation in local and central government is also demanded.

Trade and Commerce

The "open door" policy in trade is favoured by the Labour Party, which expresses its belief in complete equality for the trade of all nations in the markets of the non-self-governing Empire, and is opposed to any administrative discrimination against foreigners in the disposal of property or the grant of concessions.

Where legislature exist, it is stated, and comprise elected members, there should be no fiscal discrimination against foreigners without the consent of a majority of the elected members. A Labour Government, the report concludes, would negotiate on a suitable occasion the removal of preference given by Colonies and Protectorates in favour of other parts of the Empire unless evidence were forthcoming that Colonial, including native, opinion was in favour of them.

BASUTOLAND LIKES MODERN EDUCATION

Small Native Area Is Newest of the Nations in South Africa.

FAMED FOR MOUNTAINS

It Has Only One Mile of Railroad but About 5,000 Elementary Schools.

New York Times 1-17-32

Natives of Basutoland, a small native area of South Africa, are dropping tribal ceremonies for education and vocational training. The area now has some 5,000 elementary schools, which are well attended, and a large industrial school near its capital, Maseru, according to a bulletin from the Washington headquarters of the National Geographic Society.

"Sandwiched between Orange Free State on the west and north, Cape of Good Hope Province on the south and Natal on the east, Basutoland is slightly smaller than Maryland," says the bulletin. "Because it is a region of mountains rising as high as 11,000 feet, with vast grazzing lands, it has been called the Switzerland of South Africa.

1-17-32

"The Basuto nation is one of the newest of the native political entities on the African Continent, for it is only slightly more than a century old. Before the nation was established Basutoland was inhabited by numerous tribes which frequently attempted to annihilate one another when they were not being attacked by the powerful Zulus and tribesmen from the Orange Free State. After one series of wars in the early part of the last century there was hardly a tribe in the Basutoland region that had not been torn by the Zulu and Orange Free State invaders.

"In 1818 the remnants of the battle-torn tribes were amalgamated, but the new nation was to face strife both in and out of its ranks. Shortly before the United States became enmeshed in the Civil War, Moshesh, the new chieftain, and the British Government clashed. The British won. Later a series of devastating wars between the tribesmen and the Boers took place. In 1868, hard pressed by land-hungry Boers, the Basutos appealed to the British Government for help, thus recognizing British sovereignty. A few more unimportant skirmishes between tribes who were unwilling to accept British domination and those who pledged their allegiance to the British crown occurred, but it was not many years before the district became one of Britain's most peaceful, progressive native territories.

"Basutoland's mountains offer splendid grazing facilities. A recent census showed that there were about a half million cattle, a million and a quarter sheep, a million goats and 90,000 horses. From these herds and flocks come the greater part of the region's exports. In one year the natives shipped to foreign consumers more than 10,000,000 pounds of wool, 2,500,000 pounds of mohair and 25,000 hides. Thousands of bushels of wheat also are shoveled into sacks made of sewed animal skins, and exported.

"Although Basutoland's terrain has been likened to that of Switzerland, the traveler will find few other features like those of the European republic. There is only one mile of railroad in Basutoland. It links Maseru with the South African railway system in Orange Free State. There are good roads connecting government stations in the Western part of the territory, but most travel is by way of a network of footpaths worn by herdsmen moving to and from grazing areas. Until recent years Basutoland's only facilities for land transportation were donkeys and ox-drawn sledges made from forked tree limbs. Lately, crude two-wheeled carts have made their appearance.

"During recent years there has been a striking increase in population in Basutoland. Visitors to the region a few decades ago found all the natives living in the lowlands. Only herders climbed the hills in the Summer to graze cattle. The lowlands have gradually become overpopulated and today the mountainsides are flecked with tiny settlements. There now are more than 500,000 inhabitants in the territory. About 2,000 are Europeans—mostly government officials and missionaries. The latter have had splendid cooperation from tribal chiefs. About one-fourth of the native population now is Christian.

"In the larger villages European fashions have been adopted by the natives, but elsewhere one still comes upon natives who live as their ancesters lived before the coming of the white man.

"Those natives not engaged in herding and trading are mostly farmers specializing in raising Kafir corn and maize. Wheat is grown, but it is consumed by the natives only when the other grains are not available. Before the advent of the plow, tilling of the soil was the work of the womenfolk, who used hoes. Even today, on farms where the hoe holds sway, cultivation of crops and the winnowing of grain is done by the women."

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

THE COCO-NUT INDUSTRY.

REGULATIONS FOR PROPER DEVELOPMENT AND CONTROL.

Gold Coast Independent

THE full text of a Bill to be introduced to the Legislative Council, whose aim is the proper regulation and control of the Coco-nut Industry of this country was published in our last issue for the benefit of our readers. There is also a Memoradum attached whose purpose is to shed light on the industry as it is carried on at the present moment and to bring to prominent notice the reasons making it necessary to introduce legislation to control it. It is therefore obvious that the clauses of the Bill cannot be read with profit without this explanatory memoradum. For it is otherwise easy to misinterprete its aims and objects.

10-4-33

In these days of unemployment and want, any scheme or project put over for the introduction of a new industry or the proper development of an old established one must needs evoke the whole-hearted support of the communities. Nothing is more requisite and necessary at this juncture in our economic and industrial history than for the existence of other products to supplement the contributions of cocoa. And the coco-nut industry by which copra and coir-fibre have formed regular items of export from the Keta-Ada districts of the Eastern Province and the Axim-Half-Assini districts of the Western Province has been established for some time especially in the first named district. Taking first the area under cultivation it is estimated that when all the land suitable for the growing of the nuts had been planted there will be an acreage of about 22,000 yielding about 6,000 tons of copra. This is evidently an underestimate ; for apart from the Keta-Ada and Axim-Half Assini districts which form the basis of this calculation there are along the stretch of coastline both in the Eastern, Central and Western Provinces many more acres eminently suitable for coco-nuts. To the westward of Accra stretching for about eight miles is a continuous grove of vigorously growing trees producing fair sized nuts. Nor is this all ; for there are other groves more or less approximating to this size in other districts.

Accra, Gold Coast

Gold Coast Independent

NATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH WEST AFRCA.

10-14-33

BY OBSERVER.

Dr. Norman Leys a European Medical practitioner has written an article on the above caption which he concludes by putting a question to which he calls for reply.

The principal pivot on which the question hinges is the establishment of schools and colleges and other needs of modern life which according to the Doctor are provided by foreign governments.

Accra, Gold Coast

Establishment Of Schools and Colleges

West Africa

Since the year 1900 the self-consciousness of the Gold Coast people was aroused as regards educational possibilities and social needs of life. During the period under review the country can boast of 4 or 5 secondary schools and about 12 or more elementary schools, all got up by African effort without any foreign assistance. During the same period motor roads were constructed by the Chiefs and their subjects without any financial assistance from Government. Places which were inaccessible a generation ago are now within easy reach. Even in these hard times Nee Kojo Ababio, James Town Manche, is arranging to have a motor road constructed from a village named AMANFRO to KORLE GONNO to facilitate transport of foodstuffs and cocoa to Accra. The work will be started within the last quarter of this year.

The establishment of a Polytechnic School is under consideration. The ways and means of solving this problem will be discussed at the Provincial Council.

In the leading article of this journal of the 9th ultimo, the Editor deplores the questionable attitude of Government towards schools established by unaided African effort. I quote a passage from that article :-

"Not Dr. Leys, if he knew all the facts. His countrymen are more to blame for the West African abject dependence on British Institutions than all the factors in his (West African's) shortcomings. Contrary to the Doctor's assertions, schools, both elementary and secondary, have been established by an unaided African effort, but such institutions are always up against it in the shape of Government educational rules."

Now, taking into consideration the economic development of the country, I have to draw the Doctor's attention to the Gold Coast Cocoa Industry which holds a position of importance in the World today from which the British Government draws export duty to the amount of about £300,000 annually at the expense of the poor farmer. Cocoa was originally introduced to this Country by a man named Tetteh Kwashi, a native of Christiansborg. Barring some two or three hundred pounds granted to his relatives, what has the Government done in the shape of erecting some imposing monument at a conspicuous part of Accra or Christiansborg to perpetuate the memory of this great patriot ?

As far back as the "Sixties" the late Basel Missionaries planted cocoa in their gardens at Akropong it throve very well. I am inclined to think that cocoa was then in use in America and Europe, but did that group of Europeans reveal the advantages of this industry to their adherents ? Nothing of the sort was done. Today, as is generally known and admitted the Gold Coast produces nearly one-half of the World cocoa, all through the initial effort of an African.

The Position Of The African In Trade

In trade the African is entirely powerless in his endeavour to organize indigenous undertakings. The strong European mercantile combines by which he is confronted renders his efforts futile.

The three reasons given by the Doctor, bearing on the inefficiency of the Africans to develop their indigenous institutions on modern lines reflect discredit on the British Government. According to the Doctor, the men who have represented Britain in Africa wanted to have all the power in their own hands so they did all they could to preserve

native autocracies &c. The Gold Coast natural rulers have been deprived of all the sources of revenue assigned to them by the Treaty of 1844. According to Governor Sir Hugh Clifford:- "The treaty was the fore-runner of many similar agreements by means of which the power and jurisdiction of the British Crown were gradually extended over the whole of the area now comprised within the limits of the Colony but in none of these documents, it will be noted, was any cession of territory made or contemplated."

The moral delinquency of the Natural rulers is due to their low financial status. Their only sources of revenue are the tribunals, fifty per cent of which yield little or nothing at all. One drawback is the lack of institution of judges. The Chiefs are judges themselves; they are also treasurers of the poor income which the Tribunals yield. Whenever some of the Chiefs are hard pressed for money they more often than not use the moneys in their custody. This brings about destoolments and abdications which often occur in the Native Administration. The representatives of Britain are fully aware of the poor financial condition of the Chiefs. While they eat the fat of the land, it has never occurred to them that the Chiefs should be made entitled to a minimum portion of the revenue derived from their country.

"Africans have been satisfied with and even proud of the appearance of independence," so says the Doctor. That this assertion is hardly correct can be proved by the Native Administration Ordinance. When this Ordinance came into force, all the Chiefs of the Ga State met at KPESHINA and in the presence of two District Commissioners, the Ordinance was thoroughly read to the Chiefs and all the clauses which are conflicting with the Ga Constitution were pointed out to the District Commissioners who advised them to embody all the objections in a petition for submission to the Governor. They accordingly did so, but what happened? Governor Slater turned down this petition and up to date the Chiefs are still dissatisfied with the so-called independence which the Native Administration Ordinance is supposed to bring to them.

"Africans should feel insulted to be told that it wouldn't be natural for them to give up the beliefs and laws and habits that Europeans themselves have abandoned." The predominant belief which holds sway over our Chiefs and Aristocrats is JUJUISM or FETISHISM with its attendant grim customs of human sacrifice, necromancy and making wives of innocent girls by daubing their bodies with blood of goats, much against the wishes of the girls as well as their parents. Although human sacrifice and necromancy are no more performed openly but are resorted to in the dark and when brought to light the perpetrators are punished according to law such as what happened during last year at some village near Nsawam.

How To Abandon These Crude Beliefs and Habits.

Education and Christianity have been strenuously waging moral and social warfare against these powers for even Kinkawe also is now divided into two sections arising out of this same dispute, and this shows evidently that we are heading towards a disaster behind some thick cloud. What happened on Thursday 5th instant which necessitated the intervention of the Police, very clearly shows the attitude of the Manche towards his subjects and an immediate halt should be made by the Gyase or Councillors otherwise a graver catastrophe will happen through the instigation of the Manche. The Manche should be warned at once to be very cautious with his subjects. It is for him to serve the interests of his subjects not the subjects to serve his personal interests.

[We are publishing this, to draw the attention of all who have the interest of Christiansborg at heart to see that something is done to bring about peace and goodwill which the writer evidently desires. It is to be hoped that the people of Christiansborg in these trying times will bear and forbear with each other instead of making much ado about nothing. Ed.]

Osu Domestic Arrairs.

Gold Coast Independent

Need For A Commission Of Enquiry.

10.9.21.33

Accra, Gold Coast, Westafrica

BY A NATIVE

It may be that the Osu Manche has written to Mr. Taylor privately without passing it through the Press; but even if that is so, the public has right to demand a reply through the same medium wherein the questions were made, except Mr. Taylor has withdrawn his article.

On the other hand, if the Osu Manche has not taken any steps at all to vindicate himself of the allegations, as implied in the questions, then since the golden adage is "silence means consent" or guilt, one draws the inference that Mr. Taylor's questions are all presumably arising from deliberate acts committed by the Osu Manche, the conclusion therefore is that a serious breach of trust in the administration of the Osu Manche has been committed and who is responsible?

In view of the seriousness of the allegations especially where state or stool funds have been tampered with without the knowledge and consent of Trustees appointed for the disbursement of same, it causes not only grave alarm but extreme misplacement of confidence

I have been informed that the D. C. has been duly advised of the various irregularities existing in the Osu State and even that lately a copy of the agreement made by the three Quarters of Osu to which the Manche refused to give his approval for settlement of the dispute, was also included in a letter to the D. C, but the D. C. has not taken any action at all towards any settlement. The inactivity of the D. C. to take up the matter thus encourages the Manche to such acts which do not benefit the state but rather lead to ruin.

If the allegations are true then the Osu Manche has gone out of his own way to commit such acts against the State of Osu and I would therefore suggest a State enquiry to be instituted towards the eradication of such acts and an amicable settlement of all the existing differences.

The action of the Osu Manche in not approving the agreement made by the three quarters of Osu (which was published in the "G. C Independent" of 30th September 1933) calls for an immediate explanation from the Chief and the Community have the right so to do. This attitude shows deliberately that the Chief is rather inclined to encourage the present dissension prevailing amongst the various companies instead of compromising for peace. Perhaps when the political atmosphere is so perturbed it serves as an incentive and opportunity to the Chief for taking advantage of disssensions in the State in order to meet his own personal ends and gratifying his desires. This is a very serious case which calls for immediate investigation by the Elders and all Councillors of the Osu State. They should therefore rally together and investigate whether the Osu Manche has acted discreetly or indiscreetly, and to ask for explanation, if any. After that, all the various dissentions should be redressed and permanent peace established once and for all in the town

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Starvation in Basutoland

(By Pro Bono Publico

It behoves some of all of us who claim to be sons and daughters of Basutoland to come forward with views which might if taken into consideration be able to help to alleviate the present state of affairs in this our little territory. I have no doubt we all realise the sense of responsibility with which we are burdened, the responsibility towards our fellow country men, and secondly towards our whole country.

Reading through the recent reports of Mochochonono; it is gratifying to learn of the proposals which the Government has decided to adopt, proposals whereby the country might be saved from its present condition. In fighting against this starvation I have no doubt the Government is fully determined to leave no stone unturned. Hence the reduction of salaries of all the Native Civil servants by 2½% and that of the teachers by 10%. In spite of it all I have my greatest sympathy with the teachers who have suffered such a big reduction of their salaries. Perhaps, as I have already pointed out the Government has done it for the interests of the people; though personally I cannot help but feel that the Government has been rather too severe on the poor teachers.

It looks to me the Government could have resorted to other way and means whereby it could find a remedy for this Starvation, other than reduce so severely the wages of the poor teachers. For instance there is a rumour in this territory that there are hundreds and hundreds of pounds lent out to the Swaziland Government some years ago. Unless this be true there is no reason why our Government will not take a step towards its recovery in order to use it for the maintenance of the Basuto Nation.

On behalf of my people I sincerely wish to thank the Government for the effort it has undertaken to alleviate this state of affairs; as somebody has rightly said, by issuing rations to those of our people who have no means of support.

Lastly we have seen and read with some measure of consolation the number of bags which the Government is daily bringing into the territory, yet I do not think I will be out of place if I suggested that tho Government should give us in £-s-d. the actual figure it has spent for purchasing these bags.

Three Educational Secretaries in Basutoland

(Mochochonono.)

Sir,—I have the pleasure to beg your permission once more to address the readers of your famous paper on the above subject and ask "What is the purpose and object of appointing these three educational secretaries in so small a country as Basutoland? In a private corner, there is a purpose or object undeniably too secret to be found out. We view things from different angles. So I may be viewing this from a wrong angle when venturing to answer the above question. But first, I must describe these secretaries. (1) Secretary for the P. E. M. S. schools, (2) Secretary for the R. C. schools and (3) Secretary for the E. C. schools. You notice in my description that there is a secretary for each of the greater religious denominations in the Territory. Now, replying to the above question from the denominational point of view I feel altogether inclined to say they are there merely to serve their denominational rites and needs. To show what I mean I give this instance :-Suppose the P.E.M.S. School teachers apply for certain privileges through their secretary for schools and on perusal of this application the secretary takes it up in his mind and finds it advisable and worth taking, he sits down on his chair and consults the the educational Department and likewise the other two denominational secretaries. The latter may object to the application from a purely denominational point of view and thus defeat the application. Mind you the objection is from a denominational point of view.

It is a well known fact that there are three or more denominations in the four provinces comprising the Union of South Africa, but there is always one secretary for Native Education in each Province. In other countries, teachers are teachers, in the true sense of the word. The recognition which they deserve as teachers is unknown in Basutoland.

There is much information about teachers in the columns of this paper which the teachers in most cases do not understand. We want to be called teachers without qualifications of teachers. Teachers, here is an advice from your sincere friend. "Let us not be deceived by what may appear to be good words yet they are an empty statement and let us not murmur about the authorities if they do not improve conditions for us because the fault is ours.

Each and all of us may be sure to say to-morrow, if we force our way through today and obtain the privileges pertaining to a „teacher" Alas! Look, all civil servants in Basutoland have had their salaries reduced by 2½% that is 6d. in the £. But, oh poor teachers! poor teachers with small and inadequate salaries have had theirs reduced by 10% that is 2/- in the £.

Gentlemen, school children are starving. The Government is planning for the relief of starvation in the Territory. Likewise, teachers should plan for the

Gentlemen, show your relief of their starving school sympathy with the many children. Let us unite and children entrusted with you express our views in this by trying your level best to paper and obtain help for them from apply for a reduction of the government and the school hours from 4½ hours secretaries and the missiona- to 3½ or 3 hours. ries. I offer myself to lead Attendance is heavily the way. dropping owing to children starving.

B. M. POTSE

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Starvation in Basutoland

(By Pro Bono Publico
Mochochonono.)

It behov s one and all of us who claim to be sons and daughters of Basutoland to come forward with views which might if taken into consideration be able to help to alleviate the present state of affairs in this our little territory. I have no doubt we all realise the sense of responsibility with which we are burdened, the responsibility towards our fellow country men, and secondly towards our whole country.

Reading through the recent reports of Mochochonono; it is gratifying to learn of the proposals which the Government has decided to adopt, proposals whereby the country might be saved from its present condition. In fighting against this starvation I have no doubt the Government is fully determined to leave no stone unturned. Hence the reduction of salaries of all the Native Civil servants by 2½% and that of the teachers by 10%. In spite of it all I have my greatest sympathy with the teachers who have suffered such a big reduction of their salaries. Perhaps, as I have already pointed out the Government has done it for the interests of the people; though personally I cannot help but feel that the Government has been rather too severe on the poor teachers.

It looks to me the Government could have resorted to other way and means whereby it could find a remedy for this Starvation, other than reduce so severely the wages of the poor teachers. For instance there is a rumour in this territory that there are hundreds and hundreds of pounds lent out to the Swaziland Government some years ago. Unless this be not true there is no reason why our Government will not take a step towards its recovery in order to use it for the maintenance of the Basuto Nation.

On behalf of my people I sincerely wish to thank the Government for the effort it has undertaken to alleviate this state of affairs; as somebody has rightly said, by issuing rations to those of our people who have no means of support.

Lastly we have seen and read with some measure of consolation the number of bags which the Government is daily bringing into the territory, yet I do not think I will be out of place if I suggested that tho Government should give us in £-s-d. the actual figure it has spent for purchasing these bags.

Three Educational Secretaries in Basutoland

(Mochochonono.)

Sir,—I have the pleasure to beg your permission once more to address the readers of your famous paper on the above subject and ask "What is the purpose and object of appointing these three educational secretaries in so small a country as Basutoland? In a private corner, there is a purpose or object undeniably too secret to be found out. We view things from different angles. So I may be viewing this from a wrong angle when venturing to answer the above question. But first, I must describe these secretaries. (1) Secretary for the P. E. M. S. schools, (2) Secretary for the R. C. schools and (3) Secretary for the E. C. schools. You notice in my description that there is a secretary for each of the greater religious denominations in the Territory. Now, replying to the above question from the denominational point of view I feel altogether inclined to say they are there merely to serve their denominational rites and needs. To show what I mean I give this instance :-Suppose the P.E.M.S. School teachers apply for certain privileges through their secretary for schools and on perusal of this application the secretary takes it up in his mind and finds it advisable and worth taking, he sits down on his chair and consults the the educational Department and likewise the other two denominational secretaries. The latter may object to the application from a purely denominational point of view and thus defeat the application. Mind you the objection is from a denominational point of view.

It is a well known fact that there are three or more denominations in the four provinces comprising the Union of South Africa, but there is always one secretary for Native Education in each Province. In other countries, teachers are teachers, in the true sense of the word. The recognition which they deserve as teachers is unknown in Basutoland.

There is much information about teachers in the columns of this paper which the teachers in most cases do not understand. We want to be called teachers without qualifications of teachers. Teachers, here is an advice from your sincere friend. "Let us not be deceived by what may appear to be good words yet they are an empty statement and let us not murmur about the authorities if they do not improve conditions for us because the fault is ours.

Each and all of us may be sure to say to-morrow, if we force our way through today and obtain the privileges pertaining to a „teacher" Alas! Look, all civil servants in Basutoland have had their salaries reduced by 2½% that is 6d. in the £. But, oh poor teachers! poor teachers with small and inadequate salaries have had theirs reduced by 10% that is 2/- in the £.

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FRANCHISE.

To free Basutoland from bondage and degradation we must find the root of the evil. Are the Chiefs, the Government and the Commoners making united efforts for the advancement of the territory? No, emphatically, no. Each of these sections is striving to work independent by of the other. These three sections hold different views about governing Basutoland. While they all wrangled, criticized each other and disagreed, their country was all the time drifting to wreck and ruin. Nothing was properly resolved and no foresight cultivated for the prosperity and safety of the territory.

The Government and chiefs have tried to run the country independent of the commoners, but have failed in this project because the Government does not understand the true attitude of chiefs in most things. On the other hand the chiefs do not understand modern politics on account of their uncertainty and also reluctance to dc anything without first knowing whether the people approve or not.

It is interesting to note that the aforesaid misunderstanding parties assembled in the National Council Hall every year but made no headway and yet they still considered the commoners to be non compos mentis.

"Educating Our Bantu Women."

Editor, Dear Sir,—

Kindly allow me space in your paper for the following which is a reply to an article which appeared in your paper headed as above.

Dear Sir,—

In this same paper you gave your opinion as regards Education for Native women. I must say that I agree with you to a certain extent, in the first place I must say that as far as Religon is concerned Native women are playing a very important part such as no other race plays A woman may be how Educated, how uneducated or how backward but the fact remains that in all different Churches we have here today women are in the majority in membership. And here I dont agree with you when you say that our women should be given more Education on religious lines. To day with all the misery that women are faced with they can only tell you that the Europeans will only oppress us as long as God will allow them to do so, and God will pay them one day for all the wrong done to the Natives today. Which I personally think is very wrong that unless we as a nation entitled to live in freedom wake up and demand that freedom, we shall wait until doomsday for God to revenge.

It is quite true as you say that some people say women are inferior to men, but, in most cases those men who are politically advanced are to be blamed for the backwardness of their wives, sisters and daughters. For instance most men will go out to either sports meetings etc etc, and never have the slightest thought of taking their womenfolk with them. All they are concerned with is to come back and find hot dinners awaiting them. Amongst all our leaders it is very seldom that one will see their wives or women friends accompanying them to meetings, and in all their struggles only few women take active part, except in locations when such struggles for lodgers permits are fought then some who cannot afford to pay such fees, and because it affects the family as a whole then they find that there is no other way out than to unite with the others and attend meetings. Then as soon as they find that they have either won or lost they go back home and take to their domestic spheres.

Sometimes one wonders what is really the cause of our non European women not taking part in any political organisations especially here in town where meetings of all organisations are daily carried on and we suffer most. I agree that women have the same intellect as men and that is clearly demonstrated today by the Government who show us that Native women are equal to men, by forcing them to carry night specials after 10 30 p.m. The constables on duty demand a special pass from a man next from his partner. Whereas there has long been a cry from the men that the government shou'd release them from this burden of slavery, the Government's reply is that "I shall release you by forcing your wives to assist you to carry them." Is this not the time for women to wake up and to say my place is no longer in the kitchen but on the political platform to demand my rights?

In town we have such things as pick ups, in every meeting that is held by a working class movement Resolutions are passed urging that Government remove these criminal creaters which even pick up women, but nowhere is our Native women to be seen. Is it because they are satisfied with this brutal treatment? No it is only that they are accustomed to the back seat where they have no say, and are told that womens places are in the kitchens. And I know that we have enough educated or uneducated women who if only they are told what an important part they can play in the political field, will not hesitate to do so.

And as an African woman I appeal to all class of conscious men and women to wake up their women folk in this struggle, and this can be done if only pains are taken to do so. Let our Mothers, Sisters and Daughters be educated politically and stand on the forefront with the leaders of all countries and demand freedom and equality for all than to remain being re-

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Race Problem-1933

Africa

Educating our Bantu Women

(Mochudi Bechuanaland.)

Dear Sir,—Allow me space in your columns to ventilate my opinion towards the significance of educating our Bantu women. "A man cannot possess anything that is better than a good women or anything that is worse than a bad one." Moreover "a good woman is the workmanship of a good husband."

The process of industrialization and the consequent partial economic independence throughout the world are growing with wonderful rapidity. This rouses my mind towards the awakening of our Bantu women to obtain high education. The life of a woman should not only be confined to domestic sphere but must play part in social, educational, political, and religious fields. Some people teach that from the cradle to the grave women are inferior to men. I am of the opinion that this is a false teaching—Jesus when teaching the Gentiles made no distinction between the sexes, but always emphasised that we were one in God. Therefore we are all, men as well as women, children of God. Women as well as men have a personal responsbility to the living God.

My aim in this article is that the barrier in the social system throughout the world should be discouraged—Young men and women should meet freely in societies to use their common faculties. To obtain the above mentioned equality with their men folk, women (our daughters and sisters) should be equally trained in the institutions, colleges and universities socially, economically, educationally, religiously and commercially I therefore urge the Bantu leaders of thought to make it their aim to qualify their daughters and sisters in the following professions, medicine, nursing, teaching journalism philanthropy etc. Polygamy should strongly be discouraged. It occurs to me that women having recieved from their creator the same intellect as a man, have the same right as men to intellectual culture. I consider the mothers in a country mould the character of its citizens, determine its institutions and shape its destiny. The Higher education of women is one of the great world battle-cries for freedom, for right against might.

To be somewhat more specific in my views as to the character and aims of educating our Bantu women I should say that women of China are no longer confined to the domestic sphere they are coming out in a remarkable manner into public life. May therefore the Bantu awaken and educate their daughters and sisters.

CASWELL MOLAPO

CHIEF TSHEKEDI INCIDENT TRICK DESIGNED TO STEAL COUNTRY

Afro American 11-4-33

Whites Want His Territory, Now Semi-independent.

Baltimore Md.

CHIEF IS BARRED FROM LONDON

Afro Hears He Wants to See King George.

By WILLIAM N. JONES
Managing Editor AFRO-AMERICAN; en route to Liberia, W.A.

LONDON, England. — Tshekedi Khama, 26-year-old acting chief of Bechuanaland, may defy the dictum of Dominions Secretary J. H. Thomas forbidding him from coming to London as he had planned, the AFRO-AMERICAN learned here on good authority, this week.

Douglass Buchanan, his attorney, and the Rev. A. E. Jennings, an advisor, arrived here this week to lay before the colonial authorities important, if not sensational, facts with reference to the Tshekedi incident.

Worries Authorities

Because of the possibility that facts brought out in the Tshekedi case may show a frame-up staged to allow the union of South Africa to take over control of Bechuanaland, some governmental authorities are said to be worried over the probable coming of the fighting young ruler.

It is predicted that unless his representatives are successful in getting assurance that his country will not be turned over to the prejudiced white South Africans, he will defy the Dominions Secretary, come to England and make an open fight.

Tshekedi was first booked to come to London on September 23. After he had engaged passage, Sir Thomas withdrew permission that he leave his kingdom at the present time. At the same time the Dominions Secretary also refused a joint request of Tshekedi and chiefs from the adjoining kingdom of Basutaland and Swaziland that a royal commission be appointed to define the constitutional rights of treaty chiefs.

Was Frame-Up

The AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent learned this week the inside story of the Tshekedi affair. For a number of years the South African government has looked with growing disfavor on the existence Bechuanaland, Basutaland and Swaziland as semi-independent protectorates.

Whites Itch for Land

It will be recalled that the late Chief Khama, father of Tshekedi refused to submit to exploitation of his country by the South African Trading Company, came to England and negotiated a treaty whereby it would become a British protectorate. Ever since that time the South African government has been biding its time for an opportunity to take over Bechuanaland and the two adjoining countries.

Way back last June, for instance, the Johannesburg (South Africa) *Sunday Times* carried a story that stated: Mr. N. C. Havenga, minister of finance, and General Smuts will bring to the notice of the British Government that the time has now arrived for the Union of South Africa to take over Bechuanaland Protectorate... I believe that our government has been in touch with Dominions Secretary J. H. Thomas on this question, and there are hopes that the whole question will be settled within a few months."

Shortly after this followed the now famous Tshekedi incident.

McIntosh Deliberately Sent

The AFRO-AMERICAN learned this week that authorities here will be given startling facts which will support an accusation that the white renegade, McIntosh was deliberately sent to Bechuanaland to create sufficient trouble to make an excuse for taking over the protectorate.

In order to prevent what may become a scandal, Tshekedi has been restored to his kingdom and advised by authorities to refrain from further agitation of the matter in England.

Despite the fact that many British citizens of the white and colored races, are making an active fight for Tshekedi, both the British and Union of South African authorities regard his insistence upon his rights as a chief as dangerous to their domination of Africa.

Acting Chief

When the late Chief Khama died, young Tshekedi was a student at Lovedale College. Against his will, he was persuaded to come back to Bechuanaland and rule until the heir to the throne, Seritse, now a minor, became of age.

He regards it his main duty to preserve his country and turn it over to Seritse unaltered. He is regarded as conservative, in that he wishes to preserve tribal customs instead of adopting modern ways. On the point, however, of the rights of his people to govern themselves, he is passionately unbending.

Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Amsterdam News

11-8-33

Enslavement of Whites in Africa.

Much has been written on the African slave trade and very much more is destined to be, for this unpeopling of one continent to populate another is one of the most amazing chapters in human history.

Nothing like it had ever happened before. It is true that from the days of the Pharaohs onwards through the Carthaginians, the Moors, the so-called Barbary pirates, down to 1815 when the United States navy under Commodore Decatur entered the Mediterranean and broke up the enslavement of white Americans by Africans, millions, perhaps, of white Europeans had been taken into Africa, where their mulatto descendants are to be found to this day, especially in north Africa.

New York Age

That is to say, the capture of Europeans by Africans for enslavement began long before that of the Africans by the Europeans and ended almost at the same time—a period of 3,000 years.

But the difference is this: Though the African slave trade lasted only 400 years (from 1442 when the Negroes were taken to southern Europe, and from 1502 when they were first brought to the New World, down to about 1830), the deportation of the African was far more systematic. It is probable that the number of white people enslaved by the Negroid peoples of Africa during this long period was far greater than the Negroes brought to America, but it was the very shortness of the period and the intensity which it was pursued that made the slave trade so deadly to Africa—so ruined African civilization that it continued to exist a shadow of its former self, like one who has been gassed.

One of the latest books on this subject is by Charles de la Ronciere, former president of the French Academy of Marine, and is entitled "Negres et Negriers (Negro Slaves and Slaveships)." There are many books more voluminous than that by M. de la Ronciere, but few, if any, are more engrossing; and still fewer, if any, contain the rarity of information, which is authentic since it is taken direct from the logs of ships and from the writings of those who were engaged in the slave traffic.

Space will not permit a review of this, on the whole, excellent work; therefore, only some of the little known items of information will be given here, especially as we find traces of them in so-called race relations today. On the slave ships, where cruelties beyond the power of description were inflicted on the captives, and while they yet understood no language but their own, they were made to listen to prayers and the reading of the Bible three times a day before their wretched meals. This was to inspire them with "respect for the Supreme Being, "all with the object of rendering them submissive when they arrived in the New World. Here, as is known, whatever else was deprived them, religion never was. Care, however, was taken in the North American colonies to see that they never learned to read the Bible, because that would mean the ability to read other matter.

* * *

Slavers Practiced Terrible Cruelties.

Certain of the captives went on a hunger strike, and the slavers at the prospect of losing these whipped them mercilessly to make them eat, and "if they persisted they were beaten with bars of iron; legs and arms were broken, and their frightful cries dissuaded others from following their example."

Sometimes the captives leaped off in scores into the sea, or otherwise took their lives. To overcome this longing for home and liberty they were twice a day forced to dance about on deck, the chains on their arms and legs keeping time with the drum and the African chant. Woe to those who did not sing and dance. "The whip would whistle over this circle of human cattle, forcing it through terror to give itself up to laughter and joy. This laughter, so necessary to the health of the captive, the slavers would sometimes try to induce by painting themselves white and yellow and doing all kinds of monkey tricks."

It was at night that the Negroes would commit suicide by swallowing their tongues or anything else they could get; therefore it was then that the slavers had to be on guard. These blacks were in mortal fear; they believed that they were being taken to America to be eaten by the whites, their bones ground to make gunpowder, and their skins used for shoes. One is reminded here of one captive, who later became a peer of the British realm, Bishop Crowther. Crowther, whose native name was Adjai, was taken from a slave ship that had been captured by a British warship. Taken aboard the warship Adjai said he felt that he was going to be eaten, as the first thing he saw there was a side of newly-killed pork, the color of which was so strikingly like that of his rescuers that he was sure they were in the habit of eating one another.

* * *

Captives Revolted And Slew Captors.

In spite of all precautions the captives sometimes broke loose and terrible was their vengeance, as in the case of those on the Amistad, who killed all their captors and brought the vessel to port. On the Samuel Marie, for instance, the captives revolted and seizing pulleys, bits of iron and wood, used them as projectiles in a furious battle. "The carnage was terrible, and when the blacks found at last that they could not overcome the whites, they killed each other or jumped into the sea."

There was also the revolt on the French ship Avrillon of 500 Yolofs. When the slavers freed some of them for work on shipboard they killed the captain and others and overran the ship. The revolt, however, was subdued by the whites, who, armed with rifles and cannon, picked off the rebels from behind barricades. Two hundred and thirty dead or dying Negroes were later thrown into the sea.

When on another ship the captives were suspected of revolt, one woman was hung up from a mast and one hundred pieces of flesh cut from her body, leaving bare the bone, while another had the liver, the heart and the entrails torn out before the other captives, after which the flesh was cut into small pieces, and each made to eat of them.

* * *

Negroes as Bad As Whites in Cruelty.

All in all, it is a horrible, but alas true, recital of man's inhumanity to man. There was nothing racial about it, for it was the Negro kings and chiefs who were the most active procurers of these slaves, often for the most trivial considerations. Some of them were as eager to sell their own flesh and blood as some English people were to sell their offspring into slavery in the American colonies in the seventeenth century, which latter practice caused Parliament to inflict the punishment of death without benefit of clergy on the offenders.

The treatment of the white slaves by black kings of Africa was equally horrible. One of these, Mulai Ismail (Emperor of Morocco, whose portrait may be seen in "World's Greatest Men of African Descent" by J. A. Rogers), had 25,000 white slaves to build his city of Meknes. Voltaire in "Candide" tells of some of these cruelties on captured whites by black sea-rovers, among them that of the daughter of a Pope and an Italian princess. This woman of exquisite beauty was captured by a Moroccan Negro captain, who made her his mistress, and felt that he was doing her an honor.

M. de la Ronciere's book is published by Edition des Fortiques, 144 Ave. des Champs-Elysees, Paris, is in French, and sells for 15 francs.

THE LEAGUE'S PLAN FOR LIBERIA.

By Arthur Davies.

Although the minds of European Statesmen have been very largely absorbed during the last few months by the pressing problems of Disarmament, time was found by the League of Nations to give full consideration also to the future of Liberia.

It will be remembered that two or three years ago in consequence of continual rumours that slavery and corruption were rampant in Liberia, the then Government of that country, under pressure from the League, agreed to an enquiry being made by a Commission of three, consisting of a Frenchman, a Dutchman and a Scot, Dr. Mackenzie. Their unanimous report confirmed and even amplified the accusations made against the Liberian administration, and recommended several drastic reforms, of which the central one perhaps was the temporary installation of white advisers with practically full power and responsibility.

The Liberian Government accepted in principle the Report and its proposals, though they belonged to the small group of some 12,000 persons—descendants of freed American Negro Slaves—who had for so long been the governing caste and for so long had misused their power.

Little or no attempt was made at genuine reform, and enquirers into special grievances, such as Dr. Mackenzie after his second mission on behalf of the League of Nations to compose the war between the Kru tribes and the Government, reported that steps should be taken as soon as possible to get things straight. Liberia declared its inability to introduce the necessary reforms without a substantial loan and a moratorium on its existing loan payments to the Finance Corporation of America; and negotiations have been in progress with the Corporation who have now agreed to give the necessary financial help, but only on condition that the reforms recommended by the League should be accepted.

One might at first feel some sympathy with the reluctance of the rulers of the one free and independent Black Republic of Africa to accept even for a time the yoke of white domination. When, however, one remembers the cruelties and oppressions for which this negro and half-caste oligarchy is responsible, and that it is not the desire to deprive the country of self-government, but the desire to ensure just and decent administration for its general population which is actuating the League, no other possible judgment can be reached than that the League is right in pressing its plan against the opposition of the Liberian Government.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

In the Matter of the Destoolment of Ex-Omanhene Annor Adjaye of Western Nzima

In the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast Colony Western Province District Commissioner's Court Axim

The State Council of Western Nzima Coplainan

versus

Odzikro Kojo Menlah ..... ***Accused.***

I, Kojo Menlah of Twinen in Western Nzima in the Western Province of the Gold Coast Colony make Oath and say as follows:—

1. That I am the Odzikro of Twinen under the Paramount Stool of Western Nzima aforesaid.

2. That in the month of November 1931 while at Twinen aforesaid a messenger with a message stick came to me and invited me to a meeting said to have been then convened at Zinibu in Western Nzima by the Ahinfu (Chiefs) of Western Nzima State.

3. That I was unable to attend in person and therefore deputed the following persons; Kweku Erza Awonya and Battie to go and represent me.

4. That as I am informed by my said representatives and verily believe as soon as my said representatives arrived at the said meeting at Zinibu aforesaid, they desired to be informed of the object thereof.

5. That as I am informed and verily believe, the Ahinfu (Chiefs) assembled refused to state the object of the meeting until all the Chiefs had repaired to the mouth of the Suhoni Stream and there taken fetish Oath with the stream.

6. That, as I am informed and verily believe, one of the members of my deputation, namely Erza was forced to take the Oath in my name and on my behalf.

7. That after Oath had been administered to and taken by all the Ahinfu present and the said Erza then the Linguist of the Ahinfu assembled stated that Nana Annor Adjaye had sold all the lands of the Western Nzima State from Kabaku to New Town (French Frontier) and its hinterland to the British Government for £1000; that Nana Annor Adjaye had decreed that thenceforth any person entering his or her farm to take foodstuffs such such as Plantains, Cassava, Vegetables and also firewood was to be taxed a sum of money; that fishermen ascending the sea to fish were to be taxed; that any woman discovered to be in a state of pregnancy was to be taxed; that any bride or other newly married woman (Ayifur) was first to be taken to live with the Omanhin for seven (7) days before going to the husband (Bridegroom) and further that the amount of all such taxes would be divided and shared as two parts for the Government and one part for Nana Annor Adjaye.

8. That as I am informed and verily believe, all the Ahinfu present after hearing the Linguist re-counting the foregoing dreadful charges against the said Nana Annor Adjaye appeared frightened and thereupon pronounced the said Nana Annor Adjaye destooled.

9. That as I am informed and verily believe, the members of my deputation suggested that the said Nana Annor, Adjaye should be cautioned.

10. That I am informed and verily believe, that upon my said representatives making the foregoing suggestion the said Ahinfu poured invectives and abuses upon them.

11. That as I am informed and verily believe, the meeting at that stage, adjourned to Ngrekasu also in the Western Nzima State aforesaid.

12. That I then personally attended the adjourned meeting at Ngrekasu aforesaid.

13. That at Ngrekasu, one Moses Mensah, clerk to the said meeting of Ahinfu, produced a paper and read from it a number of frivolous charges which contained none of those stated at the mouth of Suhoni Stream as the grounds upon which the said Nana Annor Adjaye had been declared destooled as aforesaid.

14. That I attended the trial of Nana Annor Adjaye which subsequently took place at Beyin aforesaid.

15. That at the said trial none of the charges stated at Suhoni Stream was preferred against the said Omanhin Nana Annor Adjaye but a number of frivolous charges, about twenty in number hastily put up after the taking of fetish and Oath at Suhoni Stream as aforesaid.

16. That during the said trial I heard the Omanhin Nana Annor Adjaye question the Ahinfu as to why the charges he had heard were to be preferred against him that he had sold the lands of Western Nzima to the Government for £1000; that he had introduced the Income Tax Bill; that he had arranged to proceed to England to receive from the King the Sword of the late famous King Kweku Ackah and to return to slaughter the people as aforesaid were not embodied in the charges now preferred against him.

17. That thereupon I discovered that I had been deceived and got annoyed that other frivolous charges had been preferred instead of those serious ones stated at Suhoni Stream as aforesaid.

18. That consequently I walked out of the place of trial determined to renew my allegiance to the said Omanhin Nana Annor Adjaye because I had become convinced that I had been deceived in the said matter.

19. That to the best of my knowledge and belief a large number of Ahinfu and Chiefs also found they had been deceived and are willing to return to their allegiance but are intimidated by the said fetish and Oath and are not as courageous as I am to break away.

20. That some time in the month of April 1932 the District Commissioner of Axim wrote a circular letter to me asking whether I would renew my allegiance to Nana Annor Adjaye.

21. That in answer to the said enquiry, I stated that I was willing to renew my allegiance to Nana Annor Adjaye.

22. That on or about the 11th day of May 1932, while I was at Beyin performing the funeral custom in connection with the death of a grand niece, I was arrested handcuffed and escorted to Sinibu where was assembled a number of Ahinfu and Chiefs of Western Nzima, without a writ of Summons first having been issued and served on me.

23. That at Sinibu I was taken before the assembled chiefs before whom I pleaded "not guilty" and to whom I pointed out the incongruity of defending myself to persons who were themselves the accusers and appeared to have made up their mind as to the ultimate decision; that more-over I offered to defend myself before other impartial arbitration.

24. That notwithstanding the said fine on the ground, as I told the Ahinfu, that the charges alleged against Nana Annor Adjaye & the mouth of Suhoni Stream which in cited my anger and were not ence in the said Council were those brought against which said charges him could have induced me to join in the said deliberation.

26. That thereupon I was escort

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

In the Matter of the Destoolment of Ex-Omanhene Annor Adjaye of Western Nzima

In the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast Colony Western Province District Commissioner's Court Axim

The State Council of Western Nzima Coplainan

versus

Odzikro Kojo Menlah ..... Accused

I, Kojo Menlah of Twinen in Western Nzima in the Western Province of the Gold Coast Colony make Oath and say as follows:—

1. That I am the Odzikro of Twinen under the Paramount Stool of Western Nzima aforesaid.

2. That in the month of November 1931 while at Twinen aforesaid a messenger with a message stick came to me and invited me to a meeting said to have been then convened at Zinibu in Western Nzima by the Ahinfu (Chiefs) of Western Nzima State.

3. That I was unable to attend in person and therefore deputed the following persons; Kweku Erza Awonya and Battie to go and represent me.

4. That as I am informed by my said representatives and verily believe as soon as my said representatives arrived at the said meeting at Zinibu aforesaid, they desired to be informed of the object thereof.

5. That as I am informed and verily believe, the Ahinfu (Chiefs) assembled refused to state the object of the meeting until all the Chiefs had repaired to the mouth of the Suhoni Stream and there taken British Oath with the stream.

6. That, as I am informed and verily believe, one of the members of my deputation, namely Erza was forced to take the Oath in my name and on my behalf.

7. That after Oath had been administered to and taken by all the Ahinfu present and the said Erza then the Linguist of the Ahinfu assembled stated that Nana Annor Adjaye had sold all the lands of the Western Nzima State from Kabaku to New Town (French Frontier) and its hinterland to the British Government for £1000; that Nana Annor Adjaye had decreed that thenceforth any person entering his or her farm to take foodstuffs such such as Plantains, Cassava, Vegetables and also firewood was to be taxed a sum of money; that fishermen ascending the sea to fish were to be taxed; that any woman discovered to be in a state of pregnancy was to be taxed; that any bride or other newly married woman (Ayifur) was first to be taken to live with the Omanhin for seven (7) days before going to the husband (Bridegroom) and further that the amount of all such taxes would be divided and shared as two parts for the Government and one part for Nana Annor Adjaye.

8. That as I am informed and verily believe, all the Ahinfu present after hearing the Linguist recounting the foregoing dreadful charges against the said Nana Annor Adjaye appeared frightened and thereupon pronounced the said Nana Annor Adjaye destooled.

9. That as I am informed and verily believe, the members of my deputation suggested that the said Nana Annor, Adjaye should be cautioned.

10. That I am informed and verily believe, that upon my said representatives making the foregoing suggestion the said Ahinfu poured invectives and abuses upon them.

11. That as I am informed and verily believe, the meeting at that stage, adjourned to Ngrekasu also in the Western Nzima State aforesaid.

12. That I then personally attended the adjourned meeting at Ngrekasu aforesaid.

13. That at Ngrekasu, one Moses Mensah, clerk to the said meeting of Ahinfu, produced a paper and read from it a number of frivolous charges which contained none of those stated at the mouth of Suhoni Stream as the grounds upon which the said Nana Annor Adjaye had been declared destooled as aforesaid.

14. That I attended the trial of Nana Annor Adjaye which subsequently took place at Beyin aforesaid.

15. That at the said trial none of the charges stated at Suhoni Stream was preferred against the said Omanhin Nana Annor Adjaye but a number of frivolous charges, about twenty in number hastily put up after the taking of Oath and Oath at Suhoni Stream as aforesaid.

16. That during the said trial I heard the Omanhin Nana Annor Adjaye question the Ahinfu as to why the charges he had heard were to be preferred against him that he had sold the lands of Western Nzima to the Government for £1000; that he had introduced the Income Tax Bill; that he had arranged to proceed to England to receive from the King the Sword of the late famous King Kweku Ackah and to return to slaughter the people as aforesaid were not embodied in the charges now preferred against him.

17. That thereupon I discovered that I had been deceived and got annoyed that other frivolous charges had been preferred instead of those serious ones stated at Suhoni Stream as aforesaid.

18. That consequently I walked out of the place of trial determined to renew my allegiance to the said Omanhin Nana Annor Adjaye because I had become convinced that I had been deceived in the said matter.

19. That to the best of my knowledge and belief a large number of Ahinfu and Chiefs also found they had been deceived and are willing to return to their allegiance but are intimidated by the said fetish and Oath and are not as courageous as I am to break away.

20. That some time in the month of April 1932 the District Commissioner of Axim wrote a circular letter to me asking whether I would renew my allegiance to Nana Annor Adjaye.

21. That in answer to the said enquiry, I stated that I was willing to renew my allegiance to Nana Annor Adjaye.

22. That on or about the 11th day of May 1932, while I was at Beyin performing the funeral custom in connection with the death of a grand niece, I was arrested handcuffed and escorted to Sinibu where was assembled a number of Ahinfu and Chiefs of Western Nzima, without a writ of Summons first having been issued and served on me.

23. That at Sinibu I was taken before the assembled chiefs before whom I pleaded "not guilty" and to whom I pointed out the incongruity of defending myself to persons who were themselves the accusers and appeared to have made up their mind as to the ultimate decision; that more-over I offered to defend myself before other impartial arbitration.

24. That notwithstanding the foregoing, I was convicted and ordered to pay a fine of £35 including one bullock, one sheep and one case of gin for having violated the Oath cited in the said fine on the ground, as I told the Ahinfu, that the charges alleged against Nana Annor Adjaye at the mouth of Suhoni Stream which in my acquies ence in those charges were not those brought against him which said charges could not have induced me to join in the said destoolment.

26. That thereupon I was escort

ed all the way from Sinibu to Axim under handcuffs to be imprisoned in the fort St. Anthony Prison for a term of six months as aforesaid.

27. That on arriving at Axim, the District Commissioner was away on trek and I was taken back and imprisoned in the Native State of Attuabu.

28. That during the journey to and fro I was not given any food nor were the handcuffs removed from my hands even when I was in the Lorry or in a ferry Canoe.

29 That I was starved for three days when, upon the escort seeing me perspiring from hunger, he appeared frightened and gave a three penny bit but owing to the lateness of the day I could buy no food in the market at Attuabu.

30. That on the return of the District Commissioner from trek I was escorted back to Axim where on the 29th May 1932 I was granted bail.

31. That I was aggrieved by the said judgment and conviction and make this Affidavit in support of an application of Motion Ex-Parte for conditional leave to appeal from the said judgment.

Mr George Edward Moore, whose connection with the recent bloody riots in town resulted in his conviction and imprisonment for 12 months, was released from the Castle Prison on Monday morning at half past eight o'clock. He had been brought the previous day from the Central Prisons, Sekondi, where he did his time. On his release he proceeded straight to the Ahenfie, where the Omanhin and his people had foregathered to receive him. After a very ceremonial exchange of greetings out in the open, the crowd dispersed while the Omanhin, Mr Moore and some priviledged ones repaired indoors. Mr Moore in his address to the Omanhin begged for peace and unity in the State.

Return of Misses Quaye and Archer as Nuns

Miss Quaye and Miss Archer, who were sent to Europe to take the veil and be trained for work in the local Roman Catholic Mission, returned from France last Saturday night, having disembarked from the mail-boat at Accra. These two ladies have made history by being the first from this place to take the veil and qualify for mission work. They have taken up residence at the local St. Mary's Convent.

Miss Quaye's father is a mercantile storekeeper at Kwanyarku in the Agona State. Miss Archer is a daugher of Mr L. A. Archer, formerly Senior Agent of Messrs The West African Lighterage and Transport Co., Ltd., in this town, afterwards becoming Coast Manager for the parent Company

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society has taken up the cudgels on behalf of Chief Tshekedi, of Bechuanaland, and addressed a series of questions to the Secretary of State for the Dominions, particularly with regard to the existence of an official document which debars the chief of a native territory from dealing with a white man who has become a menace to the community. The Dominions Office in its reply refers, *inter alia*, to a letter from the Colonial Office in 1895 which records an interview between Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Chief Khama. It was therein stated that the..."Queen's officer will decide all cases in which white men are concerned." The reply also mentions that the previous reproofs to Chief Tshekedi were occasioned by his persistence in transmitting representations intended for the Secretary of State through incorrect official channels.

THE BRITISHER'S PROTECTION.

Tourists making their first jaunts around the world are impressed with the respect paid to the subjects of Great Britain in the great marts of commerce and the far corners of the earth as well.

Americans, French and even the subjects of Mussolini may find difficulty in extricating themselves from embarrassing situations for which they may or may not be responsible, but seldom is this the case where an Englishman is concerned.

The explanation is to be found in a recent news report from the heart of darkest Africa, where some months ago an Englishman was sentenced by a native chief to a flogging, despite the laws of the British protectorate which forbid the trial of a European by a native court.

The Englishman admitted the justice of the sentence and requested that no action be taken by his government, but a detachment of marines, under command of a vice admiral, acting as high commissioner for the protectorate, was sent overland to the far interior point where the native trial had been held.

In Britain's viewpoint the Englishman in question was not merely an individual. He represented in his person the British Empire, so the long trek to the interior of Africa was ordered, despite the comparative unimportance of the incident to be investigated.

This action of the British government stands in sharp contrast to the mild protests registered by the American government when a party of citizens of this country, including a woman, were thrown into a Majorcan jail and kept there for several weeks because of an affront to a member of the island constabulary. Had this group been British subjects the record would have been a very different one.

It is such incidents that explain why a subject of the British Empire generally gets better treatment when he is away from home than is received by travelers from other nations. The shadow of John Bull constantly falls upon his subjects when they are in other climes, but all too often the nationals of other nations when they get into trouble, whether innocently or otherwise, find that they must extricate themselves as best they can with but little aid from their governments.

Race Problem – 1933

Africa

Basutoland Chiefs and White Administration.

(BY PRO BONO PUBLICO.)

13-6-33

It seems to me that something will have to be done in the long run in order to change the present system of our chieftainship. A chief like a king is the pride of the nation; under the circumstances he is therefore indispensable to a well organised people.

Following the recent reports of the Mochochonono it would appear as though the idea of what a chief is, relative to his people, is not quite understood. I totally disagree with the suggestion of the '*Basutoland News*;' and I wish it would eradicate the idea of ever thinking of the total abolition of the Basutoland chieftainship. Up to a point I confess our chiefs have become nothing but a mere hinderance to the progress of the Basuto people. I personally advocate for a thorough re-organisation of the whole affair.

Still following on the reports we are told that our chiefs have proved incapable of carrying out the relief measures, and they have also hopelessly failed to co-operate with the Government. Further we are told that the country is in a state of distress and the people are faced with starvation to such an extent that the European administration has to take extraodinary and tremendously expensive measures to keep the people alive. The article goes on to say that there are many chiefs to-day in this territory who have motor-cars that are unnecessary and a useless luxury.

I am afraid some of these statements cannot be left to go by unchallenged. Unless certain technical points could be explained to me; it sounds absurd that we should be definitely told that our chiefs have done nothing to help the people; whereas there is every thing to prove that they have contributed as much to the welfare of the people as any other body. The truth is that they in their individual capacity or as a seperate body of chiefs have done nothing. No man, no matter to what colour he belongs, can boast of having contributed any-thing towards the maintenance of the Bantu people. All we know is that the Government has done every thing for our people in this territory. The question then arises: who is this Government? Surely not the white administration alone, but the chiefs, the white administration, and the Basuto people as a whole. Our highest official (R. C.) as an individual has not spent a farthing from his pocket; but has sanctioned the use of our own money towards the relief measures. It would be absurd and most unfair to expect our chiefs, unless out of mere courtesy, to draw money from their own personal banking accounts, when alive. The article goes on to say that there are many chiefs to-day in this territory who have motor-cars that are unnecessary and a useless luxury.

It is erroneous for any man to think the Basutoland Government is merely composed of the white administration. Let our white officials draw money from their personal banking accounts first; besides they have too many allowances such as *subsistence allowances* etc, I wish it could be made plain to them that they cannot administer any law unless a people upon whom they administer such law is well fed and in absolutely good condition. The plain and naked truth is that the Basuto people have done a lot to help themselves with tax they have accumulated for many year, They have had no help outside this tax money. We are not going to be bluffed therefore with a lot of irresponsible statements such as "Chiefs have proved incapable." Even the white officials of this country have failed to sacrifice a quarter of their monthly wages towards relief measures. On the strength of the above it is obvious our chiefs like our *white officials* have proved incapable and unreliable. Yet, they all, as the Government (one big body) have left no stone unturned to keep up absurd and most unfair to the nation.

Re-organisation of chiefs. At last I must come to what I would call "A re-organisation of chiefs. It takes up a tremendous courage to have to suggest ways whereby our chiefs could be so well organised without creating endless controversy and suspicion; I shall not elaborately go into this subject as I have already taken up a big space in this issue. So that I shall leave this matter to better levelheaded men than myself.

To say a word or two. It is true that the present system of our chieftainship has been presumably the best for a people which was just emerging from its primitive state. To think it could be still the best to-day is absurd. The majority of the Basuto have attained a very high standard of education, and it would, under the circumstances, require a ruler who has equally attained to the same standard of education. I would propose that Basutoland be ruled by only one chief. The rest of the chiefs to fall on the same basis with the rest of the commoners. The various districts to be ruled by men, preferably young men, who will be merely appointed to act on behalf of the administration. Such appointments to be done every three years or what ever the case may be.

[It appears that the writer of this article misunderstood "Basutoland News." The paper did not suggest the total abolition of chieftainship but that the number of chiefs be reduced.—*Ed.*]

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

House of Commons Questions.

African Trade and Industry.

In the House of Commons on February 14,

Mr. T. Williams asked the President of the Board of Trade the value and description in the trade of the United Kingdom of imports from, exports (domestic produce), and re-exports of merchandise to, each Colony of foreign Powers in Africa, excluding mandated territories, which are precluded by international treaty from granting preferences, for 1929, 1930 and 1931 respectively; and the corresponding total values for such Colonies in the trade of the United Kingdom?

Mr. Runciman: The Colonies of foreign Powers in Africa (excluding mandated territories) which are precluded by international treaty from granting preferences are the Belgian Congo, the French Ivory Coast, Dahomey and the following parts of French Equatorial Africa and Portuguese West Africa: the Middle Congo, part of Ubangi-Shari, part of Gaboon, Cabinda and part of Angola. Except in respect of the Belgian Congo, it is not possible to furnish details of the trade of the United Kingdom with these territories, as separate particulars in respect of each territory are not recorded in the trade returns of this country. The hon. member will find in Volume IV of the Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom for 1931 detailed particulars of our import, export and re-export trade during 1929, 1930 and 1931 with French West and Equatorial Africa as a whole, Portuguese West Africa as a whole, and the Belgian Congo.

Mr. Parkinson asked the President of the Board of Trade the value and description in the trade of the United Kingdom of imports from, exports, domestic produce, and re-exports of merchandise to, each British colony in Africa, excluding mandated territories, which are precluded by international treaty from granting preferences, for 1929, 1930, and 1931; and the corresponding total values for such Colonies in the trade of the United Kingdom?

Mr. Runciman: The British Colonies and Protectorates in Africa (excluding mandated territories) which are precluded by international treaty from granting preferences are the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, Zanzibar and part of Northern Rhodesia. The exact particulars asked for are not available, but the hon. member will find in Volume IV of the Annual Statement of Trade for 1931 detailed particulars of our import, export and re-export trade during 1929, 1930 and 1931 with Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, the Gold Coast, including British Togoland, Nigeria, including British Cameroons, Zanzibar and Pemba together, and Northern Rhodesia as a whole.

Mr. Annesley Somerville: Can my right hon. Friend say whether any steps are being taken, or are contemplated, to denounce the Congo Basin Treaty?

Mr. Runciman: This is by no means a simple question, as the interests are not all in the same direction. We have considered and examined it again and again.

Mr. Hammersley: May we take it from that reply that the advice of the chambers of commerce, that the Japanese Treaty is interfering very seriously with our trade, will soon be considered and a definite reply given by the President of the Board of Trade as to whether this advice should be acted upon?

Mr. Runciman: Any views expressed by these organisations will, of course, be listened to with respect.

Mr. Hammersley: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that this advice was rendered many months ago, that representations have been made continuously over a long period, and that we are always informed that they are waiting for the President of the Board of Trade to make up his mind?

Mr. Runciman: The hon. gentleman need have no anxiety on that score.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is not this increase of Japanese competition due solely to the rise in the pound relative to the yen or to the fall in the yen relative to the pound?

Mr. Runciman: I am afraid that at question time I could not go into the whole of the reasons for the severity of Japanese competition, but the wages that are paid in Japan are one of the factors that must be taken into account.

Mr. Rhys Davies asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether a concession for the development of the iron ore deposit at Marampa, Sierra Leone, has been granted by the Paramount Chief: if he will state the name of the concessionaire: and whether the concession was granted after consultation with, upon the advice of, and in full agreement with his Majesty's Government?

Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister: Yes, Sir. The concession was granted in 1927 with the knowledge and consent of his Majesty's Government. It is held by the Sierra Leone Development Company, who are now engaged on the exploitation of the deposits.

On February 15, Mr. D. Grenfell asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, with regard to the loan from the Colonial Development Fund for the development of the iron-ore deposits at Marampa, Sierra Leone, he will state the amount and conditions of the loan; the total amount already advanced and outstanding to date; to whom and on whose behalf the loan was granted; and the total subscribed capital of the commercial company concerned?

Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister: The amount and main conditions of this loan are given in Table A appended to the First Interim Report of the Colonial Development Advisory Committee—Cmd. 3540—of 1930, to which I would refer the hon. Member. Of the total loan of £500,000 the amount issued to date is £362,500, leaving £137,500 outstanding. Advances are made by instalments equal to the amounts from time to time called up and paid on the ordinary shares of the Sierra Leone Development Company. The loan was granted to the Sierra Leone Government, who re-lent it to the company. The subscribed capital of the company to date is £362,500, out of a total capital of £600,000.

Mining Prospecting Licences for Africans.

In the House of Commons on February 15, Mr. Price asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, under the mining Ordinances in force in British colonies and protectorates and mandated territories in Africa, Africans are being permitted to apply for and obtain licences to prospect for minerals; and, if so, under what conditions?

Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister: So far as the territories under the supervision of the Colonial Office are concerned, an examination of the laws relating to the grant of prospecting licences shows that, while in several territories certain standards of literacy and intelligence and of financial ability to discharge the incidental obligations are required in applicants for such licences, there is nowhere any discrimination on racial grounds.

RIGHTS OF THE NATIVES.

To the Editor of the TIMES.

Sir,—May I be allowed to add a few words in support of the plea entered by Lord Luggard, and so admirably discussed in your leading article, for a full and early discussion of the policy indicated by the proposal to amend the Native Land Trust Ordinance in Kenya?

The discovery of what may eventually prove to be an important goldfield situated in a densely populated native reserve in that colony has created a problem of peculiar difficulty. It is obvious that the gold cannot be left unworked merely because it is in a native reserve, but it is equally obvious that the Government, in which the mineral is vested, surface rights only being reserved to the natives, is under a special obligation, moral as well as legal, to see that the steps taken with a view to developing the goldfield are such as will not prejudice the African in respect of his surface rights. It is, however, now proposed to alter the existing law by an amendment which will permit the temporary exclusion of land from a native reserve for the purpose of mineral development without the addition to the reserve of an area equivalent to that so excluded.

The impression left by the answer recently given me in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for the Colonies was of the purely temporary nature of a proposal designed to meet immediate circumstances; but a closer consideration of the actual terms of the proposed amendment, as also of the circular issued to the natives affected, shows it to be of a much more extended character. In the event of mining leases being granted and reef mining being developed, though it may be true that the exclusion of the land may be "temporary," and that the land will eventually revert to the reserve, "temporary" in such case would in fact probably mean, so far as Africans alive to-day are concerned, "permanent." During this indefinite period displaced natives will have nowhere to go except into other parts of an already crowded reserve. Lord Luggard's comments on the subject of monetary compensation are extremely pertinent, for it must be always remembered that nothing will compensate an African for the loss of his land, added to which no Government can calmly contemplate the possibility of the creation of a landless African proletariat.

Since writing the above I have seen Sir Edward Gripp's letter in to-day's issue of *The Times* relating to the history of how the home Government insisted on the insertion in the Native Land Trust Ordinance of the provision requiring that land should be added to a native reserve to make good land excluded under the Ordinance. It is true that great differences of opinion were expressed at the time, and the possible difficulty of fulfilling such a pledge was foreseen in the Colony, but the then Secretary of State decided that, however great future difficulties might prove, the line of policy to be followed was of such overriding importance that

it ought to be embodied in the legislation designed to secure the land rights of the African natives.

No one doubts but that the local Government, backed by a solid body of opinion in the Colony no less than by opinion at home, is sincerely anxious to act fairly towards the natives and to avoid above all things making pledges which cannot be observed. But, it may properly be asked, are the circumstances of the present case such as to make it either impossible to keep our pledge or necessary to shake the faith of the natives in our good intentions by the proposed amendment of the law? Is there no land available to meet the circumstances, or is there no possibility of making land available by improvement through irrigation or otherwise? And is there no land already disposed of which could be resumed for purposes of settlement, as has been done in Tanganyika? It is clearly necessary that the position should be thoroughly understood before final action is taken, and it should help to restore confidence to the natives to know that Parliamant is deeply concerned about their rights. There appears therefore, to be every reason why the whole problem should be examined from every angle with the fullest knowledge of all the factors which enter into it. *Kaka kaka haina baraka* ("there is no blessing where there is haste") is an old Swahili saying which seems particularly applicable at this juncture. A Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has recently stressed the vital importance of land in African eyes and to African life, and the Morris Carter Commission is now engaged in an inquiry into the whole question of native land rights in Kenya. Let us therefore avoid any hasty step, and I trust that it may be possible for assent to the amending Ordinance to be witheld by the Secretary of State pending a full discussion of the whole subject by Parliament, with whom, as Lord Lugard rightly says, the ultimate responsibility rests.—Your Obedient servant,

R. W. HAMILTON.

House of Commons, Jan. 6.

The *Times*, Jan. 7, 1933.

N. Y. SUN

MAR 7 1933

Witchcraft Worries British

Radio, Movies and Native-Language Papers May Stamp Out Evil in Africa.

By JOSEPH GRIGG,

Staff Correspondent of THE SUN.

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LONDON, Feb. 27.—To stamp out the evil of witchcraft among Central African natives, which still constitutes one of the most baffling problems the British administration are facing in vast areas of the Dark Continent, the use of the radio, movies and native-language newspapers to spread educative propaganda among the tribal Negroes is advocated.

Frank H. Melland, formerly an officer in the Northern Rhodesian service, who has made an intensive study of this aspect of native life in Africa, has outlined the plan to the Government.

The present penal laws with which the Government aims to suppress the practice of witchcraft merely succeed, asserts Mr. Melland, in driving it underground without banishing from the natives' minds the implicit belief which they hold in it.

In recent months the Government of Kenya has had to deal with several cases in which so-called "witches" had been put to death by their tribes, and in one instance more than 100 natives were implicated. Although the law imposes the death penalty it is usual to commute this to a short prison sentence.

Attacks Present Plan.

In an interview with this correspondent Mr. Melland, criticizing the official British attitude to witchcraft, said:

"In the eyes of the government there is no such thing as witchcraft, though the native believes implicitly in it and this belief seems to be fairly prevalent throughout the Bantu tribes of Central and East Africa and the West Coast colonies. To all appearances this conviction has not been affected appreciably by the encroachment of the white man and the dissemination of his ideas among the natives. While they accept the radio and the airplane without question as part of his civilization they are convinced that he is quite crazy for not believing in witchcraft. For that reason it is difficult to get the confidence of the natives and discuss this problem with them. They will not talk with white officials about it because they know it is against the law, and will not willingly speak to missionaries on this subject because they are aware that it is contrary to their teachings.

"Under the legal system of the African colonies it is against the law to practice as a witch-doctor, and if a witch is killed the law demands that the doctor who has divined for him and the sufferer who claims to have been bewitched and any one else implicated shall hang for murder. Needless to say, the majority of district officers merely go through the form of passing the death sentence and then commute it to a short term of imprisonment.

"But, in my opinion, it is all wrong that there should even be a penal code which prescribes the death penalty for this. We ought to sympathize with the witch-doctor rather than persecute him, and try to understand the workings of the native mind in which the belief in witchcraft is so deeply rooted I personally should be in favor of investigating as far as possible the claims of the witch-doctors and licensing those who possessed genuine powers as herbalists. After all, they are a real part of the social structure of the natives and should be taken seriously by the white man."

Mr. Melland declared that what is needed is a new name for what is called "witchcraft" for want of a better term.

"This thing which goes by the name of witchcraft is really of two kinds. In the first place, any inexplicable form of disease, whether it afflicted human beings, or cattle or crops, is attributed to witchcraft by the natives. Secondly, it is a well established fact that some individuals are thought capable of casting spells on others and by means of these spells to harm or even kill them. Anyone who is accredited with such powers is called a 'witch'

Eaten by a Lion.

Mr. Melland then told of an incident which occurred during his service in Africa:

by the natives."

"One native lost his temper with another and said to him publicly, 'I shall go and turn myself into a lion and eat you on your way back to your village.' The next morning the body of the second native was found, on the road between the two villages, half devoured by a lion. The villagers said, 'This is such an obvious case of witchcraft that even the white man cannot disbelieve it,' and they had no hesitation in taking the native who had made the threat before the district commissioner.

"Even the accused man himself said, 'Well, all I remember is going into the hut and falling asleep, but I may have turned myself into a lion and eaten the other man. I don't know at all.' Of course all the commissioner could do was to tell them that this was merely a coincidence and send them away again."

It was explained by Mr. Melland that the witch-doctor is not the man who does the bewitching, as is frequently thought, but someone to whom the native, who imagines he has been bewitched, goes for help.

"His primary function is that of a diviner who investigates the cause of the trouble. He may find that it is not due to witchcraft at all, but to a broken taboo or offended spirits. But if he does think it due to witchcraft he sets about to divine who has done the witching. His method is that of proving by ordeal. The doctors themselves believe in their powers of divination, but not in their 'mumbo-jumbo' methods, though you cannot get them to admit that it is all a fraud."

Mr. Melland said that intuition and a thorough knowledge of what goes on in the village are the chief sources of the witch-doctors' powers. Many of them are herbalists as well and possess a sound knowledge of primitive medicine.

Sons of Basutoland

The Comet

Are you satisfied, Sons of Basutoland? Are you satisfied wherever you be that your own country is unable to support you by giving you work? That your own country is unable to give you comfort and (that your country is not going improving) but going down. Are you satified that your own people live like slaves in their own country? Are you satisfied that your people are not progressing on right lines? If you are not satisfied why are you keeping quiet,? Why don't you give your best advice through the Mochochonono paper? You are free to do so, and by so doing you will help your own people and be known to your own men. Sons of Basutoland, are all over South West, East and Central Africa and in the Union as Teachers, Clerks, Motor-drivers Ministers of Religion, Court Interpretors, Miners, Police officers etc Why then can't we get their advices through the paper. Have hey forgotten their own country? We know of a few best School Inspectors of the Native Schools are Sons of Basutoland in the Union We think it is their duty to help the Old Country with their advices We are ready to hear from them about everything and anything relating to the improvement of our Country or for the good of our country as well as protecting Basutoland from slavery or indirect slavery. At present we seem to be at our wits end as to the best course as we are suffering internally and externally from indirect slavery. Our good advisors preach about soil erosion and are surprised why we do not listen attentively. The reason is that we know they are telling the truth but our minds are possibly occupied with deeper problems needing urgent attention such as an empty dummies of babies when there is no work to be got no food in the dry season. Our foolish minds say" Why does the Government not employ Convicts to stem soil erosion, than worry us just yet? The Government has flocks of Convicts who eat food for nothing, and are housed for nothing, why worry us when we are worried by the depression?" So sons of Basutoland knowing as you do what your own people are, you are the best to suggest to us what should be done.

Personally for the good of our farmers and butchers we would suggest that "Markets" be opened in every "Camp," where, on specified dates stock could be brought to the Auctioneer for sale say once or twice a month. If proper notification and advertisement of this matter could be made, it would meet the long felt necessity to secure stock. As it is at present the butchers and others who wish to purchase stock do not know where to find it, it is nevertheless Sometimes even when they know where to find it, it is inconvenient to get it--distance and expense being the barriers.

it ought to be embodied in the legislation designed to secure the land rights of the African natives.

No one doubts but that the local Government, backed by a solid body of opinion in the Colony no less than by opinion at home, is sincerely anxious to act fairly towards the natives and to avoid above all things making pledges which cannot be observed. But, it may properly be asked, are the circumstances of the present case such as to make it either impossible to keep our pledge or necessary to shake the faith of the natives in our good intentions by the proposed amendment of the law? Is there no available to meet the circumstances, or is there no possibility of making land available by improvement through irrigation or otherwise? And is there no land already disposed of which could be resumed for purposes of settlement, as has been done in Tanganyika? It is clearly necessary that the position should be thoroughly understood before final action is taken, and it should help to restore confidence to the natives to know that Parliamant is deeply concerned about their rights. There appears therefore, to be every reason why the whole problem should be examined from every angle with the fullest knowledge of all the factors which enter into it. *Kaka kaka haina baraka* ("there is no blessing where there is haste") is an old Swahili saying which seems particularly applicable at this juncture. A Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has recently stressed the vital importance of land in African eyes and to African life, and the Morris Carter Commission is now engaged in an inquiry into the whole question of native land rights in Kenya. Let us therefore avoid any hasty step, and I trust that it may be possible for assent to the amending Ordinance to be witheld by the Secretary of State pending a full discussion of the whole subject by Parliament, with whom, as Lord Lugard rightly says, the ultimate responsibility rests.—Your Obedient servant,

R. W. HAMILTON.

House of Commons, Jan. 6.

The *Times*, Jan. 7, 1933.

advocated.

Frank H. Melland, formerly an officer in the Northern Rhodesian service, who has made an intensive study of this aspect of native life in Africa, has outlined the plan to the Government.

The present penal laws with which the Government aims to suppress the practice of witchcraft merely succeed, asserts Mr. Melland, in driving it underground without banishing from the natives' minds the implicit belief which they hold in it.

In recent months the Government of Kenya has had to deal with several cases in which so-called "witches" had been put to death by their tribes, and in one instance more than 100 natives were implicated. Although the law imposes the death penalty it is usual to commute this to a short prison sentence.

Attacks Present Plan.

In an interview with this correspondent Mr. Melland, criticizing the official British attitude to witchcraft, said:

"In the eyes of the government there is no such thing as witchcraft, though the native believes implicitly in it and this belief seems to be fairly prevalent throughout the Bantu tribes of Central and East Africa and the West Coast colonies. To all appearances this conviction has not been affected appreciably by the encroachment of the white man and the dissemination of his ideas among the natives. While they accept the radio and the airplane without question as part of his civilization they are convinced that he is quite crazy for not believing in witchcraft. For that reason it is difficult to get the confidence of the natives and discuss this problem with them. They will not talk with white officials about it because they know it is against the law, and will not willingly speak to missionaries on this subject because they are aware that it is contrary to their teachings.

"Under the legal system of the African colonies it is against the law to practice as a witch-doctor, and if a witch is killed the law demands that the doctor who has divined for him and the sufferer who claims to have been bewitched and any one else implicated shall hang for murder. Needless to say, the majority of district officers merely go through the form of passing the death sentence and then commute it to a short term of imprisonment.

"But, in my opinion, it is all wrong that there should even be a penal code which prescribes the death penalty for this. We ought to sympathize with the witch-doctor rather than persecute him, and try to understand the workings of the native mind in which the belief in witchcraft is so deeply rooted I personally should be in favor of investigating as far as possible the claims of the witch-doctors and licensing those who possessed genuine powers as herbalists. After all they are a real part of the social structure of the natives and should be taken seriously by the white man."

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N. Y. SUN

MAR 7 1933

Witchcraft Worries British

Radio, Movies and Native-Language Papers May Stamp Out Evil in Africa.

By JOSEPH GRIGG,

Staff Correspondent of THE SUN.

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LONDON, Feb. 27.—To stamp out the evil of witchcraft among Central African natives, which still constitutes one of the most baffling problems the British administration are facing in vast areas of the Dark Continent, the use of the radio, movies and native-language newspapers to spread ed[illegible]tive propaganda among the tribal Negroes is

present we seem to be at our wits' end as to the best course as we are suffering internally and externally from indirect slavery. Our good advisors preach about soil erosion and are surprised why we do not listen attentively. The reason is that we know they are telling the truth but our minds are possibly occupied with deeper problems needing urgent attention such as as empty dummies of babies when there is no work to be got no food in the dry season. Our foolish minds say" Why does the Government not employ Convicts to stem soil erosion, than worry us just yet? The Government has flocks of Convicts who eat food for nothing, and are housed for nothing, why worry us when we are worried by the depression?" So sons of Basutoland knowing as you do

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Race Problem - 1933

Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

GOLD AND NATIVE LANDS IN KENYA.

African World 1-21-33

SIR ALBERT KITSON'S SURVEY OF THE NEW FIELD.

Sir Albert Kitson, who recently visited and reported on the Kakamega Goldfield at the request of the Kenya Government, writes to "The Times" as follows:—

On reading several recent letters in the Press regarding gold-mining in the native reserve of Kavirondo, Kenya, it appears to me that there has been a good deal of misapprehension in the matter. As I have recently returned from Kenya, after an extensive examination of the goldfield and its general conditions, the following remarks from my personal knowledge may not be out of place.

I feel sure that there is no intention or desire to take away permanently from the natives any of their land, but only to occupy temporarily what are really only small portions of that goldfield. The area at present open to prospecting forms a small part—about one-eighteenth—of the very large native reserve of Kavirondo, comprising between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 acres of land. Perhaps it may be advisable to show clearly what the requirements for the development of the goldfield really are.

The field comprises a strip of country extending roughly West to East for some 30 miles, and North to South some 14 miles, with an area of about 420 square miles (268,000 acres). Two large rivers, the Isioko and the Yala, flow generally westward through it. They have hundreds of tributary streams and gullies, varying in length from about four miles to 100 yards. Most of these channels are gold-bearing, many of them profitably so.

Alluvial and Reef Mining.

Mining in the field is of two kinds—alluvial and reef. Alluvial mining is the treatment of pebbly gravel, sand, and clay in the streams. Reef-mining is practically confined to the ridges and slopes between the streams. Reef-mining involves the treatment of auriferous rock (quartz), which occurs in veins, from less than an inch, to reefs several feet in thickness. A cap of soil, to upwards of 20 ft. in thickness, covers almost the whole of the goldfield, obscuring the rocks below the surface. Because of this soil the outcrops of quartz are few, and the quartz-reefs are found mainly by bores, pits, and trenches.

In those cases in which these reefs have been proved to be auriferous, underground work will have to be done to prove whether or not such reefs extend considerably, in length and depth, and contain sufficient gold to make them profitable for mining. Such of the trial bores, pits and trenches as prove to be unpromising are abandoned, and filled with soil taken therefrom, thus restoring their original condition. In those cases where the reefs promise to prove to be of economic value they need to be tested by shafts, etc. In the early stages of development these shafts will be equipped with windlasses for hauling the material (decayed rock, etc.) out of the shafts. This material, and the shafts, sheds, and huts of the miners, will occupy only small portions of the total area needed—say five to 10 acres in each case.

In the event of a reef proving to be sufficiently large, rich, and continuous in length and depth to make a large mine eventually, the surface required for residences, mining plant, etc., will of course be greater, but the area even then required will be a matter of acres only—probably from 20 to 40 acres in each case.

It can thus be seen that in the prospecting stage the surface of the ground is broken temporarily by pits, etc., but these are filled before they are abandoned. It may also be mentioned that no trench, etc., is made on any cultivation without the consent of the native owner, and then only after he has received compensation by mutual agreement.

Conditions of Lease.

Should work on a reef give promise that the reef is economically workable, a lease has to be obtained. Then conditions are changed from those of the original prospecting licence. A lease may be granted for so long a period as twenty-one years, though it may, of course, be relinquished at any time. When the lease lapses the land will revert to the Reserve. It has, however, been thought advisable to provide for its temporary exclusion from the Reserve during the currency of the lease. I understand that, wherever practicable, alternative land will be added to the Reserve, but that should no suitable land be available it is now provided that the compensation may take the form of a cash payment to the local Native Council, who will be responsible for administering it for the benefit of the individuals affected.

Should it so happen that a promising reef, in a thickly populated locality, develops so well that a good mine is the result, it may be necessary for a native family or two to remove from the place to vacant spaces in the neighbourhood, and this with compensation to the native. This removal is no particular hardship, since areas under cultivation are periodically changed under the native system of farming, and there are many areas on the field which are completely unoccupied by natives or not used by them for cultivation. I have passed through many parts of the field without seeing any farms or native huts there, and feel confident that should many good mines be developed and the native residents, if any, be temporarily displaced they will be settled on other land in the Reserve, where they can live and farm.

Benefits to the Natives.

The benefits already derived by the natives from the goldfield may be briefly summarised thus:—

Employment has been given to several thousands of them. They are paid good wages, live at their own homes, and enjoy their pastimes among their own people. Their farm produce is sold to the prospectors and miners without having to be carried by their women to market—long distances in many cases. Timber required for mining purposes is sold by them to the miners.

So desirous are the young fellows for work in the goldfield near their homes that they eagerly apply to any newcomer for work on it. Naturally, they prefer to work near home than hundreds of miles away from it, as so many are doing.

KENYA GOLD AND THE NATIVES' LAND

Manchester Guardian Weekly 1-20-33

Government's Defence

The Colonial Office, in a statement issued on Wednesday night, defends the policy of the Kenya Government regarding gold-mining on native land. It states that the minerals are the property not of the occupiers of the land, whether European or native, but of the Crown. Large areas have from time to time been set aside for the native population, but the creation of such reserves has in no way infringed the Crown's ownership of minerals in or under the soil.

"An ordinance passed in 1930—the Native Lands Trust Ordinance—established the principle that the lands thus set aside—totalling nearly 31,000,000 acres—should remain for the use and benefit of the native tribes of the colony for ever. The ordinance also provided that the Government could exclude from a native reserve land required for such purposes as railways, aerodromes, townships, waterworks, and for the development of the mineral resources. Where any such exclusion was made an equivalent area of land was to be added to the reserve.

The statement says that the discovery of gold is of the greatest importance to Kenya as a whole, and declares that "every care has been taken to safeguard not only the interests of individuals in the immediate present but also the ultimate interests of the tribes as a whole in the future."

The Colonial Office denies that there has been a breach of faith, and continues:

"The matter of immediate importance is to ensure that any individual native whose holding covers ground required for mining operations shall receive compensation for disturbance and an alternative piece of ground on which he may live and work in close proximity to his market."

ARCHBISHOP ON KENYA

Consequences of Breaking Pledge

The Church's attitude towards the Government's policy in Kenya was referred to by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his address at Canterbury Convocation on Wednesday. "At present the trouble is very small in scale," he said, "and we all recognise that it is necessary that this discovery of gold should be developed, but much will depend upon the way in which the beginnings of the entry of a new population is handled.

"We are bound to do all we can to see that the permanent interests of the native races are not in any way sacrificed. To set aside a pledge deliberately given to the natives with regard to land reserved for their occupation, is a step which carries with it moral as well as political and economic consequences.

"There is no motion before us, but I will ask you whether—when the question is raised, as it will shortly be in the House of Lords—I may say that I have the support of the bishops in this House in asking that at least fuller time and consideration should be given before the Government comes to any official decision on a matter which so closely affects our honour as trustees of the native races of Africa."

GOLD AND NATIVE LANDS IN EAST AFRICA.

African World 1-21-33

The interesting and authoritative account of the position at the Kakamega goldfield given by Sir Albert Kitson at the East Africa luncheon this week, is especially opportune in view of the outburst of criticism—much of it ill-informed and one-sided—evoked by the Kenya Government's proposed measures to meet the situation created by the impending development of a large mining industry there. Sir Albert has also contributed a letter to the "Times" (reproduced elsewhere in this issue) in which he makes it clear that the development of the gold mining industry at Kakamega by no means implies the permanent alienation of any of the natives' lands, and also points out that the area open to prospecting occupies only a very small portion of the Kavirondo Reserve. The goldfield is now in process of transition from the alluvial stage to that of reef mining, and if and when reefs of sufficient richness to justify deep mining are proved a lease must be obtained, the conditions of which differ materially from those of a prospecting licence. The Amendment Bill provides that the value of land so leased shall be paid to the local Native Council, while any natives who may be required to move to new areas will receive compensation on an agreed scale for the loss of their huts, etc. On the

other hand, the natives will derive many substantial advantages from the new industry, which provides large numbers of them with employment close to their homes, and affords a ready market for their timber and foodstuffs. These facts are emphasised in the statement issued by the Colonial Office on Wednesday, and it is believed that the steps being taken by the Kenya Government will be found adequate and equitable, affording the maximum safeguards for native interests. Sir Albert Kitson concluded his speech at the luncheon with a re-affirmation of his faith in the future of Kakamega, which gives every indication of developing into a goldfield of the first importance, and a valuable addition to the Empire's sources of supply of the precious metal.

GOLD COAST

Population, 3,120,000; Capital, Accra; Governor, Sir Shenton Thomas. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Motor Spirit, Motors, Tobaccos, Preserved Foods, Bags and Sacks, Flour, Rice, Soap, Liquors. Chief Exports, Cocoa, Gold, Diamonds, Manganese, Mahogany, Palm Kernels, Shea Nuts, Copra.

On his arrival at Accra on November 30, Sir Shenton Thomas was the recipient of addresses of welcome from the Accra Town Council and the African Officials' Association, and his first official act after taking the oath of allegiance was to present Mr. T. Whitfield with the O.B.E. awarded to him for a quarter of a century's public service to West Africa.

In reply to the addresses, Sir Shenton said that local conditions were so different from when he left the Colony three and a half years earlier that he would have to be careful how he drew on his previous experience, and old opinions would need to be revised.

He deplored the economies that had been necessary, but feared that the sacrifices made by officials would have to remain for the time being, and that further economies would be needed ere the budget could be balanced. In effecting economies he knew he could rely on the support of the whole community, and he looked to the leading Africans for advice, trusting that they would give it without waiting to be asked.

The occasion was obviously not one for a statement of general policy, but Sir Shenton declared himself in favour of the existing system of providing higher posts for Africans and of educating the people, as far as funds permitted, to take an increasing share in their own administration.

A Religious Di

A serious clash n November 22 at Agona Swedru between d followers of "Prophet" Appiah, who had d the "Goliath Church" in the neighbour

It appears that Appiah's religious mania led to an obsession that the world was coming to an end in December, and that he was responsible for the freeing of prisoners at Accra. While on his way to effect this with 30 followers armed with spears, he was stopped by the Assistant District Commissioner, Mr. Walker, and about 20 police. It was found impossible to disarm the fanatics, and when an attempt was made to flank them, they became violent.

Supt. Okko, who was protecting Mr. Walker, was stabbed in the throat, and died, saluting as he fell.

Up to this point the police had attempted only to disarm their opponents, but from the death of their Superintendent they began to take the offensive and soon put Appiah's followers to flight, killing several and capturing the "Prophet" and several badly-wounded supporters.

Progress in French Africa.

FRENCH West Africa is not allowing herself to be outdone in constructive optimism by her small British neighbours, the Gambia and Sierra Leone, and it is interesting to note that in his annual address to his Council the Governor-General, M. Brévié, sketches out a policy of "production, peace, and renaissance" which gives no heed to those who would tempt him to let things slide financially until assistance from France herself becomes inevitable.

The effect of the depression upon French West Africa was particularly severe, for suddenly in her march on the high road of prosperity she found, in 1931, the value of her products halved, while in the following year decreased demand halved their tonnage. The steps she took in those conditions were to obtain further preference from the Metropolis for such commodities as coffee, rubber, sisal, and cassava, to advance some 14,000,000 francs to her producers, to reorganise her ground-nut production, offering such inducements to the "strange farmers" from the Sudan as to increase their number from 25,000 in 1931 to 40,000 in 1932, and to develop her *sociétés de prévoyance*, which, from 35 in 1931, are expected to reach 70 this year, with a membership of 2,300,000, capital of 13,000,000 francs, and reserves of 1½ millions.

In addition to these "defensive" measures conserving the present position, M. Brévié is continuing an "offensive," one of the chief items in which is the irrigation of the "French Nile," giving an area for the development of a whole race, for what is most needed in French Africa, he says, is a prosperous population. Moreover, the development of the Niger area will make "less uncertain" the prospects of the Trans-Saharan Railway by providing traffic for the north.

The far-sighted nature of the loan programme may be seen from the fact that the sum provided by the budget is 210,000,000 frs., made up as follows:—Ports and rivers, 80 (millions); railways, 39; roads and bridges, 15; public health and santitation, 36; military buildings, 3; Niger irrigation, 33; and miscellaneous, 4. Worked out in territorial tasks, M. Brévié says that this means that, in addition to the general aim to develop the resources of French West Africa, with special regard to agriculture, water supplies, and stock-raising, Senegal will give special attention to ground-nuts and stock, the future of the latter also demanding the development of water supplies and the formation of forest reserves; French Guinea will develop her roads, and of course improve her banana production, which reached 16,000 tons last year; the Ivory Coast will continue to improve the quality, and so the value of her products; Dahomey will extend and develop her palm-groves and plantations; and the colonies of the hinterland, less hit by the depression, will make the most of local handicrafts, tobacco production, the trade in fish, and so on. The problems of extending territory, of pacifying it, and of organising administrations are things of the past—the task now is to enrich the land and make the lot of its inhabitants easier. M. Brévié pays tribute more than once in his address to the loyalty and good sense which has supported the people through two disastrous years without any great outbreak of disorder, and that in face of the temptation that arose though the general retrenchment in official staff.

With regard to the financial situation, attempts to ease the position of the people in 1931 by the reduction of taxation had been carried beyond the limit, and budget deficits had reduced the reserves to some 35,000,000 francs. Some thought that this should be remedied by a subsidy from France, but M. Brévié preferred the wiser course of balancing the budget. For 1933, estimated general expenditure amounted to 683,377,500 frs., or a reduction of about 111 millions on 1932. If the spending capacity of the people were measured by the value of their exports, this was a large proportion of their income, but M. Brévié pointed out that external trade was but one item, and that often not a large one, in the real public wealth of the area. Administrative expenses were largely distributed internally, and the burden was largely borne by internal industries and trade, through direct taxation. Poor external trade often meant an improvement inside the country. In the case of rice, for instance, M. Brévié pointed out that 70 million francs' worth was bought in normal times, whereas when produce prices fell the farmer at once left the "economic" crop for food production. Nevertheless, since the fall in prices meant a fall in standards of living, taxes had been reduced as far as possible, and since the beginning of the depression had been cut by as much as 100 million francs.

Race Problem-1933

Africa

NIGERIA

Population, 20,700,000 ; Capital, Lagos ; Governor, Sir Donald Cameron. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Fish, Salt, Oil Fuel, Motors, Tobacco Goods, Apparel, Bags and Sacks, Kerosene, Galvanised Iron, Rice. Chief Exports, Palm Produce, Ground Nuts, Cocoa, Tin, Hides and Skins, Cotton.

Boatbuilding in Lagos.

The rise of a small boat-building industry in Lagos has recently been recorded. Mr. J. A. Ricketts, a West Indian, who arrived in Nigeria about 1911, found, when planning a water transport business three years ago, that while canoes were too slow for his purpose, imported launches were too expensive. He therefore built experimentally and fitted with a Thorny-croft engine a craft intended to carry 15 passengers. This was so successful that he has now provided himself with a fleet of six vessels, the largest carrying 100 passengers, and with them he is able to serve the principal lagoon towns from Epe to Badagry. Since the boats have to fulfil all the conditions laid down by local ordinance, it is evident that the construction is thoroughly workmanlike.

Enugu's First Horticultural Show.

Enugu held its first horticultural show, organised largely by Capt. H. B. Shepheard and Mr. R. E. S. Morgan, on October 15, at the local Sports Club, when the exhibitors included Europeans and Africans. The chief prize, a silver-gilt cup presented by Capt. Buchanan Smith, Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces, for the highest aggregate of points, was won by Mrs. J. Listrope, wife of a West Indian station master.

It is hoped to perpetuate the interest shown by the formation of a Horticultural Society, and the organisers of the show accordingly appointed Mr. E. R. Butler, Major G. M. Faux-Powell, and Mr. J. B. A. Abadoo to consider the matter and to prepare suggestions for presentation at a public meeting. Undoubtedly such a society would, as elsewhere, soon lead to an improvement in gardens and compounds generally, both in their æsthetic and utilitarian aspects as chief source of the variety of fresh vegetables that is such a valuable aid to health in West Africa.

Mr. W. P. Riegels' Appeal.

Mr. W. P. Riegels has been successful in his appeal against the conviction and sentence to 12 months' imprisonment awarded him in May last by Mr. Justice Berkeley for alleged fraudulent appropriation of 150 barrels of cement belonging to Onitsha Industries, Ltd., a company of which he was managing director.

The Full Court of Nigeria found the conviction wrong in law, for "although the whole transaction was suspicious in the highest degree," the judges were not satisfied that intent to defraud was the only and irresistible inference to be drawn from the facts proved.

Armistice Day in Nigeria.

The capital of Nigeria is still without its War Memorial, so that the principal Armistice Service took place, as in former years, in Christ Church Cathedral, and was attended by Mr. G. Hemmant, the Officer Administering the Government, and some of his chief officers. A fine address was given by the Rev. J. A. Angus, Principal of Igbobi College, who took as his text: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord." He asked to what extent was the solemn service becoming mere sentiment—a solemn farce—and urged that more action was needed, as when Bishop Oluwole, greatly in advance of his time, suggested that the end of the war should be celebrated by the destruction of all spirituous liquor in Nigeria.

A service was also held at Holy Cross Cathedral, where the Government was represented by the Chief Secretary, and where poppies were sold on the Cathedral steps by the sisters from St. Mary's Convent. The total result of poppy sales in Lagos was £376, and when from this is deducted £15 received too late for last year's account, it will be found that the collections were only £1 behind last year—a wonderful result when one considers how incomes have been reduced everywhere.

At Ibadan and the other military centres there were the usual military parades, attended by administrative officers and by most of the civilian population, and poppies were sold as in former years.

The Colonial Church.

The dedication of the extended Colonial Church by the Bishop of Lagos on November 27 marks the completion of a building which was started for the Europeans in Lagos in 1911. Until 1922, when the present Colonial Church Council was formed on lines similar to those in England, the services were conducted by a chaplain attached to the Education Department, and paid by the Government. Since that date, however, the European congregation has been responsible for its finances, with what success may be judged from the fact that the cost (£1,600) of the two new bays and the porch added to the church have been defrayed from reserve funds.

The church was dedicated under the name of St. Saviour's, and offers another example of the manner in which small congregations in Africa, whatever their race, manage to achieve success when they set themselves the task of church-building.

A Case for a Long View.

THE discovery of gold in the Kavirondo Reserve has brought into existence a problem which was only hypothetical when the Kenya Native Lands Trust Ordinance was passed, and it is regrettable to see that local official acts have shown a decided intention to reverse the pledges then given.

Fortunately for Kenya, and indeed for Tropical Africa generally, the attempt to go behind the promise to replace land with land has received strong condemnation from such authorities as Lord Lugard and from the British Press, and although lack of detailed information as to the probable degree of mineral development has led to a great diversity in the remedies proposed, there is unanimity in calling for an adequate exchange of land, even at the cost of displacing settlers on the borders of the reserve.

While gold is so necessary to the material progress of the world, it is not to be supposed that the Kakamega goldfield can be left unexploited, but exploitation must be accompanied by the greatest care in regard to local interests. The stupidity—to put it at its highest—of thinking that monetary compensation, however generous, can replace the use of land should be obvious to all who know Africa, especially when that compensation, unless it be in the form of long-term annuities paid direct from the goldmining industry, can be paid only out of taxation chiefly contributed by Africans themselves.

The curious "explanation" issued to the people by the Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya, paraphrased by the London "Star" as meaning that "when the Native has been debauched and his land turned to a slag heap, then all will be as before," is not a document likely to strengthen African faith in British promises. Its purpose is, apparently, to suggest that interference with surface rights will affect only a small area at shaft-head, and it holds out possibilities of obtaining compensation for any slight disturbance caused, and of getting far more favourable prices for foodstuffs, firewood, and so on, while the young men are all to find work close at hand.

This pleasant picture of a mining camp in undisturbed surroundings, with adequate labour coming in spontaneously from the surrounding villages, is hardly borne out by fact, and it is surprising that an old Gold Coaster writing to the "Times" should so far have forgotten the deforestation, the immense dumps of sand, the need for land for labour compounds, and the difficulty of securing that labour except from a distance, as to support the view that operations are mainly underground, and are entirely beneficial to the neighbourhood. Nor does the washing of gold from a riverbed leave the property in such an idyllic state as the Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya suggests,

especially where dredges come into action, eating into river banks and impeding navigation with their heaps of tailings.

In return for a "temporary" loss of ownership that may extend over more than one generation, for the impoverishment of their country to the extent of its mineral assets, for the turning of the population from its normal course of agricultural evolution to temporary industrialism, Africans need more than compensation in cash that may soon be re-extracted from them in taxation.

Steps should be taken, on the lines of those of Sir Arnold Hodson in Sierra Leone, to ensure to the people as a whole a just share in the exploitation of their own minerals, and such share could best take the form of direct improvement of their lands, as Mr. E. S. Grogan most sensibly urges. Africans are often wasteful farmers for the simple reason that, in the absence of capital for fertilisers, there is no course but shifting farming open to them, and if the mining industry gave rise to a trust fund from which the soil deficiencies could be made good, the removal of the gold would secure a lasting benefit to agriculture, and possibly help the land to support some of the landless class of wage-earners which the present legislation is in danger of increasing.

As Dr. T. Drummond Shiels has pointed out, the pledge given to Kenya is an application in part of the principles of the White Paper on Native Policy, and its subsequent approval by a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament raises the pledge from party to national status. Either we keep it in letter and spirit, or we risk losing the confidence of the people in East, and possibly in due course in the whole of Tropical, Africa.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN KENYA.

Settlers and Land Bill.

NAIROBI, January 9.

A special issue of the "Official Gazette" notifying Bills "assented to in His Majesty's name" includes the Natives Land Trust Amendment Bill. The position now is that, although the Governor has assented to the Bill in His Majesty's name, the King is still able to exercise his power of disallowance. Until the Government have been notified that His Majesty's power of disallowance will not be applied, the Bill cannot come into force.

Both Government and settlers are perturbed by the controversy in the British Press over the Bill, although it is recognised that much of the criticism comes from a body of opinion untainted by prejudice. Kenya is most anxious to satisfy this opinion that the Colony's only desire is to seek the wisest and most practicable solution of the problem giving maximum safeguards to the native interests. At the same time there is an undercurrent of feeling that major issues of Colonial policy should not be decided by pressure arising from such controversies.

The "East African Standard" declares that there is a case for delay in applying the amended Ordinance. Such delay would provide an opportunity for more accurate appreciation of the facts in Great Britain, while the people of Kenya cannot but be willing to take every step necessary to avoid charges either of undue haste or of neglect of native interests.—"The Times."

Gold and Native Lands.

Major Ewart S. Grogan writes to "The Times" as follows:—"The discovery of gold, which for the moment is regarded by a distracted world as a more important commodity than the foods and materials which citizens use, has served the purpose of focusing reasonable and practical attention upon the complicated problem of native land tenure. . . . A country can effectively and properly differentiate its administrative practice in favour of specific sections of the community, but it is heading for chaos if it attempts so to differentiate its legislative principles. There are, in fact, two diametrically opposed political theories dictating land legislation in Kenya. On the one hand there is the Henry Georgian theory, which dominates land title for individual holders of land from the Crown, and on the other hand, the 'Native Lands Trust' theory, which aims at some sort of super title to land held by native communes from the Crown.

"The present Crown Lands Ordinance provides for recurrent revaluations, compulsory development, and every conceivable limitation of user, and in the recent Town Planning Ordinance even the right to 15 per cent. compensation for compulsory expropriation was excised: whereas in respect of land allocated to native tribal tenure the right to use, abuse, destroy, and withhold is emphasised even to the absurdly inequitable degree of the suggestion, referred to by Lord Lugard, that land held by non-natives should be compulsorily resumed and given in exchange to natives from whom land may have to be taken to meet the needs of society. 'The problem,' as Lord Lugard writes, 'bristles with difficulties,' but vague 'colour emotionalism' will not solve them, whereas common sense may.

Native Destruction of Land.

"The essential factor in this land question which is little recognised, even in Kenya, is that the tribal native is not a farmer, but a destroyer, of land: the rate at which he destroys land varies in my experience from two to twenty years, according, probably, to the original exchangeable calcium factor. The tribal natives of Kenya are to-day occupying a vastly greater area than they were occupying thirty years ago, and yet during the same period they have impoverished and evacuated an immense tract of country. A policy, therefore, based on the supposition that you can fit diminishing areas of cultivable land to increasing numbers of natives without a drastic change in agrarian method must perpetually break down.

"The Kakamega gold find offers a great opportunity for constructive policy. The opening of the field and its working is now providing and will continue to provide much more remunerative work than the growing of small parcels of low priced commodities for export and therefore relieves the pressure of population on the land. The liquid wealth passing to their trustees will form the fund which will enable the provision of the lime and phosphate which local research has shown to be essential to the increase and even maintenance of the fertility of the enormous areas of the reserve which will be unaffected by any actual mining operation."

LINK WITH LIVINGSTONE.

Miss Jessie Lennox Dies at 102.

A personal friend of Dr. Livingstone and Florence Nightingale, Miss Jessie Lennox, has died in Edinburgh, aged 102.

She went to Africa as a missionary in 1858. After a period in England she went out again in 1862. She then accompanied Mrs. Livingstone from Durban to the mouth of the Zambesi, and witnessed the meeting between the great missionary and his wife there.

Returning to England, Miss Lennox was associated with the Nightingale Training School for Nurses in London, and became a close friend of Florence Nightingale. She was one of the first six army sisters appointed by the War Office to the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley.

BLACK EYES FOR GEORGIA

THE bleeding backs of hundreds of black men and women are evidence sufficient to prove the brutality of Southern chain gangs. For years and years these helpless victims have been trying to attract the attention of America to these barbaric practices. But their pleas fell on deaf ears and hearts of stone.

But America stands on its ears when a book is written showing that not only Negroes but white men are treated worse than brutes. It is easy to imagine what Negro prisoners endure when white men are subjected to such terrible punishment.

Georgia is complaining because of the unfavorable publicity given its prison system. High public officials say that Georgia is kind and considerate of her prisoners. "We work them with chains around their legs all day and chain them to their bunks at night, but that is not so bad," they say.

Georgia must change its inhumane treatment of its prisoners. Governors of two great states refused within the past month to return two prisoners to Georgia. After hearing all the evidence in the two cases they decided that **the lives of the escaped convicts would be endangered by their return to Georgia.** That is a black eye for Georgia.

Just last week the State of Georgia sentenced a Negro to serve 20 years for the violation of a sixty year old statute. A young man was found distributing "red" literature. The trial judge remarked, "I think the sentence thoroughly justifiable." Perhaps, and probably, this same judge thinks that the chain gangs of Georgia are justifiable.

In Georgia lynchers and mob murderers go unpunished; but a young man distributing "red" literature gets twenty years. Another black eye for the sovereign State of Georgia.

MINISTERS PROTEST HERNDON SENTENCE

Declaring the conviction of Angelo Herndon, Cincinnati negro, in Atlanta last week on charges of "inciting to insurrection" as the type of injustice which indicates we live in a maze of corruption wherever the courts and public sentiment must deal with black people," a group of ministers representing several colored churches Wednesday made public a resolution deploring the long sentence of from 18 to 20 years given the negro.

The resolution pointed out that "some of the slayers of Dennis Hubert were given shorter sentences for brutal murder . . . to say nothing of the thousands of lynchers who roam at will throughout the nation." The resolution opened with, "We as ministers and American citizens desire to trust our courts for absolute justice."

Among the ministers signing the resolution were: Revs. A. F. Bailey, pastor, Butler Street C. M. E. church; J. A. Martin, editor Sunday school periodicals, C. M. E. church; C. L. Johnson, district superintendent, M. E. church; N. J. Crolley, pastor, South Atlanta M. E. church; J. N. Peacock, formerly pastor Rush Congregational church; J. H. Wiggins, presiding elder, Atlanta district, C. M. E. church; W. J. Tharpe, M. E. church; W. B. Wood, pastor, Fort Street M. E. church; J. N. Newton, Griffin district, M. E. church; N. T. Bridges, Rome ristrict, M. E. church; I. C. Nicholson, West Mitchell C. M. E. church; J. A. Baxter, Central M. E. church.

Thursday, January 26, 1933

Ministers Deplore Herndon Sentence

ATLANTA, Jan. 25 (AP)—A group of ministers representing Negro churches here Wednesday made public a resolution deploring the 18 to 20-year sentence given Angelo Herndon, Cincinnati Negro Communist, here last week on conviction of charges of inciting to insurrection.

The resolution said the sentence was the "type of injustice which indicates we live in a maze of corruption wherever the courts and public sentiment must deal with black people."

Race Problem-1933

Africa

PLIGHT OF KENYA NATIVES

Full of Distrust in Spite of Assurances of Compensation

The annual report for 1931 of the Native Affairs Department of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, issued from H.M. Stationery Office on Wednesday, contains the following reference to the discovery of gold:—

An event of outstanding importance in North Kavirondo was the discovery of gold. By the end of October 75 prospectors were at work and by the end of the year over four hundred permits had been issued at provincial headquarters.

The situation is not without its difficulties, as the area of the discovery is situated in a densely populated and closely cultivated part of the native reserve. Inevitably the natives regarded the entry of European prospectors with great misgiving, fearing for the security of their land.

On December 21 and 22 meetings attended by the Acting Chief Native Commissioner, the Acting Commissioner for Local Government, Lands, and Settlement, and the Acting Provincial Commissioner, were held with the gold-diggers and the local natives. An attempt was made to explain to the natives that mineral rights were by law reserved to the Crown and that, therefore, the Government was not guilty of any breach of faith in exercising those rights. At the same time they were definitely assured that anyone who might be unavoidably dispossessed of his home or his cultivation would be not only compensated but would be generously compensated, and that the Government would see to it that no native would be the loser by the discovery of gold in his country.

Delicate Situation

It is to the credit of the mining community and of the local inhabitants that probably nowhere in the world has a gold rush been attended by so little friction, and this in spite of the fact that the situation has been a very delicate one and full of legal uncertainties, and has appeared to possess every element of trouble.

The general atmosphere of peace and goodwill which has obtained is largely due to the tact and common sense of European Police Constable Slatter, who was posted to the diggings in November and who seems to have been accepted by gold-diggers and natives alike as an arbitrator who had the interests of all at heart, and whose decisions were consequently to be generally accepted without demur.

In spite, however, of the sensible manner in which the natives have hitherto accepted the situation, it would be idle to deny that they view the whole procedure with profound distrust.

A "Rude Shock"

In a later chapter specially devoted to land questions the report states:

Mining activities in North Kavirondo have come as a rude shock to the native inhabitants, and have done much to reawaken suspicions as to the Government's bona fides.

Land which has been gazetted as reserved for their "use and occupation for all time," and which they quite naturally believed, therefore, to be free from all alien occupation and interference, they have suddenly found overrun by increasing numbers of Europeans who appear to have come there to stay and who, in addition to the comparatively innocuous damming and diversion of streams for the purposes of alluvial gold washing, have taken to digging enormous pits and trenches all over the place among the villages and in the cultivation and have, moreover, pegged out the whole countryside as an earnest of their future operations. Where, the natives ask, is the sanctity of Government pledges? Where the guaranteed security of their land?

Every endeavour has, of course, been made to get them to understand that mineral rights are reserved to the Crown, that the right to prospect and mine for gold must override the convenience of individuals, and that every individual who suffers inconvenience will be generously compensated; but in spite of all explanations they remain bewildered and are genuinely nervous as to their fate.

Monetary Benefit

The position is a delicate and difficult one, but at least this much can be said, no native has yet been one penny the worse for the miners' activities, and a large number have greatly benefited. They have benefited by wages for their labour, by a market for the sale of their produce such as milk, chickens, and eggs, and they have benefited by the compensation paid to them for disturbance. The miners pay for permission to reside on the land, they pay for every maize stalk destroyed by their operations, and they pay for the grass to thatch the temporary shelters in which they are staying.

INCREASE IN GOLD OUTPUT

His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies Trade and Information Office has received a notification from Kenya to the effect that the output of gold from January to October last was 8,112 ounces, compared with 2,450 ounces in the same period of 1931.

Health and Education in French Africa

West African

LAST week we reviewed shortly the broad lines of French policy in West Africa, showing how the present Governor-General, M. Brévié, hoped to save the group of colonies from sinking to the position of a subsidised dependent of the Metropolis, and below we add a few further particulars showing that wise spending in regard to the vital departments, at any rate, has not been unduly curtailed.

In most directions, of course, M. Brévié had chiefly retrenchment to report, and this on such a scale that the Public Works Department had lost over 100 men, and the Railways 126. Further reductions could only be effected at the risk of seriously weakening the administrative services.

The educational position was that in 1932 there were 48,000 scholars in 370 State schools, and some 8000 pupils, 3,000 of them girls, in 66 private institutions, while in eight upper primary schools there were 1,000 scholars and in the ten trade schools some 670 apprentices. The secondary schools at Dakar and St. Louis held about 500 pupils more. Compared with British West Africa, these figures for the whole of French West Africa seem small, but M. Brévié is adopting a more liberal policy than in the past, and points from recent educational circulars include the establishment of experimental schools in which there is no age limit, the stressing of the practical bias, to suit locality, in urban and rural schools, the need of vernacular courses for adults, even though the general educational policy is the diffusion of the French language, and the promotion of a kind of Franco-African culture, rooted in the country, and evolving with the people, for the attachment of the African to his country and also to France should not be regarded as contradictory ideas. This last point is to be welcomed as marking a special advance on the old colonial idea of assimilation.

Of the other great aid to African progress, public health, M. Brévié says that in the past five years attendances at the public dispensaries have doubled to 5,450,000, while one-third of the whole population has been vaccinated against small-pox. The anti-leprosy service treated 477 lepers—a small number, if the incidence of the disease is proportionately as great as in British West Africa, and the sleeping-sickness doctors treated 9,447 cases in Haute Volta, Dahomey, and Niger. In the anti-plague campaign in Senegal 400,000 vaccinations were given, 485,000 rats destroyed, and many villages protected. The result was to be seen in a great reduction in the number of cases, which from 2,928 in 1929 fell to 720 in 1931 and to 179 last year, while the general health would be improved by the various measures for the general amelioration of the public lot as shown in the ordinary and loan expenditure programmes for the year.

A Native Agent-General.

The Comet

In a sub-leader The Friend of the 9th. inst. discussing the above subject says:

Much good has come out of the system under which Indian Agents-General have represented the Union. India has sent men to represent her in this country who are among the most distinguished Indian and Empire statesmen. The present occupant of the office Sir. Maharaj Singh, has not lowered the standard set by his predecessors, notable among whom was Mr Sastri. The princi-pal work of an Agent General is to do everything that is humanly possible to bring about a better relationship between the European and Indian peoples of the Union. Naturally, the Indian Agent-General's viewpoint is pro-Indian just as that of the Union Europeans is pro-European. But between these two points of view there is a large field of common interest. It is the Agent-General's object to seek for and to extend all points of agreement and not to do anything to exacerbate points of difference. The fact that so little has been heard in South Africa of the "Indian question" during recent years is very largely due to the residence in this country of a succession of outstandingly able Indian Agents-General.

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1-4-33

"A Prosperous New Year"

Poor old 1932 has past. We have already started the new year.

Low prices for wool, skins, grain and stock, shortgae of money and scarcity of employement, have combined to make life a hard one for people in Basutoland.

We must "take stock" and see what can be done to improve our position.

Agricultural experts tell us our country is overstocked. Are we doing anything to improve this?

Everywhere you can see dense flocks of cattle, sheep andnumerous horses—mere bags of bones carrying on a grim struggle to exist.

Sometimes we are blessed with rain. It rushes down the mountain slopes, caving channels and dongas and eroding the soil. Millions of tons of our soil are borne away by the Orange. Caledon and tributarys rivers every year.

Our few remaining trees are chopped down by our more ignorant brothers and sold to be burnt as firewood. Wood being so scarce our womenfolk collect the dry dung from the veld. They manage to cook our food with this fuel,but do not know that they are robbing the soil of its natural food.

Thousands and thousands of bags of wheat are grown every year in this territory. It is of such poor quality that this one of our last paying exports is threatened with extinction.

All this makes very sad reading.

Basutoland our beloved and beautiful country is in a dangerous position. Just as dangerous as that of being conquered by enemies from without 70 to 100 years ago.

Today the freind of ignorance, neglect and laziness are attacking us from within.

While reducing the number of our stock we must breed better quality so that the actual value and usefulness will increase.

The ever growing dongas can be stopped and the surface water conserved by dams.

Plantations of trees will within a few years supply all the firewood and timber we require. After some years these timber belts could become a very rich source of income

Better seed, sowing, cultivation and threshing will produce a grain sought for instead of despised by Union buyers.

It is up to us to lift the veil of ignorance that still blinds so many of our race.

Let us all make "Improvement" or New Year Resolution.

The destiny of Basutoland.

Moshesh
1-4-33

One hundred years ago Moshesh the founder of the Basuto nation was compelled by circumstances then prevailing to gather round him remnants of impis of Chaka whose sword then threatened to wipe out large and small tribes of the Bantu who inhabited the eastern and western slopes of the Drakensberg mountains. In those days South Africa was sparsely populated and the country was teeming with game and wild beasts. Large tracts of the country were uninhabited It was the habit then among the Bantu for tribe to raid a neighbouring tribe for the purpose of plunder, and if the raiders were successful they would seize the cattle of the tribe and drive them home to increase their herds. The vanquished in turn would organize an impi to follow and re-capture their stock or to raid a weaker tribe to pay back what they lost to the stronger tri e. Thus Chaka who boasted of a large army that he moved from one part of the country to the other and who had the ambition to subdue all South Africa, terrorised all the Bantu. It was then that the wise and sagacious Moshesh who was chief of a small tribe of Basuto sort the co-operation of the neighbouring chiefs who knowing his chivalry and bravery in war willingly submitted to his persuasions. Moshesh was conscious of his weakness against his enemies but he was brave and wise. He acquired the friendship of the strong and was kind and generous to the weak and charitable to the poor and needy. Thus he gained popularity among his people and friends and had their confidence. He entered into an alliance with such stronger chiefs as Lethole of the Makhoakhoa, Moletsane of the Bataung and Sekonyela of the Batlokoa who eventually regarded him as their Paramount Chief. He also paid tribute to Chaka though he had not been subdued.

Hearing of the missionaries and how useful they were to the Natives by enlightening them and advising them he sought for them and found them. Though they were willing to come to him and settle in his country he was not satisfied. He wanted to win them to remain with for always, and to show his friendliness and desire to keep them with him he gave them a present of a hundred cattle or so. Having settled he did not treat them as enemies of or spies. he did not murder them as some savage chiefs have done in other parts of the world but treated them with great respect and availed himself of their advice. As a result of his wisdom diplomacy and wise administration the Basuto nation still boast of a country of their own where they enjoy self-government.

Grandsons of Moshesh

Under the protection of the British Government the grandsone of Moshesh continue to rule th Basuto without fear of outside invasion. But history repeats itself Moshesh was wise and diplomatic and was a servant of his people, but his grandsons dominate their peop e and treat them almost like slaves. No wonder they treat them thus. They are well secured against outside invasion and will not require their services as warriors. They the chiefs) have multiplied tremendously with the result that they are taking up arms against each other in consequence of desputes over lands and boundry lines between themselves. Through avarice and desire to fatten on their people's property they have brought to discredit the native courts once reputed for their justice and worse still instead of dispensing justice the tendency is to encourage lawlessness and disorder among the people by delaying their decisions on disputes and in some cases not carrying out their decisions nor executing their judgments. They have thus lost the confidence of the people who would have been depending on European courts for justice if they had not been compelled by law to wait on their chiefs for justice and could not get access to the European courts except by an appeal from the Paramount Chief's court.

Further the chiefs by being more backward in education in most cases than their people they are a stumbling block to the progress of the territory and the people

Native Press

With the advent of the Native press in the territory the disabilities of the people and their grievances had been repeatedly brought to public light. At first it seemed as though the vioce of the people through the medium of the press, was like a voice crying in the wilderness with nobody to hear it. But the press was patient and insistent until at last it was heard Slowly a change became evident and to-day the authorities are trying rather half-heartedly to sweep their house.

To-day the destiny of Basutoland is no more in the hands of the chiefs but it is in the hands of the Basuto if only they could themselves of the weapon of the press.

selves to believe that Basutoland is barren of thoughtful men and young men who could plead the cause of the people in the press to bring about peace order and prosperity and re-kindle a healthy spirit among the forces for progress among the Basuto.

a successful issue, men who by their eloquence and foresight could lead the way to progress. Victory is not won lying down therefore stand up and gird your loins and advance in spite of difficulties in your way. Let 1933 be the year of the beginning of the mobilisation of

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Moshesh

One hundred years ago Moshesh the founder of the Basuto nation was compelled by circumstances then prevailing to gather round him remnants of impis of Chaka whose sword then threatened to wipe out large and small tribes of the Bantu who inhabited the eastern and western slopes of the Drakensberg mountains. In those days South Africa was sparsely populated and the country was teeming with game and wild beasts. Large tracts of the country were uninhabited. It was the habit then among the Bantu for tribe to raid a neighbouring tribe for the purpose of plunder, and if the raiders were successful they would seize the cattle of the tribe and drive them home to increase their herds. The vanquished in turn would organize an impi to follow and re-capture their stock or to raid a weaker tribe to pay back what they lost to the stronger tri e. Thus Chaka who boasted of a large army that he moved from one part of the country to the other and who had the ambition to subdue all South Africa, terrorised all the Bantu. It was then that the wise and sagacious Moshesh who was chief of a small tribe of Basuto sort the co-operation of the neighbouring chiefs who knowing his chivalry and bravery in war willingly submitted to his persuasions. Moshesh was conscious of his weakness against his enemies but he was brave and wise. He acquired the friendship of the strong and was kind and generous to the weak and charitable to the poor and needy. Thus he gained popularity among his people and friends and had their confidence. He entered into an alliance with such stronger chiefs as Lethole of the Makhoakhoa, Moletsane of the Bataung and Sekonyela of the Batlokoa who eventually regarded him as their Paramount Chief. He also paid tribute to Chaka though he had not been subdued.

Hearing of the missionaries and how useful they were to the Natives by enlightening them and advising them he sought for them and found them. Though they were willing to come to him and settle in his country he was not satisfied. He wanted to win them to remain with for always, and to show his friendliness and desire to keep them with him he gave them a present of a hundred cattle or so. Having settled he did not treat them as enemies of or spies, he did not murder them as some savage chiefs have done in other parts of the world but treated them with great respect and availed himself of their advice. As a result of his wisdom diplomacy and wise administration the Basuto nation still boast of a country of their own where they enjoy self-government.

Grandsons of Moshesh

Under the protection of the British Government the grandsons of Moshesh continue to rule the Basuto without fear of outside invasion. But history repeats itself. Moshesh was wise and diplomatic and was a servant of his people, but his grandsons dominate their people and treat them almost like slaves. No wonder they treat them thus. They are well secured against outside invasion and will not require their services as warriors. They the chiefs) have multiplied tremendously with the result that they are taking up arms against each other in consequence of desputes over lands and boundry lines between themselves. Through avarice and desire to fatten on their people's property they have brought to discredit the native courts once reputed for their justice and worse still instead of dispensing justice the tendency is to encourage lawlessness and disorder among the people by delaying their decisions on disputes and in some cases not carrying out their decisions nor executing theirjudgments. They have thus lost the confidence of the people who would have been depending on European courts for justice if they had not been compelled by law to wait on their chiefs for justice and could not get access to the European courts except by an appeal from the Paramount Chiefs court.

Further the chiefs by being more backward in education in most cases than their people they are a stumbling block to the progress of the territory and the people

Native Press

With the advent of the Native press in the territory the disabilities of the people and their grievances had been repeatedly brought to public light. At first it seemed as though the vioce of the people through the medium of the press, was like a voice crying in the wilderness with nobody to hear it. But the press was patient and insistent until at last it was heard. Slowly a change became evident and to-day the authorities are trying rather half-heartedly to sweep their house.

To-day the destiny of Basutoland is no more in the hands of the chiefs but it is in the hands of the Basuto if only they could themselves of the weapon of the press.

forces for progress among the Basuto.

their eloquence and foresight could lead the way to progress. Victory is not won lying down therefore stand up and gird your loins and advance in spite of difficulties in your way. Let 1933 be the year of the beginning of the mobilisation of

Race Problem = 1933

Africa.

BLACKSMITHING IN AFRICA.

Kogro Novices Must Serve Two Years as Apprentices.

How, in aboriginal Negro society, apprenticeship, initiations as a skilled craftsman, and the production of satisfactory work in native handicrafts and industry are deeply involved in ritual and magic, is described in an article in the March issue of Field Museum News. Wilfrid D. Hambly, assistant curator of African ethnology at Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago is the author. Mr. Hambly was leader of the Frederick H. Rawson-Field Museum Ethnological Expedition to West Africa. Among the objects brought back by this expedition, now on exhibition at the museum, is a set of blacksmith's tools obtained only after the utmost difficulty.

"On arriving among the Ovimbundu of Angola," writes Mr. Hambly, "I was anxious to find to what extent ritual in handicraft survived. No objection was made by the tribesmen to an inspection of their tools and processes, or to making photographs of those; but for a long while no monetary offer could persuade a blacksmith to part with his tools, despite the fact that he had the material and skill to make others.

"The reason for this reluctance is that in earlier days death was the penalty for a man who disposed of his large hammer. A boy wishing to become a blacksmith must serve an apprenticeship of two years without pay other than instruction by his master. When the time for formal initiation of the novice arrives, the master, at an elaborate ceremony, presents him with a set of tools, which are sprinkled with blood from sacrificed animals. The novice still promises not to part with these under penalty of dire misfortune.

"Although clay for making pottery was easily obtainable at a pit near the village, women made an unnecessary journey to secure clay. The reason was the consecration of a particular spot by the medicine-man, who killed a chicken and allowed its blood to drop on the clay. Similarly, a rock must be consecrated as a surface for pounding grain.

"A hunter serves an apprenticeship when young, and at his initiation his bow and arrows are sprinkled with blood of animals. He is expected then to use certain pottery vessels exclusively for cooking. The bows and arrows of dead hunters are kept in a hut, which is entered only by a professional, who lives near by. The night before a hunt he pours over the weapons of his predecessors a libation of beer mingled with the blood of a sacrificed fowl. During life a hunter mounts the skulls of slain animals on poles near his dwelling. At death he is the only person to be buried in a stone tomb on the top of a rocky hill."

The Human Interest First.

THE discussion in the two Houses of Parliament a few days ago on the development of the Kenya goldfield as it affects the local African population is of direct interest to British West Africa, especially the Gold Coast, where also large areas bearing gold are being opened up. It is not unlikely that West Africa, in connection with which Great Britain owes so much to the wisdom and the sense of justice of Lord Lugard, was in that statesman's mind when he called attention to the Kenya episode, and delivered a memorable confession of faith in principles, faithful and strict adherence to which alone can conserve and strengthen Great Britain's true interests in what may be styled non-European Africa.

The first of these principles is honourable discharge of our duty as trustee, especially in all that concerns the thing most vital to all African communities, enough consideration to the United States' point of view over the debt problem; we refuse to regard the settlement of our debt, and the debts of France and Italy, as of minor importance to world recovery compared with other problems such as falling prices and fluctuating exchanges, which, apparently, is the opinion of the more moderate men in the United States.

Most of us are tired of discussing the rights and wrongs of this case; we can no longer become enthusiastic when we read in our daily papers of each new tentative "rapprochement" between the United States and ourselves. Our fundamental differences remain unchanged, and it is becoming increasingly clear that only a miracle will lead to a solution.

Congress, and the millions whom Congress represents, can never be educated in time to accept the substance of the British point of view, and since they realise this, it seems too much to hope of United States politicians that they will take any step that will deprive us of the responsibility of defaulting. The failure of the United States public to recognise the gravity of the situation which they are bringing upon themselves is one more example of the failure of democracy in certain departments of activity. We have before us the prospect of a small group of politicians who do accept as valid the majority of our reasons for cancellation or drastic reduction of war debts, but whose hands are firmly tied because the ignorance of the electorate carries more weight than the necessarily better informed opinions of experts. Here lies a deep difficulty of democracy: the vote of the intelligent man is no more powerful than that of the fool, and as the majority of the world is not made up of wise men, democracy must entail in some matters the sacrifice of the intelligent to the foolish.

Germany: Another Stalemate?

We have taken the United States as an example of others, and to the Times, the Observer, the "Manchester Guardian," and other newspapers, British public opinion has shown clearly that it will not have another vast mass of Africans made landless, in Kenya or anywhere else. The Kenya Government, especially the Governor, Sir Joseph Byrne, as might have been expected from his record at Sierra Leone, is not only aware of this really imperial attitude, but also in sympathy with it. But we cannot see that it has met the "Manchester Guardian's" point, that clear and sympathetic settlement of the Africans' land problem ought to have been made before mining development was allowed. The human factor should come first; especially when it is a factor so almost pathetically willing, as Africans generally are, to co-operate with British people, if British people will be true to British principles and extend courteous consideration to people themselves courteous and hospitable to a fault.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN EAST AFRICA.

Commission of Inquiry Appointed.

It is officially announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has appointed a Commission to undertake an inquiry into the Administration of Justice in Criminal Matters in East Africa.

The personnel of the Commission is as follows:—

Chairman: Mr. H. G. Bushe, C.B., C.M.G., Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Members: Mr. A. D. A. MacGregor K.C., Attorney-General, Kenya; Mr. W. MacLellan Wilson, of Kiambu, Kenya; Mr C. E. Law, Puisne Judge, Uganda; Mr P. E. Mitchell, M.C., Secretary for Native Affairs, Tanganyika.

Secretary: Mr. A. B. Griffin, LL.D. Registrar of the High Court, Uganda.

The terms of reference of the Commission will be:—"To inquire into the administration of the Criminal Law in Kenya, Uganda, and the Tanganyika Territory in relation to the procedure and practice of (a) the Courts other than Native Courts, and (b) the Police Authorities, and to consider whether, in regard to the procedure or practice of such courts or authorities, any alterations are desirable (a) in the case of natives, and (b) generally."

Mr. Bushe will leave England for East Africa on February 23, and the Commission will commence its work towards the end of March. The Commission will sit to take evidence at various places in Kenya Uganda, and Tanganyika Territory.

CATTLE FIGURES.

The number of European-owned cattle in Southern Rhodesia in 1931 increased by 4.8 per cent., compared with 0.9 per cent. in 1930. Restrictions imposed on account of disease were unavoidably responsible. The numerical increase was 48,016. Native-owned stock increased by 4.5 per cent.

Europeans own 954,161 head of cattle and natives 1,628,299, giving a total for the colony of 2,582,460, comparing with 2,468,418 in 1930.

Local consumption declined, the figure being 82,683, compared with 108,643.

During the year 4,156 head of cattle were reported as [illegible].

The exports of cattle fell from 60,871 head in 1930 to 10,280 in 1931.

There is one owner of cattle who possesses more than 40,000; three who possess between 20,000 and 40,000; three who possess between 10,000 and 20,000; and eight who possess between 5,000 and 10,000. There are altogether 2,821 cattle owners, and 2,048 of them own less than 250 head.

Of the 954,161 European-owned stock, 307,882 are cows, 132,786 are heifers, 149,236 are calves, 10,268 are bulls in use, 4,067 are other bulls, 111,756 are trained oxen, 150,061 are untrained oxen, and 88,105 are yearling oxen. Purebred stock numbers 13,752 heads, and Shorthorns head the list of grade cattle with 32,143, Herefords coming next with 30,324.

There are 2,618 horses owned by Europeans and 141 owned by natives in the colony, while Europeans own 11,795 donkeys and natives 46,664. Sheep are owned by Europeans to the number of 46,732, a decrease of 4,747, and by natives to the number of 288,770, an increase of 9,890.—"Bulawayo Chronicle."

THE BLACK MAN IN SOCIETY.

GRAVE WARNING BY EXPERT.

CIVILISATION AS THIN VENEER.

Outspoken condemnation of coloured people being received into society and feted in this country was made by Mr. James Stuart, formerly Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs in South Africa, in a lecture at the Royal United Services Institution yesterday.

Lord Ampthill, who presided, said that Mr. Stuart in the days of Queen Victoria brought to England a deputation of Swazis and was an interpreter of the Zulu language—a rare accomplishment for an Englishman.

Mr. Stuart said that the native problem was a serious, menacing, and practically world-wide affair. In London coloured people from all parts of the world, in ever-increasing numbers, were received in society, welcomed into the bosoms of English families, and publicly feted and entertained by philanthropic and other bodies.

"It is nothing to host and hostess and their daughters," he continued, "that, a few months later, the guest will be back in his own polygamistic surroundings, and, with European garments cast aside, rushing off in scantiest garb to every available beer-drinking, witch doctor's 'smelling out' performance, or faction fight within reach. All that impresses is the momentary appearance and the novelty of welcoming an African brother.

NOT RACIAL PREJUDICE.

"There are, of course, different types of African men and women, some more educated and civilised than others, but even of those, few are as yet eligible to be introduced into European society. It is not a matter merely of colour and racial prejudice, but one of wisely upbringing and uplifting the man in the midst of the snares and the dangers of a civilisation alien to his own.

"The listless attitude I complain of and seeming absence of policy or active friendly concern in this regard, will, if not remedied, one day react on Great Britain.

"I do not want to be unreasonably hard on coloured visitors to these islands. I wonder if Parliament has ever called for statistics about them, there must now be some hundreds in London alone—but I do wish to sound a note of warning, for I am afraid that, unless

something be done, some closer supervisory responsibility accepted and exercised, the relations between the Dominions and Colonies and the Mother Country will not be all that they ought to be, nor, in the long run, I fear, will the interests of the natives in those Dominions be much improved." —*Morning Post*, Jan. 5, 1933.

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Mr. Stuart is a Victorian termed as an Expert on South African Native matters. How far true his statements are about that region I do not know, as I hail from that part of Africa known as Gold Coast. The lecturer did not confine himself to South African Natives but made a sweeping statement against all the coloured peoples of the Empire—a dangerous procedure which will, I am sure, cause the friction he sought to create.

What strikes me forcibly is that Mr. Stuart retains and advances his ancient ideas of Victorian days and seems to have overlooked the fact that out of 7 members of our great Empire, 5 are dark skinned peoples who are carrying their full share of the Empire's burdens.

The heart of the British public is to-day as sound as ever and my Race has little to fear that Mr. Stuart's strictures will impress the philantropic minded from exercising their rights and privileges—When I think Mr. Stuart while sojourning in South Africa must have enjoyed the hospitality, however crude, of South African natives during his travels, it makes me feel that his mind must be very narrow indeed. Had he had experiences in British West Africa he would have been able to speak in a totally different vein to his hearers.

It appears that Mr. Stuart is looking upon the colour of a man's skin to make his deductions, forgetting that genius, talent and virtue will be honoured whether clad in rags or broadcloth and that the nobility of a manly nature will not always continue to be estimated according to the colour of his skin. Mr. Stuart's idea that a man's skin, black or brown, though he be a British subject as he himself—is not to be admitted to English society or homes however high his social status and qualifications may be, sounds ridiculous advice in these days to broad minded individuals.

I am dear sir, yours etc.—

(Sgd.) OBU.

11, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4,
8th January, 1933

THE GOLDFIELD IN KENYA

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Sir,—Yesterday I received a copy of Sir Albert Kitson's letter in your issue of January 17 on the subject of the situation in the Kavirondo goldfield. I at once cabled that it was most misleading, and would follow up my cable with a letter.

I am bound to accept Sir A. E. Kitson's statement that he "saw no evidence at any place of resentment or displeasure at the presence of European miners on their lands." But every contact on this question which I have had with Africans compels me to contest his assumption that "had there been any such feelings entertained by those I saw, my twenty-one years' experience among African natives in their farms and villages would have made them apparent." I can truthfully assure Sir Albert that the resentment is there, though he did not discover it.

"The field comprises a strip of country extending roughly west to east for some thirty miles and north to south some fourteen miles, with an area of about 420 square miles (268,000 acres)." This is what he wrote, and I have searched his letter from the first word to the last for any reference to the universally known fact (in Kenya) that this field is being extended from day to day (it now stands at 700 square miles, a figure given me a week or more ago) and that there is a vast area of 5,900 square miles concerning which a petition has been sent to the Kenya Government that it be not granted to the applicant, who has asked for a sole prospecting licence. It gives me no pleasure to have to show in detail how misleading Sir Albert Kitson's letter is on questions of really major importance.

To those of us in Kenya who want to believe that the Government is possessed of all the virtues claimed for it there is one aspect of the matter which baffles us. If the areas which will have to be excluded temporarily are so small and so negligible as is claimed, why did not Government take the very simple course of putting one of the unalienated farms on the eastern border of the North Kavirondo Reserve back into the Reserve, and so avoid breaking our word to Africans? The more Government and its supporters protest that the areas to be excluded are of small acreage the more difficult it is to understand their action. Why break our word for a matter of a few acres? I am assured by very good authority that there are many Europeans on the border who would be only too glad to sell enough of their land back to Government for the purpose of adding it to the Reserve to replace land excluded. Here would have been a solution which would have avoided all the present difficulty.

Sir Albert says that the natives are "paid good wages." The usual wage is 33 cents a day of from five to six hours, i.e., fourpence. This wage is low even for the cheap labour of the East, with its low standard of living. Only the present unprecedented depression would induce men to work for such low wages. I gladly endorse every word of what Sir Albert says about the willingness of the men employed to engage themselves to work for the miners, but I could wish that he had said less about the nature of "the benefits" brought to the natives, or else a good deal more. He says "they are paid good wages, live at their homes, and enjoy their pastimes among their own people." Under the conditions in tribal life, when the wage-earner lives at home, this means nothing more or less than that he is fed by his womenfolk. I do not believe that one employer in a hundred realises that the man he employs can accept such low wages only because he has his womenfolk to fall back on for food. If the labours of the family in the fields did not provide the food which the wage-earner eats, the latter would be in a very poor way indeed.

Sir Albert says that "a feeling of confidence will be created here in England when it is realised that . . the interests of the individual natives affected will be fully safeguarded." I have no hope that Sir Albert Kitson will take up a challenge, nevertheless I challenge him to tell in the columns of the "Manchester Guardian" how, up to the present (he must be aware that natives have already been evicted), natives whose interests have been affected by eviction have been safeguarded. If he does not know how they have been left to shift for themselves he has no right to attempt to create a "feeling of confidence in England."

It is perfectly true that "no trench, &c., is made on any cultivation without the consent of the native owner, and then only after he has received compensation by mutual consent." But it is equally true that this consent is forced. On January 31 the "East African Standard" published a document issued for publication by the secretary of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister. Paragraph 2 reads:

> Compensation to the occupier for disturbance and damage is an obligation on the holder of a prospecting right. Disputes may be referred to the Commissioner of Mines or his deputy (the European police constable is, no doubt, acting as such), but the Mining Ordinance provides that when the claimant is a native the Administrative Officer in charge of the district shall, if the native so desires, determine the amount of the compensation, and his decision shall be final, subject to an appeal to the Governor.

So much for compensation by mutual consent. It is perfectly easy for Government to publish a list of the names of natives compensated and the amounts then paid. This has never been done. I can only ask Sir Albert to believe me that the dissatisfaction at the amounts awarded at times has been, in my judgment, most natural.

But so far all these criticisms but touch the surface of the matter. Sir Albert displays an attitude towards the native system of land tenure which is matter for profound regret. He says:

> This removal (on eviction) is no particular hardship, since areas under cultivation are periodically changed under the native system of farming and there are many areas on the field which are completely unoccupied by natives or not used by them for cultivation.

I have no hesitation in saying that his gives people in England an entirely alse impression. It is just this attitude which is responsible for virtually ll our native land tr[illegible] and controversies in Kenya. [illegible]ropean can buy land if compulsori[illegible] and ompensated. The A[illegible] not llowed by law to do so [illegible]victed African may be either [illegible] and of another clan or [illegible] is own family holding. The status of the [illegible] hanges if he is remove[illegible] from the clan land, and this change of status means very much to the African. [illegible] think that the hardship is strictly comparable to he plight of one in England whose land has been in his family for generations who, on compulsory eviction with compensation, is disallowed by law from purchasing land elsewhere, but must remain a tenant for the rest of his life.

Your readers will never get to the heart of the African distress about the land from which he is evicted until they grasp that with every fibre of his being he resents the outlook on, and attitude towards, his tribal system of land tenure which lies behind the way Government is proposing to treat him.

Why should the document I have quoted term him simply an "occupier"? This is the fundamental question the African is asking with increasing

Government, when amending the
Ordinance, could have chosen to amend by
it by annulling the clause with regard
to "beneficial occupation," thus
by passing legislation excluding the
land leased "temporarily," the effect
of this being, whether of purpose or
unwittingly, to deflect the rents away
from the local native council funds to
colonial revenue. No one so far as I
have seen, has as yet drawn attention
to this aspect of the matter. Yet it is
this very aspect which the African has
seized upon.

Another fundamental aspect of the
whole business is not touched upon by
Sir Albert Kitson. It is this. Govern-
ment has said in its published defence
that it is debarred by the terms of the
Native Lands Trust Ordinance from
leasing land for mining which is bene-
ficially occupied. By the terms of the
Ordinance any rents "or any profits
whatsoever" from land in the Reserve
must be paid to the funds of the local
native council in whose area the land
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Sir Albert says that the natives are "paid good wages." The usual wage is 33 cents a day of from five to six hours, i.e., fourpence. This wage is low even for the cheap labour of the East, with its low standard of living. Only the present unprecedented depression would induce men to work for such low wages. I gladly endorse every word of what Sir Albert says about the willingness of the men employed to engage themselves to work for the miners, but I could wish that he had said less about the nature of "the benefits" brought to the natives, or else a good deal more. He says "they are paid good wages, live at their homes, and enjoy their pastimes among their own people." Under the conditions in tribal life, when the wage-earner lives at home, this means nothing more or less than that he is fed by his womenfolk. I do not believe that one employer in a hundred realises that the man he employs can accept such low wages only because he has his womenfolk to fall back on for food. If the labours of the family in the fields did not provide the food which the wage-earner eats, the latter would be in a very poor way indeed.

Sir Albert says that "a feeling of confidence will be created here in England when it is realised that the interests of the individual natives affected will be fully safeguarded." I have no hope that Sir Albert Kitson will take up a challenge, nevertheless I challenge him to tell in the columns of the "Manchester Guardian" how, up to the present (he must be aware that natives have already been evicted), natives whose interests have been affected by eviction have been safeguarded. If he does not know how they have been left to shift for themselves he has no right to attempt to create a "feeling of confidence in England."

It is perfectly true that "no trench, &c., is made on any cultivation without the consent of the native owner, and then only after he has received compensation by mutual consent." But it is equally true that this consent is forced. On January 31 the "East African Standard" published a document issued for publication by the secretary of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister. Paragraph 2 reads:

> Compensation to the occupier for disturbance and damage is an obligation on the holder of a prospecting right. Disputes may be referred to the Commissioner of Mines or his deputy (the European police constable is, no doubt, acting as such), but the Mining Ordinance provides that when the claimant is a native the Administrative Officer in charge of the district shall, if the native so desires, determine the amount of the compensation, and his decision shall be final, subject to an appeal to the Governor.

So much for compensation by mutual consent. It is perfectly easy for Government to publish a list of the names of natives compensated and the amounts then paid. This has never been done. I can only ask Sir Albert to believe me that the dissatisfaction at the amounts awarded at times has been, in my judgment, most natural.

But so far all these criticisms but touch the surface of the matter. Sir Albert displays an attitude towards the native system of land tenure which is matter for profound regret. He says:

> This removal (on eviction) is no particular hardship, since areas under cultivation are periodically changed under the native system of farming and there are many areas on the field which are completely unoccupied by natives or not used by them for cultivation.

I have no hesitation in saying that his gives people in England an entirely alse impression. It is just this attiude which is responsible for virtually ll our native land troubles and conroversies in Kenya. [illegible] buy land if compulsorily ompensated. The African may be either allowed by law to do so and of another clan or not his own family holding. The status of the African changes if he is removed from the land, and this change of status means very much to the African. I think the hardship is strictly comparable to the plight of one in England whose family has been in his family for generations who, on compulsory eviction with compensation, is disallowed by law from purchasing land elsewhere, but must remain a tenant for the rest of his life. It is a reasonable question.

Another fundamental aspect of the whole business is not touched upon by Sir Albert Kitson. It is this. Government has said in its published defence that it is debarred by the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance from leasing land for mining which is beneficially occupied. By the terms of the Ordinance any rents "or any profits whatsoever" from land in the Reserve must be paid to the funds of the local native council in whose area the land lies. Government, when amending the Ordinance, could have chosen to amend by passing legislation excluding "temporarily" the effect that this question of the rents would be dragged into the forefront as its importance deserves. The question of royalties is different, for this is subject to the terms of the Mining Ordinance and very many would be paid to the local native council funds to be diverted to colonial revenue. No one so far as I can see, has as yet drawn attention to this aspect of the matter. Yet it is but that of rent is part and parcel of the present problem upon. Not all Africans, of course, but their leaders. If the rents were to be diverted to colonial revenue [illegible] temporarily," and to go back to the Government did was "temporarily" leased [illegible] occupation, but it cut the knot by annulling the clause with regard to "beneficial occupation," thus avoiding the necessity of the Government having to admit that the land is under beneficial occupation.

Africa.

'The Comet.'

Maseru, Basutoland.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1933

Economics and the Basuto.

Our contemporary the "Basuto-land News" in its leader of the 24th ultimo under the above heading comments on our article appearing in our issue of the 18th January in which we had endeavoured to bring to light the ignorant Basuto mind on the subject of economics. We are somewhat surprised that our contemporary should have taken such a serious view of the subject that was merely brought up to show the quaintness of the ignorant mind on matters that they did not understand. We did not in the least expect that the matter would be taken so seriously. Perhaps we have to be blamed for it as the tone of our paper is usually serious and that being the case even in matters that were intended to be treated in a light vein we are suspected of having a hidden meaning. It is quite true that the points touched upon in our article the Government officials could not be blamed, for them on the contrary, they deserve the gratitude of the Basuto if only they realised the great service the Government was doing them for their welfare as a backward people. Another letter on a similar strain appears elsewhere in this issue.

We wish to thank our contemporary for its kind remarks about us. It says:

"After reading the article in question one draws a deep breath and wonders how it is possible satisfactorily to explain to the Natives these most difficult economic questions which have given rise to the keenest controversy the world ever which have upset many of the accepted economic theories; and which baffled the brains of the best statesmen in countries other than South Africa. How shall the semi-civilised, half-educated Basuto be made to comprehend these things?

It is certainly a difficult problem but at the same time we are not a little surprised to see an article in the editorial columns of our contemporary using such arguments and comparisons as those quoted above for the "Mochochonono," which has a reputation for its well reasoned and constructive attitude on most subjects, must surely recognise that the present economic difficulties are world-wide, that South Africa has suffered considerably less than many other countries from the depression following as a result of the greatest war the world has ever known, and that so far as South Africa is concerned let alone the comparatively small territory of Basutoland, this is anything but a slim practice on the part of the white man to benefit at the expense of the Native. The idea is too absurd to entertain.

The Basuto, like thousands of White people, are be-wildered by it all, but at least the Basuto should be consistent and remember now, as at other times, that they "live beneath the blanket of the beloved King George," and that His Majesty's chosen officers have been appointed to guide and administer them and their land solely for the Native's own benefit. It would also be well, perhaps, if the Basuto as a whole recognised a little more than they are inclined to do, that as a nation they are indebted in a far greater measure than they imagine to their White administrators for protection guidance, and assistance in numerous ways, and if the Basuto were left to themselves they would either be swamped by other peoples or speedily degenerate into a third or fourth rate people.

There is one way particularly in which the Basuto would be well advised to trust their White Administrators at the present juncture, and that is in regard to money transactions, for another mystifying thing has suddenly happened—the primage on gold, to the extent that the commercial banks are offering 20s. (and later 27s.) for golden sovereigns, and it should be borne in mind that this primage will fluctuate.

No sooner had the banks announced that they were buying sovereigns for 26s. than many avaricious eyes in the Union were turned towards the Native territories where it was believed thousands of pounds in gold were horded. Visitors from the Union desired to visit Basutoland in order to offer the Basuto apperently fancy prices for golden sovereigns, but which offers were in fact lower than the banks were offering, and it is to be feared that a number of those transactions with speculators outside the territory took place. Natives would do well to consult with their protectors, the Basutoland Government, in such matters.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

NIGERIAN CENSUS RESULTS.

Population Now Nearly Twenty Millions.

The 1931 Census of Nigeria was carried through under limitations of time and money which restricted both the scope of the field work and that of the reports themselves. Under the circumstances the thoroughness with which the collection, compilation, and classification of the statistics has been made, and the comprehensive nature of the reports, represents a very considerable achievement.

The whole Census Report is covered by six main and two subsidiary volumes, Volume I giving the population data for the whole of Nigeria, while detailed statistics and comments for different parts of the country are to be found in Volumes II to VI.

The demand for economy led to considerable criticism of the need for the usual decennial census in Nigeria in 1931, one justifiable ground for criticism being the degree of inaccuracy of the figures. At the same time, the economic development of Nigeria during the past ten years has been comparatively rapid, and it may be argued that there is no more accurate method of ascertaining the effects on the population of this development than by a carefully carried out census. In 1921 there were 1,126 miles of railways, against 1,851 miles in 1931, and in the latter year there were also 13,927 miles of road in Nigeria. Imports during the ten years had increased from 243,000 tons to 491,000 tons, and exports from 358,000 to 743,000 tons in the same decade. With this in mind, the 1931 census aimed at providing, in addition to ordinary population statistics, further data which would throw light on comparative fertility, disease, and mortality.

Increase in Last Decade.

The total population of Nigeria, as shown by the census tables, is 19,928,171 persons, of which 9,579,485 are males and 10,348,686 females. Of this number 11,434,924 persons were enumerated in the Northern Provinces, and 8,493,247 in the Southern Provinces. These represent the "official" populations, but there is good reason to believe that they are slightly in error in the Northern Provinces and much more so in the Southern Provinces. Owing to administrative difficulties, mainly arising from the disturbances in the South-Eastern Provinces in December, 1929, the whole of the census proper in the Southern Provinces, with the exception of Lagos township, was cancelled. The provisional estimate given by Mr. S. M. Jacob, the Government Statistician, in his report in Volume I, places the total population of Nigeria at 21,902,000. According to the official figures, it appears that the population of Nigeria as a whole has increased since 1921 by 1,296,729 persons, or approximately 7 per cent. Although there have been inaccuracies in this census and that taken in 1921 was unquestionably inaccurate, it is believed that the increase in population during the decade has been somewhere in the region of the figure gives. The estimated area of Nigeria is 372,674 square miles, which gives a density of 53.5 persons per square mile, as against 50.0 in 1921. The main population and crop data for Nigeria is supplied in twelve combined tables, and alphabetical village directories, with the population of each village area, are printed in Volume II (2) and Volume III (2) for the Northern and Southern Provinces respectively.

Growth of Towns' Population.

The percentage of persons living in towns of 20,000 persons and over is 7.2 for the whole of Nigeria, but while the majority of Nigerian natives live in rural conditions a comparison of the populations of some of the largest towns in 1921 and 1931 shows that there is a definite tendency to urbanisation. During the decade the population of Ibadan has increased from 238,094 to 387,133 (63 per cent.), that of Lagos from 99,690 to 126,108 (27 per cent.), and that of Kano from 49,938 to 97,031 (94 per cent. and Abeokuta also shows an increase in population of over 50 per cent.

With regard to the literacy of the native population, information was obtained for only 443,934 persons, but as most of the figures were obtained from the special intensive census areas which were geographically well-distributed, they may be taken as fairly representative. These figures show that the number of literate natives of Nigeria is 43 per thousand, the Yoruba tribe showing the highest degree of literacy with 300 per thousand. The standard is naturally much higher in towns than in rural areas, and, excluding foreign natives, the figures for town-dwelling literate natives are 250 per 1,000 for males and 58 per 1,000 for females. The test of literacy adopted was the ability to read and write any language, but the relatively large number of persons able to speak English but totally unable to read or write, representing 12 per 1,000 of the population, is noteworthy.

The expectation of life of the Nigerian native, judged from the data in the 1931 census, is from twenty-two to twenty-five, but it is interesting to note that among the Yorubas of Lagos, taken separately, the expectation of life has risen to forty years in 1931, thus exemplifying a very rapid response to better environment.

Copies of all the volumes, constituting the full report on the Nigerian census for 1931, are obtainable from the Crown Agents for the Colonies at 4, Millbank London. They are exceedingly comprehensive in their scope and are well supplied with explanatory maps, graphs and statistical tables.

THE EAST AFRICAN LEGAL COMMISSION.

Some surprise has been expressed at the appointment by the Secretary of State for the Colonies of a Commission of inquiry into the administration of justice in criminal matters in East Africa. Not that such a Commission will be valueless, but in these days when rigid economy is essential the expenditure of a few thousand pounds on a matter not really of urgent necessity, and not calculated to produce any material result, would appear to be difficult of justification. The Morris Carter Land Commission and the recent inquiry into the working of the East African Railways were to a great extent foreshadowed by certain sections of the Joint Committee on Closer Union, and in the case of the railways the inquiry was necessitated by the falling receipts from traffic. We, however, fail in the report referred to to find any doubt expressed as to the even administration of justice. It may be recalled that in 1931 an unfortunate case occurred on the Uasin Gishu Plateau. Four natives had been condemned to death for murder by the High Court; their employer, a colonist named Bentley, who was formerly an official in the Sudan, was, however, unconvinced of their guilt, and made representations to this effect. These were at first ignored, but he hammered away with such determination that the case was reopened and the natives in question were eventually acquitted. The Attorney-General admitted at the second trial that the police case contained irregularities, and that witnesses had been intimidated by native police. The whole affair left an unpleasant impression, and it was then that the Secretary of State apparently undertook to review the procedure in Uganda and Tanganyika as well as in Kenya. Those acquainted with East African affairs will also probably recollect the occurrence of some uneasiness in regard to a murder a few years ago in Kikuyu, in which the victim was a European. It is not to be inferred that there is any question that the Courts are corrupt in the East African Dependencies—that is out of the question: the difficulty of ascertaining the exact facts lies in the complication introduced by the numerous native languages, and the risks introduced by careless, ill-educated, or even corrupt native interpreters. How these difficulties are to be bridged is not clear, for it is impossible for every Judge to master even the leading half-dozen languages in which he may have to hear evidence; further, the so-called *lingua franca*—Swahili—is practically unknown to many natives, and imperfectly understood by most Judges. East Africa has now, however, for years past been the happy hunting ground of Commissions, and we wish this latest one the best of success.

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WE wonder how many people had realised, before Major St. J. Orde-Browne's address at the Society of Arts last week, how dependent every enterprise in Africa is upon African labour. Questions of finance, and, to a lesser extent, transport (chiefly, however, because transport means capital) are largely dependent on the non-African for their solution, but the enterprises in which they arise could not exist without African brains and sinews.

This important subject of labour-supply has never yet been studied broadly, largely, Major Orde-Browne says, because in Europe the labour difficulty has never entered our heads. Consequently, there is little accurate information in regard to it—and the fact that migrant labour is the mainstay of Africa has received little attention, save where local shortage has led some Government to attempt to check the complete disregard of international boundaries shown by the wanderers.

British West Africa, of course, has generally profited by such migrations, and in any case the Coast Colonies are in no great need of imported help, nor have they had to consider a conservation of supply by the discouragement of new industries requiring labour, although in the interests of the people recruiting for areas beyond the frontier is under strict supervision.

While, however, existing reservoirs may supply new demands for labour for some time to come, the day is in sight when the present waste of labour must be stopped, and Major Orde-Browne suggests that this may be done by improving efficiency and entrusting machinery to trained men, instead of wasting time and energy daily in the issue of hand-tools to unskilled workers.

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Mr. Malthus arrived in Sierra Leone with an admitted distrust of African powers, but he was not merely "talking good-bye sweet-mouth" when he told his hearers that a year or two later he had staked his future prospects in the service on the ability of African drivers to handle the new Garratt engines he was introducing, and there is more than farewell flattery in his reference to the way the railway handled in a single week 2,000 tons of palm kernels for one firm without interfering with other traffic—a task which could never have been achieved a decade earlier.

And this was done by showing confidence in African labour, by opening opportunities of promotion to men of proved ability, and by a faith in African powers of self-help. We mention this not because it is any more extraordinary that an African staff should respond to proper treatment than that a European staff should, but because it is one of the few instances in Africa where a dog with a bad name has been given full opportunity to make good.

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The place of land in African evolution also received a mention, but largely because reserves act as a buffer to absorb the shocks of sudden changes in the labour market, and because they formed a substitute for old-age pensions and provision for widows. Major Orde-Browne issued a warning against increasing the 'detribalised" element of the towns, without, apparently, recognising that that element is but an indication of the Africa of the future. If we cannot, by fair dealing, help the "detribalised" communities to evolve into law-abiding townships, we are unfit for the responsibility of leading human evolution in the reserves, for the "detribalising" effects of education and contact with another culture cannot be confined to the towns.

Among the Missions.

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Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

Native Tax in Basutoland.

The Comet
2-8-33
Maseru
Basutoland

(Mochonono.)

In our last issue we published a letter written on the above subject by Mr. [illegible] inviting the Basuto [illegible] consider it very carefully before expressing their views on it.

The question of taxation and that of cultivation in this Territory require to be considered by the Basuto with a view to finding out how best these matters could be adjusted so that they could most fairly be applied to the rich and poor in order that each could be as far as possible, to carry a share proportionate to his means.

Among the Europeans especially in the British Empire under whom we enjoy protection taxation is applied in such a way that each individual person pays in proportion to his means. Taxation is not uniform as it is among the Natives but it is the property and income that are taxed. In this way each individual pays his tax in proportion to the amount of commodities he purchases in a year, the property he owns and the income if he earns such income in a year as is worth taxing. Thus the people are saved the trouble of being sent to gaol for failing to pay his tax. Providence has not decreed that each and every individual should be endowed with equal means of livelihood. Some are born to be rich people some to be poor people some to be of middle means. Some are born to serve others while some are born to be served by others and it is only fair that taxation should be according to the means of each individual. There is something wrong in the present form of taxation in this territory. It is certainly absurd that a chief who is ruling over his people and is entitled to free labour from his people and other advantages should pay in tax the same amount equal to that paid by the poorest of his subjects.

This is a matter that should be discussed and views expressed as to what would be the best policy of taxing the Basuto.

Mr. Mofolo has brought up a subject which was discussed by us in our issue of the 14th September 1932 when reference was made to Lord Moynes report on Native Taxation in East Africa. "The export discussed the present system of direct Native taxation, which was held to be too inelastic and rigid for present-day conditions, though owing to the increase of wealth in the more favoured districts the present amount of direct Native taxation could be collected without hardship if the incidence were transformed so as to vary according taxable capacity. Details are given of certain tribal areas where owing to the fall of prices and the lack of markets, it is now very difficult for the Native to find money to pay taxes, and drastic amendments of the present system are suggested so as to secure adequte differentiations between districts according to taxable capacity and between individuals according to their relative wealth. The proposals for recasting Native taxation include the separation of the present combined hut and poll tax into a uniform poll tax of 6/- and hut-tax to be levied at varying rates, according to the wealth of districts, pending the eventual substitution of a cultivation tax on the lines of that now in force in Nigeria."

We had pointed out that the system of direct taxation among the Natives was an old one which aimed at spurring the idle Natives out of their kraals to the labour centres to work and make themselves as useful as they could be. It served its purpose then but now a-days it could not be said that it was fair. As Lord Moyner report states it was "too inelastic and rigid for the present-day condition." We had commended the suggestions to the Basutoland Administration for consideration with a view to applying same in the territory as we were convinced that the present system of direct taxation was not conducive to progress and that it was desirable that a more progressive system of taxation be introduced.

We are very much pleased that Mr. Ben Mofolo has brought up the subject again for public discussion and we support his invitation to the entellecual Basuto to express their views on the matter.

The system of distributing lands for cultivation in the territory is a bad one. In fact there is no system at all. Some years ago the Native population of Basutoland was small and people had no difficulty in obtaining lands. It was so easy to obtain lands that people used to obtain virgin lands for cultivation for a number of years and when those lands showed signs of wearing out the owner made applications to their chiefs or headman to get new lands and they got them. Thus there were people who owned more than ten lands at a time. Some had so many lands that they could supply their sons with lands without applying to their chiefs. There are still such people who have inherited their father's lands and have more lands than they require while there are others who cannot get lands to plough because their chiefs have not got enough lands to distribute. Thus carelessness began when there were more lands than people could cultivate and to-day when the population has increased and the territory is congested it becomes more and more clear that the distribution of lands has been carelessly carried on and yet the chiefs are not taking any trouble to see that lands are evenly distributed among their

people who are evenly taxed. The result is that there are people who own more lands than they require while there are others who cannot get lands to plough. Some of these lucky people who have more lands than they ought to do not even use them as they are destitute and have no means of using them and hey have to hire some of their lands to those who haven't got lands to plough and who have means of ploughing. Considering that these people pay their taxes and have a right to the land just as others it looks quite unfair. The suggestion therefore that there should be cultivation tax seems to be the only one that could be fairly applied Through this system cultivation will be in the hands of those who are able to make use of the land and the fact that they pay tax for every peice of land that they cultivate will be a spur to them to aim at obtaining the maximum produce from his land The other advantage of that system is that the ploughing of slopes and hill sides would be brought to an end. The country would suffer less from the ravages of soil erosion as every one would see to it that his land does not waste away.

Where we differ with Mr. Mofolo is on the point of the amount of tax to be paid per land. He suggests 4/- or 5/- and we consider this too small to bring in sufficient revenue to meet the requirements of the territory. It must be remembered that the greater part of the territory is mountainous and therefore useless for cultivation. This form of taxation would no doubt improve agriculture in this territory and it would be more productive than it is to-day.

TSETSE FLY CONTROL.

The report of the Tsetse Fly Committee of the Economic Advisory Council,* which has just been issued, surveys the work that has been done since the formation of the Committee in 1925. The progress that has been made in the war against this carrier of the sleeping sickness germ and the developments which have taken place in the treatment of animal and human trypanosomiasis as well as in Tsetse fly control are described.

Considerable success has been attained in the treatment of animals, resulting in the controlling of losses and in rendering possible agricultural and mining developments that otherwise could only have been carried out with great difficulty. In the case of human sleeping sickness investigations have been made into the merits of germalin and tryparamide as curative and preventative methods of treatment, and trials of more recent drugs continue. Various measures have been adopted for the elimination and control of tsetse fly, a problem of great urgency and practical importance in many parts of Africa. These measures include the destruction of fly-infested bush by clearing or by fire; the election of natural barriers to isolate the fly and infected game; and the wholesale catching of flies by hand or traps.

The most important work has been that carried out under Mr. Swynnerton's direction by the Tsetse Research Department of Tanganyika Territory. This has brought within measurable distance the practical solution of many aspects of the tsetse problem, and is in the truest sense of the term pioneer work of the utmost value.

* Published by H.M. Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingsway, London. Price 6d. net.

The League of Coloured Peoples.

A week-end conference is being held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, from March 24-26. A social on Friday evening will give the members an opportunity to become acquainted, and on Saturday there will be lectures and discussions on the "American Negro," "West African," and "West Indian." After divine service on Sunday by the Rev. W. H. Scott and Dr Moody there will be an address on "The East African and the Indian," and Mr. C. F. Strickland will speak on "Co-operatives in Africa." The opportunity for West Africans to discuss some of their major problems with representatives of other countries seems a good one, and the cost (22s., inclusive of 4s. registration fee) is not excessive. Applications should be addressed to the Rev. W. H. Scott, "Annandale," North End Road, N.W.11, before March 20.

The annual general meeting of the League will be held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on March 17, at 8 p.m.

Native Taxation.

The subject of Native Tax brought up by Mr. Ben Mofolo in this paper a few weeks ago appears to be exercising the thoughts of the intellectual Basuto. The suggestions brought forward are very radical and to one who knows the Basuto to be a very conservative people one would think that the subject would not be given the slightest consideration. But here we are, just after the publication of our leading article on the subject we receive an article from a friend who had jotted down his ideas and thoughts with the intention of showing them to us to find out whether we could be interested in the matter. The letter was not intended for publication, probably for fear that the ideas would be too radical for the Basuto. The article, therefore, following so closely after the issue was brought up, clearly shows the trend of thought. It may be considered as an out burst of the somewhat suppressed views of the educated Basuto about the present conditions in Basutoland. We say suppressed because as things are it appears that the administration is more concerned with the views of the illiterate class of people whose qualification to leadership is mere birth and who owing to ignorance are keeping backwards the steady progress that the Basuto people are making. It is quite obvious therefore that the hard times through which the Basuto have passed have set them thinking and planning how best Basutoland could prepare for the future.

On reading the article that we publish elsewhere in this paper one is struck by sameness of ideas and thoughts on the matter The only difference that there is that while we dealt with cultivation tax our friend dealt more fully with the stock tax and brought up suggestions as to how to deal with tax defaulters. The suggestions are quite clearly and elaboratedly expressed and there appears to be no difficulty in bringing them to practice if the administration would make up its mind to do so.

If the administration in Basutoland followed in the footsteps of the civilised nations where the Governments followed the views and opinions of the enlightened and intelligent class of the people one would rest assured that the subject under discussion would be given every consideration and steps taken to bring the suggestions into practise. We have however not lost hope. We still trust that the administration will yet be awakened to the changed conditions and pay more attention to the enlightened opinion of the Territory.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

A Message from African Jungles

By JANET MILLER, M.D., Congo, Central Africa
Author of "Jungles Preferred"; Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South

I DO not bring a message from one of the great metropolises of the world where life has become a chaos of specialized activities. My message comes from the heart of Central Africa where primitive conditions prevail.

"But," perhaps you will say, "you are yourself a specialist in medical science."

True, I am a medical missionary; but I am also an agriculturalist. It is part of my task to teach the African Blackman to make a better garden and to improve his standard of living.

I am also an engineer. We have built a substantial reservoir in a near-by stream to conserve drinking water. The Black people no longer drink the water in which they wash their clothes.

I am also a contractor and a carpenter. New buildings on our hospital reservation are constructed under my supervision.

So I may claim to be in sympathy and understanding with men of many trades and professions.

In an African jungle, where food is plentiful, many individual animals are seeking it. Here is a huge jungle prowler who procures his food by sheer strength. Another animal, a young antelope, lacking the strength of the leopard or the lion, escapes being devoured by his fleetness of foot; he lives by his wits, as verily as any human adventurer.

Nature has implanted the hunting instinct in every living creature. It is a valuable asset, for the hunting instinct is the foundation of all research work. To the hunting instinct in man we owe the best that has come to the human race from the material world.

Members of the medical profession, who deal with the individual and measure progress by considering the greatest good to the greatest number, consider that the richest boon of this wonderful century is the progress made in the science of medicine. The leaves of the tree of science have been for the physical healing of the nations. This is a fact of great personal import to each of us. During my last term of service in Africa a strange and wonderful thing happened on the earth—something which no prophet foretold, of which no seer dreamt. A Japanese scientist made a great discovery and a marvelous material gift to suffering humanity on the African Gold Coast —a specific for yellow fever. We owe this boon to the hunting instinct and the sacrificial labor of one man.

We need to examine this primitive hunting instinct. It is a powerful driving force and an indispensable part of our natural endowment. Let us lift it up and center it around the noble ambition for solving the problems not only of personal need but of international depression and despair which are in the world today.

Our civilization calls for courageous leadership which will set men at the central task of searching for a cure for the distressing conditions which prevail everywhere. We desperately need leaders who will search for life's holy places where guidance in this great task is to be had; leaders who will call to a progressive crusade for righteousness.

Beyond the scientific force discovered in the hidden resources of nature, we must find spiritual power. Let us undertake the search for spiritual resources which are seen on earth among men and women who live close to God. Let nations, as well as individuals, undergo a spiritual rebirth.

THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WE understand that definite information has been circularised by the Secretary-General of the National Congress of British West Africa —Mr. SAMUEL R. WOODE, that the Fifth Session will take place at Accra in the Gold Coast, next month, opening on Sunday the 26th of that month, and closing on the 9th of April. In consequence, the delegates from this Colony have been advised to leave Freetown by the Accra on Saturday, March 18, D.V.

The Session promises to be of great importance; for apart from other considerations, it would be the first, after the lamentable death of its President the late Hon. CASELY HAYFORD M.B.E. As the days have gone by, the wisdom for the unification of interest amongst the four West African British Colonies has bloomed with exceptional lustre.

The people inspired by their leaders at the time, discovered a line of policy which, though it met, with tremendous opposition from Government and a section of the people, at the time has since been adopted to the very Governments which have evolved a policy of mutual consultation; and to-day, it is well-known that that principle is frequently regarded as healthy justification for the introduction into one Colony, any plan, on the ground that it existed in another.

It is a consolation however, that much of the hostility and suspicion with which the project was received, have died down, and Government has come to visualize the Movement, as a genuine and national expression of the people towards self-determination—a goal to which the policy of British Colonization must eventually reach. In this Colony, there has been a happy feeling of co-operation between Government and the Congress. Over and again, representations have been put forward, and Government has invariably accorded them the consideration that was due. More than this, the reception accorded to the local Branch by the Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, Mr. H. C. Bussey, C.B., on his now historical visit to this Colony, has stamped the aspiration of the Congress with such a recognition which should prove an encouragement and a stimulus to all those interested in the Movement.

And yet, we cannot conscientiously say that the movement has met with the practical support it should claim from the people. There has been in some quarters persistent efforts to disparge and belittle the *raison d'etre* of the Congress; although it is of frequent occurence that from such quarters, the claim for action to be taken by the Congress on matters of public interest, have not unusually emanated. How inconsistent! And yet that has been the experience of Congress wounded in the house of its friends! It is a matter of common knowledge that great drawback to progress is the lack of financial support.

The people have never responded to the extent as to allow smooth working, although there has not been wanting some support or the other. In this connection, the Ladies Branch in this Colony, has given a very good account of itself, by its praiseworthy exertions from time to time.

There is no doubt that the present call that delegates from this Colony should attend the next Session at Accra, is an urgent necessity. And of that, the local Executive Committee has been unanimously convinced— and from all we have learnt, efforts are being made that at least one delegate should answer to the call. We hope therefore that this would be made possible by the generous response to the appeal which is going the rounds towards the strengthening of the Delegate Fund. Let those whose interest the Congress has invariably stood take an honest and liberal view of the claim which will be made; and let them generously respond to the appeal, so that the local Executive would be duly represented in what must prove an important Session of the great National Movement, in response to the call of those of their Associates who have since passed over, in the interest of their own advancement and in justification of the position as earnest patriots and loyal subjects bent in the prosecution of those noble aims which have constituted the policy of Congress.

Race Problem - 1933

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GOLD COAST

Population, 3,120,000; Capital, Accra; Governor, Sir Shenton Thomas. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Motor Spirit, Motors, Tobaccos, Preserved Foods, Bags and Sacks, Flour, Rice, Soap, Liquors. Chief Exports, Cocoa, Gold, Diamonds, Manganese, Mahogany, Palm Kernels, Shea Nuts, Copra.

A Statement of Policy.

Sir Shenton Thomas's talks to the citizens and Chiefs of Accra at the end of January were much too plain to be altogether welcome, for they are naturally considered as the forerunners of new proposals of direct taxation and of Native administrative changes.

To the citizens, Sir Shenton pointed out that, in spite of every economy, revenue was unlikely to cover expenditure for some time to come unless new sources were tapped. Taking out education and the loss on the Railway, he said that expenditure was less than in 1921-2, in spite of the great expansion of the services, while on the Railway the ordinary expenditure was no more than 12 years ago, before the Central Province Branch was added, and the loss is, therefore, entirely due to the annual loan charges.

Answering certain suggestions in the press, he said he saw little prospect of cutting expenditure further at present, as reduction in salaries would only result in lowered efficiency, while amalgamation of such departments as Lands, Surveys, and Forests, might save two departmental heads, but would not reduce the staff, nor was it possible to cut the number of political officers. It will be noticed, however, that he makes no reply to the suggestion that still more posts might economically be thrown open to Africans.

To African ears, it seemed a little curious that, after answering these suggestions, Sir Shenton should say there was not a single suggestion that the African should help himself, but since the people have maintained their cocoa output in most depressing conditions it is hard to see what further contribution they are likely to make. It is not to be expected that they will suggest taxing themselves to meet expenditure that they consider excessive, even when the proposal is, say, to endow Achimota privately.

To both citizens and Rulers he expressed dissatisfaction with the working of the Native Administration Ordinance, stating quite simply that it was never intended either to bolster up inefficient Chiefs or to put money into the pockets of themselves and their friends. The reason for the failure of the State Councils was, he thought, that they were not representative of the people, and he appealed to all to make more use of their educated men, and to keep proper accounts of stool revenues.

In this respect there is obviously much that the people can do for their own salvation, especially in the first choice of suitable leaders and in a gradual departure from customs that limit their selection of rulers too narrowly to a possibly decadent family.

Police Magistrates.

As from the beginning of the new financial year, the areas under the jurisdiction of Gold Coast police magistrates are to be extended.

For the Accra District, the magistrate will hold sessions at Accra and Nsawam; for Koforidua, at Koforidua, Kibi and Mampong. The Cape Coast Police District will include Cape Coast, Elmina, Saltpond and Fosu, and Sekondi District, Sekondi, Axim and Tarkwa.

The change means that for a much wider area justice will be administered by officers specially trained to that end, and that District Commissioners will be relieved of a load of responsibility. The relief will not always be welcomed, for there are still officials who feel that because in the Chiefs executive and judicial powers are combined, any separation of these powers in their own case may result in a loss of prestige. That this is not so, however, is shown by experience of the working of the magistrates' courts already in existence.

The Red Cross Society.

The report given by Dr. Selwyn Clarke to the Accra League for Maternal and Child Welfare may be regarded as the first annual statement of progress of the Gold Coast Red Cross Society, which, although only founded in April, was based on the existing League. As an example of self-help—it was founded largely to relieve the Government of some of the burden of welfare work—it is worthy of encouragement, and it is cheering to see that it already has a number of strong branches, both adult and juvenile, besides 31 life members and 104 associates.

Not including a £200 grant from headquarters, the Society raised £466 during the year, and started 1933 with £545 in hand. Its practical work includes the payment of a midwife at Sekondi and of a health sister at Cape Coast, the provision of a leper chapel and recreation room at Labadi, with other amenities for lepers at Ho, Kumasi, Yendi, and Navrongo, and many minor public services, but it is evident that if its full programme is to be carried out a much larger central fund must yet be raised, and one of the steps toward this is to be the organisation of a Red Cross Day at Easter.

Achimota and Howard University.

Interesting comparisons between Achimota and Howard University, Washington, have been made by Mr. Bunche, a professor in the latter, who recently paid a rapid visit to West Africa. He says that while Howard is far inferior to Achimota in size of staff and plant, it contains 2,500 students and offers a far wider range of advanced studies.

Achimota might answer, of course, that the Gold Coast cannot yet provide the advanced students to take advantage of higher courses, but it is less easy to answer his final criticism, dealing with employment of Africans. At Howard, Afro-Americans to Europeans are in the proportion of 3 : 1, whereas at Achimota they are relatively non-existent.

Inheriting a Debt.

An important judgment was recently delivered at Accra by the Chief Justice in regard to a claim for £150 made on the family of a debtor who had died insolvent. By customary law the family is considered liable, but Sir G. Deane said it was quite clear that from the point of view of the higher courts such a law belonged to another age, and sprang from principles that could not now be recognised in their entirety.

Fine though the idea was that a family should shrink from leaving the debts of a deceased member unpaid, the relatives could hardly be held responsible for them unless they had shown some intention to accept liability, and any other reading would be incompatible with the statute implicitly limiting the liabilities of a deceased debtor to the property owned by him at his death.

This decision will not be without effect on the decisions of the Native Courts, for hitherto they have naturally settled such disputes on the usual lines of local custom.

The Gold Coast Estimates.

The Gold Coast Supply Bill for 1933-4 provides for expenditure totalling £2,516,798, inclusive of a Railway deficit of £149,321, and of £95,091 on Takoradi. Public debt charges amount to £92,397 and pensions and gratuities to £243,100, the largest single item in the budget. The Railway estimates, exclusive of the deficit in the general budget, amount to £748,525, and Takoradi to £85,600.

The system of Native Tribunals has been extended to British Togoland (Southern Section) as from February 1. A Governor's Order establishes 43 courts, with appeal to eight tribunals or State Councils.

The importation or possession of mercury in Ashanti, except under licence, may be punished by a fine not exceeding £100 and/or imprisonment up to six months.

The Accra Torchlight Tattoo in December yielded £470. After deducting expenses and using £43 to bring the reserve fund up to £100, the sum of £267 is left for distribution.

Mr. A. Anyomi, who died at Awudome, at the reputed age of 120, was the father of 90 children, and lived, it is said, to see a great grandchild reach the age of 65.

In amplification of his previous letter, showing why British Togoland should not be returned to Germany, Mr. E. Y. Beer Boni says that in 1890, when the Togo boundaries were being settled with Germany, the Commissioners erroneously fixed the frontier at Kpeve, instead of at Keyvey, 45 miles away.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

Convicts Menace.

On Friday the 24th February, in the afternoon at about five o'clock, just when people were knocking off work an alarm was fired at the quarry over the drift close to the Native village. People rushed out to their houses to see what was happening. There was a commotion at the quarry where a large gang of convicts is working, and some of the convicts could be seen among the Native huts in the village. The villagers, men, women and children were moving about in terror and some of them were already standing in groups here and there. One of the Native constables was trying to round up two or three convicts who had broken off from the others into the village. He chased one of them round a stone building and succeeded in bringing him back to the others. He was driving them back to the quarry and every thing appeared to be going on in order when about two or three convicts with shirts off suddenly broke off from the gang and armed with pick handles and stones rushed at their guard and attacked. The guard ran away to safe his life and at the same time firing aimlessly two shots over his shoulder. The attackers were not deterred by the firing and there was a chase among the huts in the village. A few more convicts followed to assist the two already in advance. The villagers seeing that the guard's life was in danger rushed to his rescue and attacked the convicts with stones and sticks and drove them back. Coming to a certain spot where they found some of their compatriots waiting for them the convicts made a counter attack and fighting was very furious. Sticks and stones were freely used. As the villagers were strongly re-inforced they managed to drive the convicts back to the quarry. At this time groups of people had gathered at the scene and some were standing at higher places at a distance to watch what was going on. Sergeant-Major Petrus and a few members of the police force had rushed to the scene, as the quarry is in close vicinity of the police barracks. The attitude of the convicts was threatening and it was evident that a worse fight could happen, as the convicts were at a spot where they had every means of making an attack. Warlike displays were freely indulged in and praises were sung by a few. It is understood that Sergeant-Major talked to the convicts and managed to calm them. They were then ordered to march quietly back to the gaol. They obeyed the order but along the way attempts were made to sing the war cry. Sergeant Lefoka appealed to them to stop singing and march quietly, stating that if they had any complaints to make they could do so in a proper way in the next morning.

From inquiries made I was informed that the cause of the disturbance was as follows: A man from the village had walked down to the latrines close to the quarry where he found one of the convicts misconducting himself with one of the loose women of the village and reported this discovery to one of the guards. The convicts regarded this as an unjust interference in their affairs and attacked the man and chased him to the village The guards tried to stop them but they did not obey. It was then that an alarm was fired. The guard that fired the alarm was attacked with stones and chased into the village.

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On Saturday the 25th the whole gang was marched under escort to the Assistant Commissioner's court where an official inquiry in the matter was instituted. According to the statements made by the convicts the man who is said to have found a convict misconducting himself was reported as having used, without cause, bad language at the convict concerned and that it was not the first time he had used such language at the convicts The convicts complained that on a previous occasion this man's conduct was reported to the guards but they did not take any steps against him. For that reason they took the law into their own hands and attacked the man. As one of the guards, it was said, appeared to be protecting the man, he was also attacked and they both fled into the village. The convicts entered the village after them and were searching for them when they saw another guard firing at two other convicts He was also attacked and he fled Some policemen came to the scene and attacked the convicts and with the aid of the villagers managed to drive them back to the others at the quarry. Two of them had slight injuries. Some complained that after those who were fighting had been driven back to the quarry stones were thrown at them indiscriminately though a good many of them had not taken part in the fight. Some complained that the guards fired at them for no reason and their lives were endangered.

Among the complaints that were brought forward one of the convicts blamed the gaoler for most of the troubles arising among the convicts because besides the prison warder he had also some private people to look after them. On the afternoon of the trouble the gaoler had been to the quarry and had a talked with those private watchers in a donga below the quarry. It was also stated as a complaint that the gaoler had given instructions to the convicts to watch the guards should they have meals during work hours the convicts should seize those meals and take them to him. This has resulted in bad feeling between the guards and the convicts. Samuel who brought up this complaint had some sympathy for the guards for he pointed out that he could not understand why the guards should be so treated. As for the convicts he could understand that they should be guarded as they were serving their sentences for crimes they had committed The A.C. thought that the speaker had confused his orders to the effect that the guards should not drink any beer when they were on duty but the speaker replied that the orders from the gaoler referred to solid food and porridge and as an instance stated that the gaoler himself on one occasion drove away a young girl who had brought meals for one of the guards. The A, C. thought that was not one of their

complaints but the speaker stressed that it was and was supported by others.

The allegations by the convicts that they were given instructions by the gaoler to watch the guards confirm the rumours that had already been afloat to the same effect and that the report of the guards to the gaoler were not listened to but if the convicts complained about one of the guards the case was taken up. There is reason to believe the allegations of the convicts in this respect for when we look back into the history of the gaol for the last few years we find abandunt evidence in support of the allegations however scandalous they appear to be. In all the departments of the Administration there is not one that has dismissed its employees more than the local gaol. If a census of the dismissals in all departments of the administration for the last three or four years could be taken it is quite possible that the local gaol could easily boast of having dismissed more employees than any other department. We have watched the gaol warders coming and going without end and we had been wondering what was happening at the gaol as the only department where you can hardly find a long service man. They have all been dismissed. Of late there has been engaging and going out of warders at the gaol and we have been wondering what was wrong.

We cannot with justice accept all the evidence given by the convicts. Some discretion has to be exercised as to what to accept and what to reject. One thing that was noticeable was the existence of a strong brotherhood among the convicts. As an instance one of them on being cross-examined about the cause of the fight stated that he was not related to Sabbatha who was sworn at but as they were joined by a commontie of crime he could not remain still when the other was engaged in a fight. There is reason to believe swearing is merely brought up as a red herring across the trail. The immoral practice of the convicts working at the quarry with the vagrant women is known to many people residing at the village and the utter lack of discipline at the gaol is a by-word and this has been supported by the evidence of the convicts themselves as recorded above. This is about the third or fourth occasion on which the warders have been attacked by the convicts at the quarry and when hardened criminals are allowed to terrories their guards like this not only is the life of the guards endangered but the life of the people at the village. This lack of disciplene at the gaol brings discredit to the administration and steps ought to be taken at once to bring matters to a diserable state.

Rocky Mountain Herald
Denver - Colo.
FEB 25

Negroes of Military Genius

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The chief safeguards in the Bill against local oppression are found in the provision made for payment of equivalent wages, for the commutation of certain labour demands, and in the need to obtain the approval of the community to public works needing labour.

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The Nigerian Supply Bill for 1933-4 amounts to £4,902,920, against just over £5,000,000 for last year. This total includes an anticipated Railway deficit of £159,584, or nearly £28,000 less than last year. There are considerable decreases in the estimates for most of the principal services, though some, particularly Public Works, have evidently previously been cut to what is regarded as the safe limit.

Public debt charges show an increase by £10,000 to £752,374, but it is a relief to see that pensions and gratuities are expected to be slightly less than last year's estimates. A new head, Colony Administration, takes the place of the Administrator's Office, and presumably this is in part responsible for the reduction in Provincial Administration. The cuts in Education, Medical and Agriculture are relatively small, and the Post Office and Marine seem likely to suffer most.

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The last part of the funeral custom of the late Chief Dore Numa started on January 21 with the transfer, amid salutes of guns, of the corpse from Odagene to Warri, where it was placed in a pavilion similar to that which it had occupied since the Chief's death. Here sword displays and dancing were kept up for six days, refreshments being supplied by wealthy relatives of the late Chief, and then the coffin was carried round the town, cowries being showered upon it at intervals as an indication of the wealth of the deceased.

On the return of the procession to the Chief's compound, the interment was effected at the customary spot, with further firing of guns. Among those who paid tribute on the occasion to the character and public spirit of Chief Dore was Mr. J. W. C. Rutherford, Resident of Warri Province, who represented the Nigerian Government at the funeral.

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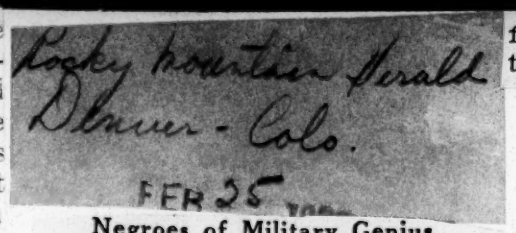

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Race Problem - 1933

Africa

...ow a Nation depends on Trade

"BASUTOLAND! When things are at the worst, they are sure to mend. Things cannot be much worse than they are now."

The Comet 2-8-33

The question of how I am to start my article I have tried to settle in three ways. First by scratching my head, which led to nothing. Second by taking my chair and sitting in the shade along side to my falling not exactly into a sleep, but into the next best thing to it. Third, by watching things, and taking interest in conversing with traders, which led to the following.

Basutoland

Those who have studied history intelligently, cannot fail to be impressed by the part that trade has alw ys played as one of the influential factors in human life. No matter how far we go back towards the beginning of things, we find evidence of exchange or barter between people of the same or of different tribes; the cause being that desire for possession which is instinctive in all ordinary men, In this article, it is my purpose to show to what extent nations have been and still are dependent on their trade whether internal or external.

In the first place, it is by trade that nati ns become prosperous; for it is unusual for any nation to produce within itself a l the commodities that the people of that nation desire though they may possess a superabundance of some commodity that is essential to neighbouring peoples. Therefore by exchanging their superfluous goods for the things which they need, and which other people may possess, they can supply themselves with all that they lacked, and so enrich and improve their own national life. This holds true just as much in the case of individual people as in families. We can supply all our needs by obtaining things from those who have them in excess, giving in exchange whatever of our possessions we can spare that may be of value to them. But in civilised times, for convinience, in trading, we have introduced money, and reckon everything we have for exchange according to its monetory value. Thus a man who has nothing to offer to other except his own skill in some particular work is enabled to exchange his skill and time for regular wages and with those wages to buy all the things he needs. So in all civilised nations, under normal conditions everyone can achieve a good standard of life, and the nation as a whole benefit thereby.

This leads us to the second importance of trade. Because it is not necessary for every individual or nation to supply all his own needs, and because it is possible for him to depend on others for most of his requirements, while himself contributing his single share towards the general needs, it is important that his contribution should be fuller and more effective. Thus if he is a farmer, he can devote himself to his farming and make a better contribution to the nation's food-supply and so help to assure the nation of sufficency of the agricultural products.

The tendency is for commercial interests to promote political advantages and security; so we find great empires founded on what at first way mere trade relationship, and general friendliness and peace between nations as a result of recognition of their dependence on one another. It is the independent nation that is a continual source of danger and ill-feeling, just as it is the independent man who is readiest to live according to selfish motives and endanger or impoverish the life of his fellows.

This then is answer to those who would argue that it is good for nations to seek to supply all their needs and become independent of others—that in such dependence of one nation on another lies the best guarantee of the maintainance of peace and goodwill. Also to those who tell us that the finest life is the simplest one in which we reduce our needs to such a degree that we can satisfy them by our own efforts, my answer is that only by cooperation in service, in which every person makes his special individual contribution to the life of the community, can we ever hope to attain to the highest and most efficient level of civilisation.

The secret of progress is trade Without trade a nation becomes stagnant and dead; but with trade and through trade which is wide spread and flourishing. the nation is continually enriched and by intercourse with all quarters of the world.

"Basutoland, when things are at the worst, they are sure to mend. Things cannot be much worse than they are."

L. C. N.

Native Hut Tax.

The Comet 9-2-33

It is natural that in times of stress there should rise a cry for diminished taxation. The Basuto have been hard hit by the depression and they deserve full sympathy. Nevertheless they are intelligent enough to know that they would inevitably suffer from a fall in the Government Revenue. They are fortunate, moreover, in having been spared the increased taxation which the slump has imposed on other nations. There is, however, an essential difference between the South African Bantu and the capitalist nations of the world. Whereas in the latter the depression has compelled the wealthier elements to an ever-increasing support of the poor and workers, in Basutoland, as in the other Native territories, the uniform Hut tax has rested with crushing weight on the poorer classes.

Basutoland

When the Native Hut Tax was introduced it was presumably based on the supposition of uniform standard of wealth throughout the community. Although this has never been strictly true it may nevertheless be admitted that in former days the Bantu were closer to the ideal of equality than to-day.

European rule and the influence of European civilisation have encouraged differentiation and class distinctions. Thus likewise have an enterprising minority of the people ventured to rise above their fellow tribesmen and, in common with the chiefs, become, in a small way, the capitalists of present-day Basuto society.

The result has been the impoverishment of an increasing section of the community by a favoured few. It is for this reason that while Basutoland is admittedly overstocked, there are a large number of Basuto who possess very few cattle and some none at all. To these the hut tax is a continual source of anxiety and, not infrequently of hardship.

The uniform Hut Tax, therefore, however well it may have answered formerly, is, under present-day conditions no longer defendable. A happy state is not built on the harsh and unjust principle that "Unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he

shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath." The time is ripe, therefore, for a challenge of the accepted method of Native taxation and for reform. Taxation should no longer rest on supposed equality but on actual inequality. In other words, every man should be taxed according to his means.

In European communities taxation is calculated on the tax-payers income. Such a method, unfortunately, is inapplicable to the Basuto, for living as they do on a subsistence level, that is, a hand-to-mouth existence, they can boast of no regular income. That being so, the only remaining alternative is a tax on wealth which, in Basutoland is synonimous with cattle.

It is suggested, therefore.

(1) That the existing Hut Tax should remain unaltered, but that its uniformity should be remedied by the establishment of

(2) A live stock tax for cattle-both large and small-owned in excess of an agreed free allowance.

The effect of the new tax would be to encourage the Native "mafisa" custom! for, with the object of escaping the law, the rich would scatter their herds among the poor. Now this should not be prevented but made use of. For taxation purposes, cattle thus disposed of should be considerad as belonging to the trustees and, provided they did not exceed the legal limit, should be exempted from the tax. There would nevertheless remain a surplus of stock which the large owner would be unable to "place" in this way. For these he would be required to pay tax.

The proposed system would offer several advantages which would benefit both rich and poor.

(1) The tax on wealth would be a strong inducement to the Native to sell his surplus stock. This would tend to reduce the over-stocking which is undoubtedly the greatest menace threatening Basutoland and the other Native territories. By improving the veld the stock tax would, therefore, benefit not only the small owner himself.

(2) By providing the poor with cattle to plough and a share of the clip of the sheep under their care, the "mafisa" custom would facilitate their payment of the tax while enabling them to live more comfortably.

(3) Although the rich owners would be hard hit by the new tax, the possibility of "letting" large numbers of their stock would safeguard their wealth while distributing it more evenly over the country-side.

There is another aspect of taxation which we desire to touch upon, namely the imprisonment of tax-defaulters. Imprisonment is a loss to the community in at least two ways:

(1) The prisoner must be lodged and fed at the expense of the tax-payer, so that, in addition to the offense of not paying his tax, he is made to commit the further offence of depriving his countrymen of money which might be more usefully spent.

(2) His family is deprived of its breadwinner for the duration of his imprisonment and if poor he is further impoverished by his stay in prison and consequently less able to meet his obligations in future.

These facts have been fully realised in many civilised countries, with the result that defaulters who are willing but unable to pay are no longer imprisoned but are called upon instead to supply the equivalent of their tax in labour.

Since the Basutoland Government declared its laudable policy of afforestation, it has been unable to proceed with its plans, for lack of funds. Consequently, until the return of prosperity torrential rains will continue to rush down mountain-sides unchecked and to work havoc in the valleys below.

We see no valid reason why tax defaulters who are willing but unable to pay should not be employed on such work as unpaid labourers.

There should be no imprisonment except for shirkers and no feeding other than the traditional beer supplied at "matsema." Moreover if plantations and soil reclamation works were sufficiently multiplied, the defaulters would be enabled work in their own wards and under the supervision of their chiefs.

The advantages of the system are obvious. Not only would there be no loss to the state, but a distinct gain, for tax defaulters would be engaged in constructive work of incalculable benefit to the country.

Motsoelopele

COST OF LABOUR.

A few sidelights on the cost to the tax-payer of the Government's civilised labour policy appear in the Auditor-General's annual report, states the "Cape Times."

Dealing with expenditure on capital account, he mentions that in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs the additional cost due to the employment of civilised labour, in place of uncivilised, was about £10,085 in the financial year ended March last.

Again, in the Forestry Department, the expenditure on forestry settlements, where white labour was employed, amounted to £179,917, of which £107,381 was regarded as representing the additional cost entailed by the Employment of European labour. In addition, the cost of transporting these white labourers and their families to the settlements was borne by the Labour Department.

In the Education branch of the Agricultural Department the additional cost of using civilised in place of uncivilised labour is given at £1,884.

The extra cost thrown on the Public Works Department by the white labour policy is shown at £33,639.

Extended reference is made by the Auditor-General to the subsidies granted by the Labour Department in connection with certain construction contracts at the Pretoria Iron and Steel Works in order to secure the exclusive employment of civilised labour.

The Auditor-General quotes a minute which he had addressed to the Labour Department, pointing out that, under the agreement with the company, the subsidy paid for approximately seven months ended July 27 last amounted to £13,119, while the wages paid by the contractor during that period to labourers employed under the scheme was less than £11,000.

In reply the Department referred to the difficulties which stood in the way of forming proper estimates and stated that, in an interview with the Minister, the representatives of Dorman, Long and Co., Ltd., agreed that the present relationship between the subsidy amount and the labourers' earnings was not what was contemplated when the agreement was made. So far the employment figures had not realised the company's original estimate of the numbers required.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

SLAVERY CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS.

Weekly News

The year 1933 being the Centenary of the decision of the British Parliament to secure the emancipation of slaves at a cost of £20,000,000, and July next the Centenary of the death of William Wilberforce, a large number of important gatherings are being arranged in different parts of the country.

The object of these gatherings is not merely that of celebrating the historic events of one hundred years ago, but to focus public attention upon the great task of the suppression of slavery in all its forms throughout the world now to be undertaken by the League of Nations and the United States of America.

The principal events already arranged include the following :— 4-1-33

On March 17th Sir John Simon will speak at a great Centenary Celebration meeting, to be held in York. The gathering will be held, by permission, in the Minster, and will be attended by the Lord Mayor and Corporation in State.

Freetown

A special Centenary Service will be held in Chichester Cathedral on Sunday, July 2nd.

The Lord Mayors of Swansea, Cardiff, Bradford and Norwich are also organising Public Meetings in their respective cities, whilst other Lord Mayors and Mayors are considering similar arrangements.

Lady Simon will speak at a Norwich Celebration on Thursday, March 2nd, and one at Cardiff on Tuesday, March 28th.

All religious denominations have either passed or propose passing resolutions urging the Clergy and Ministers to preach upon the subject. Lord Olivier will move the Baptist resolution at Glasgow on May 4th. Sir John Harris will move the resolution at the Free Church Conference at Sheffield on March 15th.

In Hull, the city of Wilberforce, one week will be devoted to Celebrations meeting. These will be inaugurated by the Archbishop of York on Sunday, July 23. The arrangements for Hull are in the hands of the Lord Mayor and a special Committee created for the purpose. Wilberforce House is now open to the Public largely in its original state. This house is one of the treasures of the ancient city of Hull, the birthplace of William Wilberforce. A visit to the room devoted to relics of the slave trade with its branding irons, shackles, slave whips, and other relics of that inhuman period is not soon forgotten.

During the Summer the British Broadcasting Corporation has arranged for a series of talks upon various aspects of Slavery. The talks will be inaugurated by Sir John Harris on April 24th, and other "broadcasters" will be Lord Cecil, Professor Webster, Professor Coupland and Miss Perham. It is expected that listening Groups throughout the country will be formed to listen to the talks and then discuss them.

The British Broadcasting Corporation intend to mark the Celebration with a special Sunday Service, details of which will be announced in due course.

A vivid and remarkable Pageant Play has been written which illustrates in eight scenes some of the most important and moving events in the history of slavery and its abolition. On Empire Day, May 24th, this Pageant Play which has been prepared by the Anti-Slavery Society is to be perfoamed in the grounds of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught at Bagshot Park for the benefit of the public in Surrey, Hampshire and Berkshire. The local organisation will be in the hands of the Surrey Federation of the League of Nations' Union.

On March 13th Sir Herbert and Lady Wilberforce are giving a presentation of the Slavery Pageant Play at the Rudolph Steiner Theatre. Lady Simon will speak during the evening, and tickets, which are free and by invitation, may be obtained from Lady Stewart, 50/52, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1.

THE A.M.E. CHURCH CONFERENCE.

Weekly News

BY THE OFFICIAL REPORTER.

4-4-33

The 43rd Session of the Sierra Leone Conference of the A.ME. Church was convened on Wednesday last the 29th inst., in accordance with instructions from the Rt. Rev. H. Y. Tookes, Presiding Bishop. The morning session continues each day at 9 o'clock. On Wednesday evening, we listened to the Annual Sermon by our General Superintendent, Rev. Dr. I. E. C. Steady who chose his text from Philippians 4. 22. 'All the Saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Caesar's household." This he dealt on most exhaustively on the following three points :—

Freetown

1. The audacity of the Gospel.
2. The agressiveness of the Gospel.
3. The Power of The Gospel.

This was indeed and inspiring and instructive sermon. The choirs of our three churches led the singing.

On Thursday morning, Business Session. In the evening, we listened to the Educational Sermon by our veteran teacher the Rev. J. P. Balogun Richards B.D., Principal of the A.M.E. Seminary. His text was taken from St. John 14 : 6. "I am the way, the truth and the Life" The preacher dealt on the following points : (1) The way of Life (2) The truth of life (3) The Life of life. It was really an authentic sermon. The singing was led by the pupils of our A.M.E. Secondary schools. Special hymn-sheets were used. Business continued on Friday morning. In the evening, we had our Educational Platform meeting.

Chairman :—S. T. Jones Esq. Supporters. T. F. [illegible]ht, Esq., and J. T. Johnson, Esq.

Our secondary schools (A.M.E. Seminary and Girl's Industrial and Literary Institute) took part in the programme.

This moring (Saturday) at 9 a.m., the Session continues. Tomorrow at 10.30 a.m., change of pulpits in our City Churches. New Zion : Rev. W. G. Morgan. Emmanuel : Rev. W. A. Chinsman. Campbell : Bro. S. E. Attarrah. Evening Service will be held at New Zion only and not in the other churches. All are invited to come and hear the Missionary Sermon by the General Superintendent.

On Monday morning, our Business Session will continue ; and in the evening, the Great Public Meeting at New Zion.

Chairman : The General Superintendent, to be supported by our senior stewards. Here our Conference ends, and all workers receive their appointments from the General Superintendent.

FIRESTONE AND LIBERIA UNDER THE MICROSCOPE.

Weekly News

3-25-33

AMERICA PRODUCES THE GREATEST BUSINESS GENIUS AND PHILANTHROPIST OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

BY THOS. E. BUCHANAN.

To appreciate the situation, it is recommended to the reader to carefully peruse and digest the following Philanthropic and Economic Programme of Mr. Firestone's activities in Liberia, during the period 1926-31.

The ostensible object of this undertaking supposed to be : The Welfare of Liberia and its People. Under the guise of producing Rubber below world's market price. This undertaking is organized and directed by :

Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Senior ; Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Junior ; The Firestone Plantations Company ; The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company ; The Finance Corporation of America ; The Fiscal Agents (National City Bank of New York ?). The United States-Liberia Radio Corporation ; The United States Trading Company ; The United States Trading Company Banking Department, which are all one and the same person, Mr. Firestone, whose ambition, *inter alia* is the domination of the European Rubber Market [Anglo-Dutch and French.)

HIS THEORETICAL PROGRAMME.

(1). Loan for Liberia	$5,000,00.
(7) Interest of 7% for twenty years .	$7,000,000.
	12,000.000.
The Loan to be refunded by amortization	$5,000.000.
Credit balance after twenty years of	7,000.000.

or 350,000 Dollars per annum net profit on loan.

The following shows how this net profit will be utilized : Development, comprising roads, bush clearing, purchase and planting of scions, transportation, salaries &c. . . . . 5,000.000.

Incidentals during transitory period between planting and tapping seven years . . . . 2,000.000.

Total — $7,000.000.

These figures show only partly the geniality of Mr. Firestone in pronouncing Rubber free of charge, as besides other important advantages to his enterprize the loan of $5,000.000 is floated at the rate of 90%, and must be redeemed by the Liberian Government at the rate of 102 ½% which makes again 12 ½%, and is another product of Mr. Firestone's genial philanthrophy of which the "Black Man" in Liberia bears the expenses.

Contrary to understandings and promises, Mr. Firestone or Firestone Unlimited is the *sole* holder of these Loan-Bonds, which gives him all facilities to administer his business as an autocrat, being sometimes arbitrary.

Unfortunately as in every enterprise, there were unforeseen contingentualities, only two and one-half million dollars instead of five million were advanced absorbed and squandered by Liberia under the guidance and direction of Firestone Unlimited. (For reliance see International Report of the Experts to the League of Nations, C-Lib. 4 (1) Page 31, Section 1, para 3.

Furthermore, more than $5,000.000 was expended on Rubber developments and the unfortunate collapse of the past administration in Liberia, which under the influence of Firestone Unlimited contributed to the execution of this scheme in its entirety contribution which is contrary to the economic policies of the present Administration in Liberia.

However, certain compensating events facilitated the scheme, and these were :

1. Business (?) operations created by Firestone's Unlimited.
2. Non fulfilment of agreements (Cancellation of Harbour construction in Monrovia).
3. Payment of rents on areas occupied by plantations solely on Firestone's figures, Government verification being rendered difficult through lack of means and facilities.

Towards the realization of Firestone's Unlimited theoretical programme, the following movements were engineered :

1. The operations of the reputable Bank of British West Africa Ltd. who for many years have been recognized as Bankers to the Liberian Government were prejudiced by the movements of Firestone's Unlimited.

This was a contributing factor for their retirement from Liberia. The past Liberian Administration charged the Financial Adviser (Firestone) whilst in London to induce the continuity of their operations in Liberia. Acting to the contrary, the Bank closed down.

Synchronizing with the latter's withdrawal, the indefatigable Mr. Jeff. Faulkner proceeded to the States and there negotiated with Firestone for the establishment of a Negro Bank in Liberia, to which Mr. Firestone promised support and assistance.

In a fool's paradise, Faulkner waited the realization of his dreams, but received a rude awakening when on his return to Liberia he found himself out-generaled by this wonderful philanthropic business genius, under whose magic wand, instead of the Negro Bank coming into existence, another ramification of Firestone's Unlimited is given birth

and christened "The United States Trading Company, Banking Department" and is accorded special privileges and facilities by the then Administration in power.

Firestone forwards money for the Loan Service to the Finance Corporation (Firestone), who in turn transmits same to the Fiscal Agents (Firestone) and by them it is transferred to the United States Trading Company, Banking Department (Firestone) in Monrovia, automatically accruing financial benefits, to Firestone's Unlimited, as the Black Republic is charged for every transaction for these various financial manipulations.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the Liberian Government may utilize the money only upon the approval of the Financial Adviser who is Firestone's Agent, which he reluctantly gives except for the investment of moneys whereby Firestone Unlimited benefits or is interested in Such as the purchase of steel for constructions equipments, engines, vehicles, Radio Station, and payment of his costly but inexperienced employees who are supposed to be Liberian Government Officials.

Firestone collects the revenues of the Republic of Liberia, pays himself interest and sinking fund, which are promptly transmitted to the Plantations in Du No. 1 to meet its expenses. But the poor Liberian Government is mulcted in charges for transmission to the United States.

As an aftermath of this programme a general economic reaction is unavoidable.

The Rubber Statistics of the European Market causes alarm for so long as Firestone can get Rubber in Liberia *free of charge* the rubber price must remain below the average price which means impossibility for Liberia to progress through the development of the Rubber production.

Liberia also reacts. The Negroes of that small Republic who had realized their predicament started to lose all notions of appreciation for this wonderful philanthropic organization, Firestone Unlimitted, and made a clean cut move towards the safety of their economic independence which in return brought about a reaction and revulsion of feelings by the Firestone Unlimited who chagrined at the turn events were taking, embarked upon aseries of conspiracy and engineered a great political move, resulting in Liberia being accused of *Slavery and Forced Labour*, capital crimes repugnant to the civilized world. Although Liberia held no monopoly in this respect it was a dangerous move, calculated to endanger her independence.

Following in its wake came the International Commission of Inquiry (Christy-Johnson Commission), suggestion of a mandate to Liberia, the Brunot Experts Commission, the Plan of Assistance and finally American Dictatorship.

Being unsuccessful in the foregoing, due to the impartiality of the League of Nations, it being profoundly attached to its Covenant and its probity and integrity in the cause of the weak nations, Firestone Unlimited adopted such a pathetic attitude in collaborating with the League towards the close of the negotiations, to assist Liberia to put its house in order that created a deadlock taking advantage of the situation to carry out his final plan of economic strangulation of Liberia.

The latter to avoid this direperil, was compelled to proclaim a moratorium, which resulted in the closing down of the United States Trading Company Banking Department, as Firestone refused to release funds whatever, standing to the Credit of the Government to relieve the starving population of Liberia, quite 90% of whom have been working for over twelve months without pay.

As a last attempt to reduce Liberia's source of resistance, (their Independence), the Almighty Firestone recommends the following through his Financial Adviser, to the Liberian Government for acceptance:—

1. Abolition of their State Department
2. Abolition of Foreign Representatives abroad
3. Abolition of Post Office
4. Abolition of National College
5. Abolition of Hospital
6. Reduction of Frontier Force to 100 men with one American Commander in Chief.
7. Revenue Agents under control of Fiscal Agents to be Vice-gerents to the President in the difierent Provinces.

The foregoing at a glance, seems to be a new plan of assistance, elaborated by Firestone's Unlimited, which aims to offset the accepted plan of the League of Nations the latter, guaranteeing to the small Black Republic its Independence, and gradual economic recovery, and the former reducing Liberia from a National Rank of an Independent State to that of an American Province, ruled, controlled and administered by Firestone, Firestone, Firestone and Firestone.

The situation in Liberia is not only dramatic but tragic, and pregnant with great potentialities, as the Liberian Government and its people with their backs to the wall, despite their weakness and shortcoming, are united in putting forth every legitimate effort to obviate any repetition in Liberia of those dramas enacted so vividly by Alexander Dumas, as portrayed in the Count of Monte Christo.

An Engine Mishap to the "Brazza."

According to a Lloyd's cable from Dakar, on the 28th ult., the French motor mail liner "Brazza" (Chargeurs Réunis) has arrived at Dakar with a mishap to her motors. Lloyd's cables report that the passengers and the freight have been transhipped on board the "Hoggar" and the "Asie," and that, after temporary repairs, the "Brazza" left Dakar on the 5th inst., returning to France, convoyed by the "Fort de Vaux." (The "Brazza" had left Bordeaux on Saturday, March 18, and was due at Matadi on Sunday, April 9.)

Compagnie Maritime Belge Cruises.

On Saturday last the "Léopoldville," the flagship of the Compagnie Maritime Belge left Antwerp on her first cruise to Casablanca, Cadiz, and Lisbon, being due back at Antwerp on the 22nd inst. 126 passengers were on board.

We are still in the teeth of the worst crisis the world has ever known, as this is the first cruise of the Compagnie Maritime Belge, and as this cruise was announced only three months ago, whilst all the other lines had already advertised their cruises, the Compagnie Maritime Belge may be congratulated for having booked 126 passengers. It is true that the prices are very moderate—from £1 a day.

After her return to Antwerp the "Léopoldville" will sail on further fourteen-day cruises to the South.

The Congo Exports.

Mr. Paul Tschoffen, our Colonial Minister, stated on Wednesday last in the House of Representatives that 60 per cent. of the Congo exports are landed at Antwerp.

A Traffic Revival.

The Congo Railway Co. (Matadi-Léopoldville) informs me that its total traffic increased from 27,100 tons in January to 32,100 tons in March.

The Miniere des Grands Lacs.

In the first quarter of this year the Minière des Grands Lacs produced 351 kilograms 648 grams of gold, against 283 kilograms 871 in the corresponding period of last year.

World Gold Output Decreasing.

If in the Congo the gold output is increasing, the world over it is decreasing according to the following returns of the New York "American Bureau of Metal Statistics":—

October, 1932	2,058,000	fine ounces.
November, 1932.....	2.049,000	,, ,,
December, 1932.....	2.0 0,000	,, ,,
January, 1933	2,001,000	,, ,,
February, 1933	1,837,000	,, ,,

Union Miniere not to Propose Cut in Copper Output.

For some time past the report has been circulated that Mr. Pisart was to sail to New York at the end of this month, to propose to the American copper producers a further curtailment of the output.

I am in a position to contradict this news, which was besides conflicting with the Union Minière's own increase from 40,000 to 56,000 tons a year.

Closing Down of the American Copper Mines.

On Thursday of last week the London and Paris papers published cables from their New York correspondents, according to which the American copper mines were to shut down completely in the near future.

As these cables have received no denials but rather confirmations, the price of copper is rising, and important tonnages are being purchased. Thus, the ton of electrolytic copper has risen from £32 2s. 6d. (Wednesday) to £35 to-day (Monday), a rather substantial increase in three days (of transactions).

In any case, the position of the American copper producers is so far from bright that, according to "Mining and Metallurgy," of New York, they were trying to increase from four to ten cents the duty on every pound of copper entering the U.S.A., but, according to the New York "American Metal Market" of March 30, the fact the duty was powerless to improve the metal quotations may result in its non-renewal next year.

J. ROUSSEAUX

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, April 7th.

Governor-General Tilkens' Return.

Governor-General Tilkens, who had left Léopoldville on March 17, proceeding by air to Lasala, Bangui, Fort Lamy, and Niamey, wherefrom he crossed the Sahara on board a motor-car of the Compagnie Transsaharienne, arrived, on the 8th inst., at Oran, and sailed to Marseilles, where he arrived to-day (Monday).

During his crossing of French Equatorial Africa, Governor-General Tilkens was the guest of the French Air Force, and his airplane was escorted by another French military airplane.

Unfortunately for him, Lieut.-General Tilkens has been Governor-General of the Congo at the worst time of the world's crisis. This is an unavoidable circumstance which too many people do not take sufficient account of when they express an opinion as to him.

via the Sahara.

Apropos the return of General Tilkens via the Sahara, it should be said that the Compagnie Transsaharienne has now extended up to Fort Lamy (Tchad Territory) its regular motor-car service from Colomb-Bechar (Algeria) to Niamey (on the Niger).

During recent weeks the Sahara route was also chosen for his return to Europe by Commander Mori, the Italian Consul-General at Léopoldville.

French Air Fleet's Cruise.

According to the Paris "Depêche Coloniale et Maritime" of the 7th inst., Mr. Pierre Cot, the French Air Minister, has instructed the Air Force to plan a flight from France to French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. At least one hundred airplanes and seaplanes would take part in this sensational flight, in which Mr. Pierre Cot will be participating.

Next day the Paris "Information" added that this gigantic air cruise should leave Istres in November or December next, and would visit Algeria, Morocco, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, and would return either via Egypt or via Tunis.

I wonder what the natives will think when they hear the noise of all these aircraft and when they see the sky covered by this huge fleet of airplanes. In any case this sensational flight will tremendously increase the prestige of France in the minds of the African natives.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

NIGERIA.

Personal.

The Chief Justice, Sir Donald Kingdon, left Lagos for Ibadan on January 2 to preside at the Assizes there. His Honour was also expected to hold Assizes at Benin City on January 9, and at Abeokuta on the 16th.

Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, C.H., and Mrs. Rowntree arrived at Lagos in mail week by the m.v. "Apapa."

Mr. A. T. Coode, partner of the well-known firm of consulting engineers to the Crown Agents for the Colonies, was also an arrival by the "Apapa."

The Rev. Father J. J. Considine, Director of the Fides News Service, Rome, arrived at Lagos from Duala by the s.s. "Madonna" in mail week, and left for the interior. Father Considine is making a tour of the Catholic Missions in Asia and Africa.

Dr. Agnes Savage, daughter of Dr. R. Akiwande Savage of Lagos, and a member of the teaching staff at Achimota College, Gold Coast, paid a visit to her relations at Lagos in mail week, and was welcomed by many friends.

Treasure Trove.

While at work in an obscure side street near the Aroloya Mosque, Lagos, a labourer unearthed a jar containing a large quantity of silver coins of Queen Victoria's and King Edward's reigns. An altercation ensued between the finder and a crowd which quickly collected, in the course of which a wild scramble took place for the coins, which were principally florins, shillings and sixpences. The police were quickly on the scene, and succeeded in recovering coins to the value of £5 17s., though the jar is believed to have contained a much larger sum. An inquiry is being held.

News in Brief.

An extraordinary meeting of the Legislative Council was held on January 9.

The trustees of the late Bishop Oluwole's estate have instituted two cash prizes to be awarded to successful candidates in the Senior School Certificate Examination at the C.M.S. Girls' School, Lagos. The awards will be known as the Bishop Oluwole Memorial Prize.

Nigerian Railway earnings for the week ended December 3 amounted to £65,453, as compared with £44,717 for the corresponding period of last year. This marked improvement is largely due to the excellent groundnut season in the North, the Railway having taken special steps to deal with the heavy railings of this crop from Kano and other centres to the Coast.

The Christmas meeting of the Lagos Race Club was held on December 24, 26, and 27, attracting large attendances. Among the spectators were Their Excellencies Sir Donald and Lady Cameron, and at the close of the third day's racing the prizes were distributed by Lady Cameron. The Governor's Cup was won by Mr. A. Alakija with his Eureka.

SIERRA LEONE.

Personal.

H.E. the Governor and Lady Hodson have taken up residence temporarily at Governor's Lodge, Hill Station, as from January 10.

At the conclusion of the guard-mounting ceremony at Fort Thornton on December 30, H.E. the Governor decorated Colour-Sergeant Law with the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal. Lieut.-Col. Greene, officer commanding the Sierra Leone Battalion, R.W.A.F.F., and the officers of the battalion were present at the ceremony.

H.E. the Governor and Lady Hodson entertained the captain and officers of H.M.S. "Endeavour" to dinner at Government House on January 7.

The Rev. Canon T. C. John will leave Sierra Leone for England on March 23 next, and his consecration as Assistant Bishop of the Niger Diocese will take place in London on May 1. The Bishop-designate is expected to return to West Africa a fortnight later, breaking his journey to Nigeria at Sierra Leone.

Mr. J. L. John, J.P., who recently retired from the position of Chief Clerk at Government House, has been appointed African Assistant Colonial Secretary. Mr. John's well-merited promotion to this responsible office has given great pleasure to his many friends in the African and European communities.

Commander F. T. Peters, who arrived at Freetown in mail week, has relieved Captain A. L. Stickings as Supervising Agent of the United Africa Co. in Sierra Leone.

New Year Honours.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to announce the following local awards in the King's name:—

Certificates of Honour: The Hon. Paramount Chief Bai Inga, of Bure Chiefdom, Port Loko District, Northern Province, Member of the Legislative Council; Mr. Elkanah William Pratt, of Bonthe, Southern Province.

GOLD COAST.

Cocoa Shipments.

Shipments of cocoa from all Gold Coast ports during December totalled 38,780 tons, against 33,890 tons a year ago. Of this quantity the United Kingdom took 13,896 tons; America, 6,931; Holland, 5,947; and Germany, 7,873. The Ilheos crop for the eight months ended December 31 last was heavier than for the same period in 1931. Entries by rail for the period amounted to 758,100 bags, against 559,700 bags in 1931. The crop is now diminishing, and some deterioration in quality is reported. Flowering for the new crop is reported to be satisfactory.

Education Department Report.

The outstanding feature of the Education Report for 1931-1932 just issued is the praiseworthy efforts which have been made, in spite of the decreased revenue necessitated by the economic depression, to maintain and improve facilities for education throughout the colony.

The estimated expenditure on education in the year 1931-32 was £45,569 less than the estimate for the previous year, this saving being achieved by a general cut on teachers' salaries, by the abolition of certain appointments, and by the exercise of the strictest economy in every direction. This cut, unavoidable though it was in view of the financial position of the country, was none the less severe, and the Education Department, as well as the Missions, are to be commended on the success that attended their efforts, in spite of retrenchments, to provide better teachers, better teaching methods, and better accommodation.

Unfortunately the financial crisis which overtook the country towards the end of 1930 did not improve during 1931, and in reviewing the various branches of expenditure the Government came to the decision that expenditure on education was still too high in proportion to the revenue of the country. Early in 1932, a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the Hon. F. E. Talland to consider the cost of education to Government, and to recommend means whereby reductions of £50,000 might be made. The chief recommendations contained in the report of this committee were for a reduction in the strength of the Department, the closing of Accra Technical School, an increase in school fees, and a reduction in grants to mission schools.

No provision was made in the Government estimates for new school buildings, but the Education Department found it possible to improve existing accommodation by utilising the work done by pupils during their training in craftwork. At Takoradi, the old Public Works Department camp was converted into a new Government School by the headmaster and pupils of the Assuantsi Trade School, and at Essiama, the pupils, under the supervision of their teachers, erected in cement blocks, a building of three classrooms at a total cost of £100.

The report, which contains the fullest possible information on every branch of the work of the Education Department, with statistics, maps, and charts, is obtainable from the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4, Millbank, London, S.W.1, price 3s.

EAST AFRICAN TRADE IN 1932.

Combined Exports Exceed 1931 Total.

Although 1932 was a year of serious depression the exports from Kenya showed a comparatively slight decline, a matter of only £59,966. Maize and wheat fell heavily as compared with the previous year, but the export of coffee rose by some 10,000 cwts., while cotton slightly improved.

The 1932 exports from Kenya represented a value of £2,283,908, as compared with £2,343,874 in the previous year.

The combined exports of Kenya and Uganda, indeed, rose in 1932 above those in 1931. The combined figure in 1932 was £4,505,850, against £4,322,136 in 1931. The reason for this was a very large increase in Uganda's exports—from £1,978,262 in 1931 to £2,221,942 in 1932.

Principal Exports.

Of Kenya's exports, the chief commodities were:—

	1932.		1931.
Cotton (centals)	4,514	...	3,131
Sisal and tow (tons)	15 385	...	15,994
Maize (cwt.)	514,917	...	1,859,517
Wheat (cwt.)	1,727	...	63,644
Coffee (cwt.)	276,501	...	245,903

Uganda's exports mainly consisted of the following:—

	1932.		1931.
Cotton (centals)	829,273	...	755,680
Maize (cwt.)	1,439	...	603
Coffee (cwts.)	86,197	...	69,990

It can be seen, therefore, that while Kenya's maize export fell to nearly a quarter of what it was in 1931, and the wheat export to a mere fraction of the figure in that year, the coffee export rose by over 20,000 cwt., which undoubtedly helped nearly to balance the figures for the two years. A general increase in the export tonnage seems to have been made in Uganda in 1932 as compared with 1931.

Reduction of Imports.

In regard to imports, there was a reduction in the total figure as compared with 1931. The United Kingdom again held the commanding position as country of origin, the percentage being 42.9 of the total, a slight increase. Japan, however, which was the second largest exporter of goods to East Africa, again increased her percentage, and last year sent 13.2 per cent. of the total imports into the territories as compared with 10.3 per cent. the previous year.

Exclusive of Government imports, the imports into Kenya and Uganda for home consumption were only £3,997,133 in 1932, as compared with £4,770,941 in 1931. The fact that Britain sent less, however, did not affect materially her percentage of the trade with Kenya and Uganda, which rose by 1.8 per cent. Japan's rose by 2.9 per cent.

The following figures show the fluctuations in the amounts sold by the various exporting countries: United Kingdom: 1932, £1,715,540 or 42.9 per cent. (1931, £1,961,652 or 41.1 per cent.); Japan: 1932, £225,867 or 13.2 per cent. (1931, £489,531 or 10.3 per cent.); India: 1932, £351,314 or 8.8 per cent. (1931, £443,284 or 9.3 per cent.); United States: 1932, £250,668 or 6.3 per cent. (1931, £489,689 or 10.3 per cent.); Holland: 1932, £189,696 or 4.7 per cent. (1931, £286,159 or 6 per cent.); and Germany: 1932, £128,306 or 3.2 per cent. (1931, £185,062 or 3.9 per cent.).

From Tanganyika Territory, the two countries imported in 1932, £597,719 worth, against only £377,109 worth in 1931

Basuto Traders

The Comet

Are they protected by the Government?

1-4-33

Mason Basutoland

(Moshebeshwe)

Whether it be the policy of the Basutoland Government or the attitude of some of the Government Officials to discourage the Basuto to undertake trade among themselves is a question that should be considered and answered and we propose to answer it in this article.

There has been a complaint among the Basuto that the Government does not give them a chance to trade among their own people, but that on the contrary Europeans are given every opportunity to flood the territory with trading stations. Licences are issued to new comers, and old timers too are allowed to open new trading stations at suitable centres.

The native aspirants at trade are often discouraged and advised not to attempt trade as they have no knowledge and experience of trading methods and would be ruined. It would be better to keep whatever money they had than to attempt to trade with it. If the applicant insist on his application it would be advertised and protests invited in the ordinary course. As traders are mos ly Europeans protests would be organised against the Native applicant which in most cases result in the application being refused by the Licensing Board. A few years ago one of the chief reasons brought forward in these protests against Basuto applicants was that the applicants had no capital and that they were only agents of certain Europeans who remained behind the curtain and would jump out into the open after the Native store had had a few years running as creditors and take up the store on the pretence of the owner having failed to meet his already big accounts. This was quite possible under the circumstances and as a precautionary measure the Basutoland Council asked the Paramount Chief to make Basuto trading stores non-transferrable. This measure was to safe-guard them against Europeans entering Basutoland for trading through this opening and those already in the Territory obtaining branch stations by this means. But at the same time it placed the Native traders at a disadvantage as it spoiled all their chances of obtaining goods on credit and paying for them after they had sold them, It was quite clear that unless an applicant had a large amount of capital to be able to purchase goods for cash he could not attempt trade in Basutoland.

At one time the Paramount Chief assured the Basuto that the mountain area would be reserved for Native enthusiasts in trade in order to give them an opportunity to trade among their own people, but the European traders after exploring the trading field and discovering that there was a better chance of trade in the mountain area than there was in the lowlands bombarded the P. C. with applications for stations in that area, and the P. C. though reluctant at last gave way and found excuses for granting sites.

After repeated applications a few Natives were granted trading licences in the mountain area too and this was not until the P. C. had strongly pleaded for them.

There seems nothing in the laws of the country to suggest that the policy of tha Administration is against Native trading though on the other hand it could not be said that they are encouraging Natives to take a hand in trade.

We shall then take the case of the few Natives who have established themselves as traders among their own people. The first applicants have invariably failed in their attempts but those who fllowed in their footsteps are promising and have fairly established themselves in spite of the bad state of trade. They are however struggling against unfair competition. One would think that a licensed trader in Basutoland should enjoy the protection of the Government that collects his licence fee every year, but unfortunately it is not so with our Basuto traders. While the European traders enjoy this protection though we do not imply that they are satisfied with it, the Native traders don't. While European traders may prosecute their debtors in the Government courts for amounts owing and the property of the debtor attached and sold in execution of the judgment of the court the Native trader cannot do so. If he sued his Native debtor in the government courts he is told to sue his debtor in the Native courts the case could only come to the European courts as an appeal from the Native courts. The reason for this refusal is that the case is between two Natives and cases between two Natives should be brought before their chiefs. It must be pointed out here that though it is desirable and according to usage that cases between Native and Native be heard in the Native courts but at the same time it must not be forgotten that times have changed and to-day there are certain cases which though the parties concerned may be both Natives yet their case may be of such a nature that it could not fairly be heard and decided by a Native court as the point in dispute may not be a Native custom. For instance it is nothing but a travesty of justice for Native traders to be forced to go to the Native courts for the recovery of thier outstanding debts. In spite of the incurable delay in hearing cases in the Native courts, a fact of which the Government is aware though it appears to be impotent to bring about a change for the better, these courts have no laws to guide them in hearing such cases and yet these people have paid their licences to be protected by law not by custom, and they are entitled to the same privileges and protection as other traders. In all matters pertaining to trade they should be treated as other traders though in private life they may be treated as Natives. That is the only way that they could be protected. Why this is not done we do not know. The laws governing trade in territory are not differentiating between European traders and Native traders yet in practice there is differentiation. It is here that we ask the question whether it is the attitude of some Government Officials or the policy of the Government that is against Native trade? As there is no defferentiation in the laws of the territory we can therefore come to the conclusion that it must be the attitude of some officials that is against it.

There is a general practice among traders now-a-days to hold in security for debt animals belonging to people who are given credit so as to safe-guard their interests. Should the debtor fail to redeem his promise his creditor falls back on the security. But we are informed that with Native traders these animals which are given in security for debts their owners steal them away. When the poor Native trader sues the culprit is the Government courts he in advised to go to his chief. Is that protection? Could a man engaged in business be expected to dance attendane at the chief's court for weeks and even months to get his case heard and at the same time be expected to run a successful business? It may be argued here that their chiefs are to blame. True. But these people pay licence and are entitled to the same Government protection as other traders.

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SUDAN PLANTATIONS.

Cotton Crop Prospects.

4-15-33

The Sudan Plantations Syndicate publishes the following information regarding the prospects of the cotton crop which is now being picked and the marketing of the past season's crop.

At Zeidab, where picking is completed a very good crop has been harvested, the yield from the Syndicate's area being 4.6 kantars per feddan, and the average yield over the Zeidab and Timerab areas, including native-owned land, being 4.9 kantars per feddan.

The Gezira crop will be below the average. 295,000 kantars have been picked to date, and it is anticipated that the final yield will be around 2 kantars per feddan. The lower yield is chiefly due to leaf-curl.

A simple and inexpensive puller, capable of being operated by one man, has been designed for extracting the cotton plant together with its roots in a single operation; 18,000 of these implements are being distributed amongst the tenants, so that, immediately after the picking is finished, the old cotton stalks and roots can be extracted so as to prevent infection from the old crop being carried by white fly to the new.

As the result of intensive work on the research farms, excellent progress has been made with the propagation of leaf curl resistent strains of Sakellarides cotton. It is hoped that about 1,000 acres will be planted with seed from these varieties in the coming season. If the results come up to expectations, this factor of the development will be a factor of the first importance, and sufficient seed should become available to plant a substantial area with these varieties by July, 1934, and the whole area by July, 1935.

In spite of the difficult trade conditions prevailing, sales of cotton have been satisfactory, more than half of the past season's crop having been sold at prices substantially in excess of the balance-sheet valuation, but cotton prices continue to be low, and, having regard to the prospects of the current crop and to the uncertainty of the prices at which the stocks will be realised, the directors, after careful consideration, have decided to recommend to the shareholders that no interim dividend can be declared.

Kassala Cotton.

The Kassala Cotton Co. states that, from the area of approximately 19,200 feddans planted in cotton, 35,000 kantars had been picked up to March 31. Picking will not be completed until about the middle of May, and it is anticipated that the final yield will not exceed 2¼ kantars per feddan. The low yield is due to the early and heavy leaf curl infection.

Meanwhile, good progress has been made in the research farms in the selection and propagation of varieties of Sakellarides cotton resistant to leaf curl. This season, the plots sown with these varieties are giving good yields and have shown themselves to be practically immune from infection, although the cotton on adjoining plots has been suffering severely from the disease. If these varieties prove satisfactory in all respects, the best solution of the final problem will have been found. With regard to the marketing of last season's crop, which is continued to be in excess of the balance-sheet requirements, the Company has decided to carry forward the whole of the profit, which delayed sowing and pro-

Basuto Traders

Are they protected by the Government?

Whether it is the policy of the Basutoland Government or the attitude of some of the Government Officials to discourage the Basuto to undertake trade among themselves is a question that should be considered and answered and we propose to answer it in this article.

There has been a complaint among the Basuto that the Government does not give them a chance to trade among their own people, but that on the contrary Europeans are given every opportunity to flood the territory with trading stations. Licences are issued to new comers, and old timers too are allowed to open new trading stations at suitable centres.

The native aspirants at trade are often discouraged and advised not to attempt trade as they have no knowledge and experience of trading methods and would be ruined. It would be better to keep whatever money they had than to attempt to trade with it. If the applicant insist on his application it would be advertised and protests invited in the ordinary course. As traders are mos ly Europeans protests would be organised against the Native applicant which in most cases result in the application being re fused by the Licensing Board. A few years ago one of the chief reasons brought forward in these protests against Basuto applicants was that the applicants had no capital and that they were only agents of certain Europeans who remained behind the curtain and would jump out into the open after the Native store had had a few years running as creditors and take up the store on the pretence of the owner having failed to meet his already big accounts. This was quite possible under the circumstances and as a precautionary measure the Basutoland Council asked the Paramount Chief to make Basuto trading stores non-transferrable. This measure was to safe-guard them against Europeans entering Basutoland for trading through this opening and those already in the Territory obtaining branch stations by this means. But at the same time it placed the Native traders at a disadvantage as it spoiled all their chances of obtaining goods on credit and paying for them after they had sold them, It was quite clear that unless an applicant had a large amount of capital to be able to purchase goods for cash he could not attempt trade in Basutoland.

At one time the Paramount Chief assured the Basuto that the mountain area would be reserved for Native enthusiasts in trade in order to give them an opportunity to trade among their own people, but the European traders after exploring the trading field and discovering that there was a better chance of trade in the mountain area than there was in the lowlands bombarded the P. C. with applications for stations in that area, and the P. C. though reluctant at last gave way and found excuses for granting sites.

After repeated applications a few Natives were granted trading licences in the mountain area too and this was not until the P. C. had strongly pleaded for them.

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Race Problem – 1933

Africa.

The New Assistant Bishop on the Niger.

Canon T. C. John, M.A., who was consecrated Assistant Bishop on the Niger at Lambeth Palace Chapel on Monday, has described himself as a wanderer. He is an old student of the C.M.S. Grammar School, Freetown, where he was also an assistant master for eight years, and of Fourah Bay College. West Africa

After ordination in 1902, he became curate at St. George's Cathedral, Freetown, but was called upon to serve in three other local churches in less than six years, and was then transferred to Leicester. He volunteered for mission work at Falaba, then a fortnight's journey from Freetown, but ill-health compelled his return after three years, and he filled a variety of other posts in the Colony, including that of a tutor at Fourah Bay College. For 16 years he has been seconded to the Grammar School, and for all but three of them he has served as principal. He became Sub-Dean of Freetown Cathedral in 1928, and received a Certificate of Honour in 1931 for his services to local education. 5-6-33

The choice of the scene of the consecration was a happy one, for not only does it place Bishop John in the ranks of those—a majority among Anglican bishops—who have been set apart for their work at Lambeth Palace Chapel, but it entirely removed the cold formality inseparable from a larger building, where much of what is said is inaudible beyond the choir stalls, and where, moreover, a wide fringe of empty seats is depressing. London

At Lambeth Chapel every seat was filled, and filled almost entirely by persons with a direct interest, either in the Colony from which the new Bishop has come or in that to which he is to go. There were colleagues of Bishop John there, and old pupils of his—some of them still students in England, and others who had passed to professional careers—besides their wives or daughters.

Of those who formed the procession, the preacher, Bishop Taylor Smith, had given a decade of his life to Sierra Leone before becoming Chaplain-General to the Forces, and the Bishop of Rochester, the Right Rev. M. L. Smith, had known Bishop Crowther, and has a son in the Nigerian Education Department.

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At the subsequent luncheon at Thames House, presided over by the Bishop of Leicester (formerly the Rev. C. C. B. Bardsley, hon. secretary of the C.M.S.), the majority of those present at the consecration re-assembled in more sociable surroundings, the atmosphere being soon that of the meeting of a long-scattered family.

The chief speakers included the Bishop of Rochester, whose childhood memories of Bishop Crowther gave him an abiding interest in West Africa long before his own son went to Nigeria, and the Rev. W. Wilson Cash, General Secretary of the C.M.S., who seized the occasion to ask Bishop John to become a Vice-President of the Society. Mr. Crabbe, speaking on behalf of the Sierra Leoneans of Bishop Walmsley's day, nearly a quarter of a century ago, remembered Bishop John in his early days at Kissy; and Mrs. Wright, wife of the present Bishop of Sierra Leone, spoke of Mrs. John's value to the Mothers' Union and other work for women, and expressed a strong hope that both she and her husband would soon be back in Sierra Leone. Against this, Dr. Smith, secretary of the Bishop Tugwell Diocesan Fund, and a well-remembered figure in Iboland, expressed a contrary hope which sufficiently testified to his view of Bishop and Mrs. John's future value to Nigeria.

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On Tuesday evening, Bishop John was a speaker at the C.M.S. annual meeting at the Albert Hall, and said how pleased he was to represent Africa at a meeting synchronising with the celebrations of the centenary of the emancipation of the slaves, for he himself was an object lesson of the benefits which had resulted for later generations. His own parents had been missionaries to the Niger under Bishop Crowther, and he himself was born in that dependency. He gave some interesting details of the missionary activities of the Sierra Leone Church in the Protectorate, and in regard to his own new task said that the Niger Diocese was being divided into three parts. Bishop Lasbrey would supervise the whole, and take direct charge of eight districts, comprising 518 stations, Bishop Gelsthorpe would have 428, and he himself would have 407, of which 31 were without teachers at present.

MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE IN LISBON.

("African World" Correspondent.)

4-29-33

LISBON, April 23.

The meeting this year of the International Colonial Institute has taken place in Portugal for the first time, in spite of this being the twenty-second session of this important Institute, whose principal mission is to obtain a closer and better collaboration among all Colonial Powers in their work of civilisation overseas. Portugal has this year the honour of entertaining some of the most prominent Colonists of the world, including Professor Newton, of the University of Edinburgh, Mr. E. Coatman, of the London School of Economics, Sir Louis Franck, Minister of State in Belgium, the Comte de Warren, one of the most respected Colonists of France, who represents this great Colonial Power officially at the meeting, H.E. Corrado Zoli, Special Delegate of the Italian Government, former Governor in the Colonies, etc. Altogether, there will be about sixty members at the meetings, half of these number being Portuguese members of the Institute. The President is Senhor Conde de Penha Garcia, a veteran Diplomat of Portugal, who has often represented this country in the most important international affairs. He was elected president of the I.C.I. at the last meeting in Paris in 1931.

The Portuguese Government, understanding the importance of this meeting taking place in Portugal, took the opportunity to offer to the members of the I.C.I. a warm welcome. Public opinion in Portugal supported fully the policy of the Government. Both the Press and Colonial circles—even those where sometimes the present Colonial policy of the Government meets with opposition—gave their frank approval to this meeting.

Speech of Dr. Armindo Monteiro.

At the opening reception at the Old Senate Hall, after hearing the words of welcome delivered by Conde de Penha Garcia, President of the Institute, Dr. Armindo Monteiro, after greeting the Members of the Institute in the name of the Portuguese Government, said that he considered the choice of the meeting to be realised in Lisbon, the very place were some of the greatest Discoverers and Colonisers studied and planned their great achievements, could not have been better.

Then, the speaker said, on analysing carefully the problems of colonisation, we come to the conclusion that, more than the quantity of emigrants and capital, the quality of one and the other should be taken into due account. Above all, and more important than everything else, should be the "specific genius of colonisation" which some peoples have proved to have. Dr. Monteiro added: "The Portuguese Colonial has not yet had his real virtues duly proclaimed: with the least possible military power, we dominate in the calmest of all peaces the huge populations that we have brought under our flag."

The Minister then proceeded to give his opinion on the necessary measures to fight the crisis. The Minister thought then that the world had generally misconceived the Colonies as lucrative objects, and referred to several cases where plans had been initiated, that could never be, for many years to come, an accomplished fact. Dr. Monteiro then described the state of progress in the Colonies of Portugal—railways, roads, ports, etc., establishing a statistical comparison with those of the other Colonies, describing at length the work of protection to the natives, and medical assistance, which reflects the highest credit on the Portugal of to-day.

The last part of the Minister's excellent discourse dealt with the greatest conquest made by Portugal in Africa, Asia, and Oceania—the conquest of the natives affection. "As a Minister I travelled across Africa lately, and I could not have been mistaken—I saw and felt clearly that the manifestations of the natives were not 'officially arranged'—they were sincere and heartfelt. I went among the natives and talked with them. They are glad to be Portuguese, and they have already the sentiment of love for their country that has been looking after them, not since

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The members of the I.C.I. are now leaving Lisbon, and they have all expressed their appreciation of the manner in which they were received and their satisfaction with the results of this meeting. L. L.

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"We cannot say that we are satisfied with the work achieved. We are, indeed, content with our accomplished duty, but the greatness of our past leads us always to believe the present work to be insignificant; it leads us to strive every day to accomplish more, and this we will be able to realise because we have the will to do so."

Elections to the Board of the Institute.

This exclusive Institute has a limited number of members—only 200. There are on the controlling board five members, a president, three vice-presidents, and a general secretary, the latter being of permanent nomination—M. Louwers, well known in Belgian political and Colonial circles. The general meetings take place they every two years, when the new board is elected. This time the honour fell to three British members of the Institute—Lord Lugard as president, Dr. Drummond Shields as vice-president, and Professor Newton—who proposed the election of the above members, and that the coming meeting should take place in London in 1934—for the intermediate service between the Continental and the British sections. For the other two vice-presidencies Mr. Olivier and Dr. Fock, of Belgium and Holland,

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...were elected. The members of the I.C.I. are now ...of per- well leaving Lisbon, and they have all expressed ...s, Colonial their appreciation of the manner in which ...e place they were received and their satisfaction ...board is with the results of this meeting. L. L.

...to three ...te—Lord ...mmond ...Professor ...n of the ...ing meet- ...n 1934— ...ween the ...ions. For ...Mr. Olivier ...Holland,

Elections to the Board of the Institute.

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Race Problem - 1933.

Africa

FINDS CONGO PIGMIES ALIVE TO DEPRESSION

Dr. Faris Reports the African Tribesmen Have Intelligent Interest in the World.

3-16-33

Dr. Ellsworth Faris, chairman of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago, returned from Africa yesterday on the Dollar liner President Garfield after a seven-month study of primitive tribes in the Belgian Congo.

Dr. Faris found among the pigmies of the Bankundo tribes a surprising interest in the affairs of the outside world.

"Everywhere I went," he said, "I was asked the same question by the pigmy people. They wanted to know 'when is your depression going to end?' They said, 'You white people make the francs and now the francs are down, so why don't you make some more of them?' I tried to explain, but it was a big job."

The Congo people are by no means isolated economically. In former years they made a good living out of "mug Copal," the base for varnish and certain paints, but the development by American chemists of synthetic substitutes has deprived them of a market. Now they have nothing else to which they may turn for a livelihood.

Dr. Faris said he was surprised at the pigmies' intelligence. He found them highly developed, and "as intellectually accessible as may own students in Chicago."

He brought back several compositions, written by the natives in mission classes, which have a distinctive and interesting style, he said.

NATIVE LANDS IN KENYA.

Amending Ordinance in Force.

NAIROBI, March 1.

The Kenya "Official Gazette" announces a notification by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that His Majesty's power of disallowance is not being exercised in respect of the Native Lands Trust (Amendment) Ordinance. This is the Ordinance which aroused the recent controversy over the natives' lands rights in the goldfields.

A petition on behalf of the Kavirondo people is being addressed to the Secretary of State urging that the remaining areas of the Reserve should be closed to general prospecting. The task of organising the petition is mainly in the hands of Archdeacon Owen, who has promised to forward a copy to the Commission presided over by Sir Morris Carter which is inquiring into the land needs (both present and prospective) of the native population, and which is to report on the desirability and practicability of setting aside further lands for native occupation.—"The Times."

NIGERIA

Population, 20,700,000; Capital, Lagos; Governor, Sir Donald Cameron. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Fish, Salt, Oil Fuel, Motors, Tobacco Goods, Apparel, Bags and Sacks, Cabin and other Biscuits, Kerosene, Galvanised Iron, Rice. Chief Exports, Palm Produce, Ground Nuts, Cocoa, Tin, Hides and Skins, Cotton.

Plateau Turf Club Meeting.

The two-days' meeting of the Plateau Turf Club, at the end of January, was a pleasant gathering, and produced excellent racing. Mr. J. R. Bulger, now a D.O. in the Sokoto Province, paid a long overdue visit to the Plateau, and once again rode most of the winners (six in all). At his previous visit, in 1925, he rode eight winners, and in all 20 out of the 32 races he rode in during that year. Mrs. A. L. Butler gracefully presented the prizes, including a prize of a cocktail shaker to the winning jockey of the four-furlong open handicap (Mr. Bulger). This was the most exciting race of the meeting, Mr. Bulger only just getting Play Boy up to the winning post in time to win by a short head. The cocktail shaker was presented by Messrs. T. M. Chitty and C. Paris Jones, of the United Africa Company, Jos.

3-4-33

Teachers in Nigeria.

The Annual Conference of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, held in January, with the Rev. I. O. Ransome-Kuti presiding, showed a considerable growth in strength of that body, so much so that representation on the Board of Education was asked for, although it is unlikely to be officially considered until the present unwieldy Board is reconstituted some years hence.

Recommendations for the improvement of the general position of teachers by the evolution of a unified salaries and contributory superannuation scheme for all Government and assisted schools were adopted, and it was also felt that the Superintendents of Education might be more useful if they supplemented criticism by demonstration lessons. It might have been added that in some instances this would have been good for the Superintendents themselves.

The abolition of "block" grants was proposed, and a return to the percentage system of earlier days suggested, but obviously since, as far as Missions are concerned, this is only on five years' trial, no change will be considered until the question is raised directly in the Board of Education itself.

In regard to unemployed pupils leaving the middle schools, it was suggested that practical steps, such as the provision of vocational training, should be taken to prevent the period of worklessness from being entirely wasted.

The Regulation of Printing Presses.

A Bill for the regulation of printing presses is before the Nigerian Legislative Council. It lays on all keepers of presses the duty of declaring them before a magistrate, and of adding the names of printer and publisher to all books and papers produced, except in the case of newspapers, concerning which special regulations are already in existence.

The Governor in Council is to be empowered to exclude any book, class of book, or press from the working of the Ordinance, and to make regulations for the notification of destruction or transfer of presses, and for the general operation of the new proposals.

Cancellation of Loan.

With regard to the recent cancellation of £528,000 Nigerian loan, not required since the Lagos Sewerage Scheme is to be left in abeyance, the Treasurer, Mr. C. W. Leese, has cleared away the idea that, since the loan stands at a premium, Nigeria will lose £12 per cent. by explaining that of the stock cancelled £493,852 was bought in by the Government when prices were in the neighbourhood of £99, so that there has been no loss whatever. As the stock appreciated, however, the amount of the rise has been credited to revenues from time to time, so that there will be a paper deficiency on the transaction.

The End of Ramadan.

The feast of Eid ul Fitr, celebrated on January 28, showed that rivalry between the two possible heads of the House of Docemo was as strong as ever, although, fortunately, the sympathisers on each side recognise that more is to be gained by peaceful methods than by force. On the one hand, the fact that Prince Sanusi Olusi is a Moslem has been used to bring to his side a certain number of Moslems from the north, whose reference to him as the "Oba of Lagos" must not be taken too seriously, while on the other, Prince Falolu has the support of the larger body of Lagos Moslems who follow the leaders of the Democratic Party.

As usual, there were separate processions to the praying-ground near the Macgregor Canal, but the celebrations passed off without undue friction. Among "foreign" Moslems who joined one or other of the bodies were Messrs. W. Tete Ansa and Duse Mohamed Alli, several Syrians, and an Indian or two.

An amendment to the Nigerian Customs Tariff Ordinance gives the Legislative Council power to amend a resolution proposing to vary the schedules in the principal Ordinance. Hitherto these have been varied by an order of the Governor in Council, which could only be accepted or rejected as it stood.

European v. African Dress.

A writer in the "Gold Coast Times" raises an interesting point in connection with dress in West Africa. He says that there is a burdensome tendency amor[illegible] towards a dual wardrobe—European dress and African dress—and if the custom grows the young men will have to consider seriously whether they can afford wives who indulge in this double outfit.

He points out that the women who have adopted European dress as a result of school training are going back to African dress for festive occasions. Husbands are therefore having to provide African dress consisting of rich fabrics and their necessary adjuncts, gold ornaments in the form of heavy bracelets, anklets and head-dresses, and European dress and its accessories in the way of hats, shoes, etc. In these days of depleted incomes school-trained girls, he says, are, therefore, becoming a burden.

The problem is an interesting one and it can be solved only by the women themselves.

The question of African *v.* European dress has been solved from time to time by the men of West Africa. A prominent Gold Coast reformer gave up African dress for street wear, as he said that European dress had one great thing in its favour, "it solved the saluting problem."

When the Emir of Katsina visited London some years ago there was an outcry from the Coast after he had appeared at a public function with no covering on his feet. It was the Emir's own choice, of course, and no one here wished to interfere with his liberty. With the good sense with which he is blessed in abundance, he said that he would wear boots—even if they cramped his feet.

Lawyers in Ashanti.

WITH the passage on January 14 and 16 of the various Ordinances necessary to permit the employment of lawyers, Ashanti and the Northern Territories are now being brought into line with the Gold Coast, and general satisfaction will undoubtedly be expressed when the Governor's proclamation brings the new system into force.

For the time being, of course, the Ordinances relating to the Northern Territories are hardly likely to be of great practical importance, except that they help to minimise the danger of anything resembling the Knowles case occurring farther north, and at the same time prevent that area from being omitted when further progress is being considered.

In Ashanti, however, a wide field has been opened to legal practitioners, and although it will be impossible to avoid some exploitation of the local love of litigation, the risk is not a great price to pay for the general benefits that must ensue. To Administrative Officers of the old paternal type, accustomed to regarding their people as their children, and to treating them with sympathetic consideration whether they behave well or ill, the change must seem an irksome interference with their customary procedure, but the days of these close personal contacts are passing—have already passed in many areas—and in place of faith in the personal integrity of their local Administrative Officers the people demand more and more that their courts shall be technically faultless, as well as morally above reproach, and that judgments shall be as unassailable as possible, yet open at the same time for any appeal that may seem necessary.

In the matter of appeal, of course, there is still much progress to be made, but the presence of qualified and critical legal practitioners in the courts will certainly stimulate improvement in the technical quality of justice administered, and will also allow the formulation in the future of a more fully reasoned appeal for the institution of an independent appeal court.

The conditions in which lawyers are to be admitted to practice in Ashanti and the Northern Territories are the same as those in the Gold Coast, and all practitioners whose names are on the roll of the Supreme Court of the Colony are entitled to undertake barristers' and solicitors' work in the various police, magistrates' and commissioners' courts, as well as at courts of enquiry.

Exceptions are made in only two instances. In one, the court may decide against the appearance of a legal practitioner in any civil case in which the trivial nature of the issue involved, or the poverty of either of the parties, makes the employment of a lawyer inadvisable. In the other, no lawyer may appear in any appeal from a Native Tribunal or secondary appeal arising therefrom. This obviously must be but a transitional limitation, for although it is easy to understand that in the present stage of the Native Courts the presence of lawyers would hamper the Chiefs rather than otherwise, this does not apply when the matter comes up for the consideration of the higher courts, to which, indeed, the submission of properly prepared arguments should be of definite assistance.

The whole series of Ordinances—there are six of them, including those perm[illegible]ing legal representation at courts of enquiry an[illegible]the repeal of former bans on recourse to lawyers—form, as was said last week, a lasting memorial to the Attorney-General, Mr. S. S. Abrahams (now on transfer to Uganda), who has always shown a personal, as well as official, interest in legal reform in the north, and they will help to provide Ashanti and the Northern Territories with the promise of that rigid background of law that, while it may seem irksome to the Administrative Officer, already burdened with many cares, is yet helpful to him in its assurance to his people that in the ultimate result their difficulties may always be discussed in the disinterested atmosphere of British courts of law.

THE IRON ROAD IN NIGERIA.

The tributes paid to Mr. E. M. Bland, C.M.G., by his colleagues and subordinates of the Nigerian Railway staff on the occasion of his forthcoming retirement from the general managership of that important undertaking were well deserved, both from the personal aspect and in view of the outstanding part which the railway has played, and continues to play, in the progressive development of Nigeria. The recent marked improvement in railway revenue is a gratifying indication of the turning of the tide of depression, reflected in increased tailings of palm kernels, ground-nuts, hides, and other stable Nigerian products to the coast for export. When Mr. Bland first went out to Nigeria twenty-five years ago the Lagos line only extended as far as Oshogbo, and his first important task was the construction of the Baro-Kano railway, of which he was appointed superintendent in 1910, becoming chief engineer on the amalgamation of the two systems three years later. After a brief period of service in the Gold Coast, Mr. Bland was appointed general manager of the Nigerian Railway in 1918, and the fifteen years during which he has held that office have witnessed immense changes, which have revolutionised not only the transport system, but the entire economic position of the dependency—notably the construction of the line from Port Harcourt to the Udi coalfields, inspired by another great pioneer of transport, Sir John Eaglesome, whose vision and foresight were responsible for the opening up of the coalfields, which rank as one of Nigeria's greatest assets to-day. A legion of friends will join in wishing Mr. Bland many years of health and happiness in his retirement, after a career of solid achievement which has left an enduring mark on the great country he has served so well.

Race Problem — 1933

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

NIGERIA.

Governor's Visit to the North.

H.E. the Governor left Lagos on March 14 on a ten days' tour of the Northern Provinces. His Excellency was present at the ceremony of the Trooping of the Colour at Kaduna on the 17th, and after spending three days at the Northern capital was scheduled to visit Kano in order to present new colours to the 2nd Battalion Nigeria Regiment on the 21st. His Excellency was due to return to Headquarters yesterday (March 24).

Personal.

Mr. H. M. Brice-Smith, Resident of Ijebu Province, was married to Miss Ethel Kembe[illegible] the Colonial Church, Lagos, on February [illegible] in the presence of a distinguished congregation, which included Mr. J. Hemmant, C.M.G., Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. A. C. M. Burns, C.M.G., Deputy Chief Secretary, the Director of Forests and Mrs. Ainslie, the Director of Medical and Health Services and Miss Johnson, Capt. Hall, Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Whiteley, the Resident of Oyo Province, Mr. L. Ward-Price; the Administrator of the Colony and Mrs. Falk, the Treasurer, Mr. C. W. Leese, C.M.G., Mr. E. M. Bland, C.M.G., Mr. and Mrs. Cramer Bostock, Mr. and Mrs. Wells Bishop, and a host of other prominent members of Lagos Society. The Bishop of Lagos officiated, and the bride was given away by Mr. E. R. J. Hussey, Director of Education, H.E. the Governor and Lady Cameron were present at the reception, which was held at the Ikoyi residence of Dr. J. W. Thomson, Assistant Director of Medical Services.

Mr. E. F. C. Bird, Comptroller of Customs, returned to Lagos in mail week from a visit of inspection to the principal ports.

During his visit to Nigeria in the interests of the Toc H movement, the Rev. P. B. Clayton paid a visit to the Alake of Abeokuta, and left later for the Northern Provinces.

H.H. the Alake of Abeokuta and Capt. B. W. Macpherson, Resident of the Province, were among those present at a concert at the Centenary Hall, Abeokuta given by Mr. N. G. J. Ballanta, the well-known African musician and composer.

Major F. W. Oliphant, who has been visiting Nigeria to investigate forestry questions, sailed for Takoradi by the m.v. "Adda" in mail week.

News in Brief.

Lady Cameron opened the annual exhibition of work organised by the Ladies' League of Nigeria of which she is President, at the Glover Hall, Lagos, on February 18, and presented the prizes to the successful competitors. In the course of her speech Lady Cameron expressed special thanks to Mr. Henry Carr, O.B.E., for his interest and valuable assistance in permitting a portion of the Lady Denton Memorial Fund to be used to provide prizes for the exhibition.

The finals of the tennis tournament for the Lieut.-Governor's Cup were played on January 31, when some hundreds of spectators enjoyed the hospitality of Capt. W. Buchanan-Smith, C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of the Southern Provinces. The Cup was won by S. George, who defeated Ishola Williams by 6—3, 6—3, 6—1. Capt Buchanan-Smith has further shown his keen interest in fostering sport among the African community by presenting a silver bowl to be competed for annually by African clubs in the Southern Provinces.

Popular Police Officer Honoured.

Chief Inspector J. A. Ajayi, D.C.M., of the Colony Police Force, was decorated with the African Police Medal for meritorious service by His Excellency the Governor, at Ikoyi Police Depot on February 7. His Excellency, who was received on arrival by Mr. C. W. Duncan, C.B.E., Inspector-General of Police, and Mr. R. E. Foulger, Commissioner of the Colony Police, addressed the large gathering present, expressing his pleasure at presenting the medal to Chief Inspector Ajayi who had had a long and distinguished career. Mr. Ajayi joined the Niger Coast Constabulary in 1898, attaining the rank of Sergeant-Major, and in 1911 he became Regimental Sergeant-Major of the 4th Battalion Nigeria Regiment. In 1916 he was transferred to the Police as Inspector, and has since attained the rank of Chief Inspector. He served with distinction during the Great War, and has participated

[Photo: H. S. Freeman, Lagos.

CHIEF INSPECTOR J. A. AJAYI, D.C.M.

in practically every local campaign during the last thirty years, his many decorations including the Distinguished Conduct Medal, the Royal Niger Company Medal, the West African General Service Medal with several clasps, and the three Great War Medals.

Mr. Ajayi will be remembered by many people in this country at the Wembley Exhibition of 1924, where he was one of the most prominent and popular of Nigeria's representatives.

The ceremony was witnessed by the leading police and military officers, and by distinguished members of the Government and the general public, including Mr. G. Hemmant, C.M.G., Chief Secretary, Mr. A. C. Burns, C.M.G., Deputy Chief Secretary, and Sir Kitoyi Ajasa.

Mr. Justice Webber's Promotion.

The well-deserved promotion of Mr. Justice A. F. C. Webber, Senior Puisne Judge, to the Chief Justiceship of Sierra Leone has been received with unfeigned pleasure by his many friends in Nigeria. Warm tributes were forthcoming from Bench and Bar in the Full Court on February 24, when the Chief Justice, Sir Donald Kingdon, congratulated Mr. Justice Webber on his new appointment, and expressed the hope that his friends in Nigeria would have further opportunities of welcoming him when he came to sit as an Appeal Judge. Mr. J. C. Howard, the Solicitor-General, who followed, paid tribute to the impartiality and brilliant legal acumen, coupled with a spirit of humanity, which Mr. Justice Webber had brought to his administration of justice during the many years he had adorned the Nigerian Bench; Nigeria's loss was Sierra Leone's gain. Sir Kitoyi Ajasa, as leader of the practising Bar, associated himself and his colleagues with these tributes. In responding, Mr. Justice Webber expressed regret at leaving so many old friends behind him.

THE WEST INDIAN CONFERENCE AND GRENADA DELEGETION TO THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

During the session of the West Indian Conference held in Dominica, delegates supported by the majority of unofficial members throughout the West Indies, were sent from Grenada to the Colonial Office to interview the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Phillip Cunliffe Lister), and claiming for a more liberal constitution for the West Indies as a whole. The Conference sent a telegram urging that the terms of reference of "the closer Union Commission" which is about to sail for the West Indies should be extended to include enquiry into the claims of West Indian Communities for Federation with self Government. The Hon. T. Albert Marryshow and the Hon. G. Eimore Edwards were the principal speakers and members of the delegation.

The interview took place at the main hall of the Colonial Office. Sir Phillip Cunliffe Lister, the Earl of Plymouth (Under-Secretary) Mr. H. Beckett, Mr. S. M. Campbell and Mr. F. H. Emmens with two other persons were present to welcome and receive the delegates.

We trust that the efforts of this delegation would achieve good results and beneficial improvement and reform in Crown Colony administration generally.

Scottish Notes

To all intents and purposes, last Saturday saw the end of our season. The match in Dublin to-morrow prolongs interest, and the usual seven-aside tournaments will try to attract attention, and, incidentally, swell the club coffers. But Spring's Summer is here, and I won't be lonely in seeking the hillside and golf course in preference to the Rugger field. Of the international with Ireland I have nothing to say, in fact, can say. Who ever knew for a certainty what an Irishman would do? Anyway, we have a team, and it will take something similar, plus all the élan that Ireland knows to better us. Again, I express a hope, with the observation that it is by no means a hope deferred. If Ireland can hold us they must be accounted a better side than the critics (bless their hearts!) wot. With the Calcutta cup safely North of the Tweed for another 12 months, I don't think it matters a great deal what happens at Dublin.

I wandered out to New Myreside last week on my first visit, and was agreeably surprised. The ground and stand are wellnigh incapable of being improved. The playing pitch is a billiard table compared with the old one over the road, and has no pitfalls for unwary visitors. That ends my complimentary remarks regarding Watsonians. The XV is the poorest thing imaginable. The lesson of Scotland's team-work has not been of the slightest interest, and even the rudiments have yet to be studied. Glasgow High School F.P.'s had the honour of administering the first home defeat on this lovely ground, and there was nothing half-hearted about their accomplishment. Without going "all out," they collected 36 points; a little care would have added 15 more, conservatively speaking. Of course, they were at top form, which, in my estimation, means they were fit to tackle the toughest proposition and succeed.

In reviewing the season now finishing in an endeavour to find the rightful owners of the "laurel wreath," I think it is better to take more account of what clubs have done rather than the occasions when they have been undone. Glasgow High School F.P.'s have had their lapses, but never have they failed when in opposition to any of the "big guns," and Heriot's and Royal High School F.P.'s will excuse me from so reckoning them this season. Both Edinburgh Accies and their Glasgow namesakes had to bow the knee to the "Schoolmen," as had Hawick, Wanderers, West of Scotland and Hillhead. When at full strength—regrettably seldom—High School played most attractive Rugby. They have a young, hardworking pack, which could improve by perfecting their work at the line-out. No other pack can sweep down the field in an old-time dribble as they can; Dunfermline are not far behind, but there is a coarseness in their loose work that I cannot commend. Hawick gave the "School" forwards their best game this season, but even with a man off for a lengthy spell, the "Greens" could not subdue their "manly spirit." That was peak form for High School. At three-quarter it is perhaps correct to say

that Edinburgh Accies can show more braininess at times, but they lack the dour persistency of the Glasgow lads. Taken " by and large," wet weather and fine, the Western side have provided more satisfying entertainments this season than any other XV it has been my good fortune to watch. They are not a bit " cock-a-hoop " when they win, nor unduly depressed when defeat comes their way. And they are fitter than any " School " XV which ever wore the " chocolate and gold." That is why they are so interestingly sporty.

CRUACHAN.

Moulding the Young Nigerian.

IT is not so long since official reports of education in Nigeria were concerned chiefly with progress in the Southern Provinces, but in recent years a change has occurred, and the latest report, that by Mr. E. R. J. Hussey, for 1931 (Crown Agents, 3s.), shows that North and South will in time come into line. The inclusion in the report of a short history of education up to the end of the previous year makes amply clear how the difference between the progress of North and South was caused, and also shows the great extent to which the whole country has been indebted to the various missions for the results already achieved.

The general financial depression caused, of course, a severe check to education, and not only did the departmental establishment lose 27 European and 42 African officers, but the income of the schools was lowered, and the trebling of the figures for dismissed and runaway scholars seems in part to have been due to inability to pay fees. The depression also led to the postponement of the proposed Higher Colleges at Yaba and Zaria.

Considering the impetus given to popular desire for education by the personal influence of " Prophet " Babalola, in the Yoruba areas, it is interesting to note that the commercialism of his many imitators was definitely antagonistic to schools—a point which emphasises the fact that the oft-decried literary instruction is in itself a defence against various forms of charlatanic exploitation, even if, as elsewhere, it unsettles the young for manual labour or, as educationists and other non-manual workers would say, with unconscious self-criticism, for " productive occupations."

In regard to the education offered to the children, there has been a change in the last few years. The elementary school has become an " end in itself," which means that it approximates to a complete course in the science of living, and has ceased to be merely an introduction to the secondary school. Unfortunately, this may easily look to parents like limitation of opportunity, especially when they note that a missionary supervisor describes the growth in number of ex-standard VI boys as an " unhappy feature." What would the supervisor himself say if it were said that the number of university graduates was an " unhappy feature " of our times simply because more young graduates than were needed were offering for the " unproductive work " of supervisors of education ?

The real unhappy feature is that Nigeria is not full enough of ex-standard VI boys for their qualification to sink to its true value, and in any case surely the proper measure of educational value is not the standard of book-knowledge acquired, but the students' success in after life. The state of the produce markets shows that Nigeria has no lack of producers at present ; but it would be easy for an outsider to say that the presence of so many Europeans in official posts marks a very definite shortage of Africans qualified for " non-productive " employment demanding education.

However, the steady development of school libraries should enable scholars with a genuine desire to advance to overcome the limitations imposed by the depression and the current educational fashion, and the provision of middle schools provides opportunity for further progress, and, one may hope, ultimately for the advancement of those who are intellectually deserving, and not merely for those who can afford the requisite fees. The system of African visiting teachers, too, bids fair to become a most valuable part of the system, both in North and South, but the possibility of utilising this to revive the " bush " schools on an efficient basis does not seem to have been considered. We have always maintained that these schools had a useful, if passing, place in mass education, and the time of their utility is no more over than is the case with the Koranic schools of the North.

To give a short statistical view of the position of education in Nigeria, we might say that the provision for education for the year was £284,025, but in addition to this, the Native Administrations in the North bore the cost of their African staff, and in the South made educational grants varying from £295 from Ijebu to £3,041 from Calabar, and £3,096 from the Cameroons. Of the total, grants to mission and other assisted schools amounted to 82,500, with building grants of £14,500, and grants of £6,500 for supervisors. Elementary schools in the Northern Provinces numbered 106 Government and 184 mission schools, with 11,318 pupils, and there were in addition 35,452 Moslem schools with 193,294 pupils. Any further increase in the number of schools is at present dependent on the teacher-supply. In the South, elementary and lower middle schools together numbered 47 Government, 289 assisted, and 2,387 unassisted, and in spite of shortage of funds the quality of all was well maintained. The enrolment was 184,736, or over 16 times that of the North, exclusive of the Koranic schools, but still an extremely small proportion of the total children of school age.

In the 12 middle schools of the North there were 696 boys and five girls, and in the 21 schools of the South 787 boys and 57 girls. On the whole, the education of girls is improving steadily, and the total enrolment in the South was 3,402 in assisted, and 14,050 in unassisted schools, against 2,018 in the North, which includes 1,519 girls attending Koranic schools. The centres opened at Kano and Katsena in 1930 were expanding, and in the South a lady superintendent had been engaged, and we are told, although on what grounds is not clear, that the effect of her " becoming responsible " for the girls' schools will be " incalculable." In spite of this somewhat invidious observation, the work of the missions in the training of girls receives high praise, as does their services in the training of teachers and in the organisation of Scouts and Guides.

Abner Putsoane.

PREACHER, TRADER, AND FARMER.

It was with great consternation that news of the death of Mr Abner Putsoane was broadcast at Mokhotlong. In Mr Putsoane, Qacha's neck district and indeed Basutoland lost one of its most progressive and worthy citizens. As a preacher Mr Putsoane built and supervised for many years, the mission station at Thaba Tseka. Under his able leadership, this mission has grown up extensively, and the congregation Mr Putsoane has left at Thaba Ts'eka is one that any churchman might feel proud of.

Thaba Ts'eka owes its trading station now owned by Dare and Glynn to Mr Putsoane's labours. He established and for many years successfully ran the station. But Mr Putsoane was no superman. In time he met the reverse of fortune and lost his trading station. Nothing daunted, he started labouring hard from a minus cash position to a plus position. No sooner had he regained financial equilibrium than Mr Putsoane started on a new venture. Mr Putsoane bought a nice little farm at Matatiele to which he had recently retired with his family. When we last met, he told me he was doing well as a farmer.

Mr Putsoane is a living monument of an Afrikaans aphorism :— " Die aanhouer wen " (Perseverance will be rewarded.) In his somewhat chequered career Mr Putsoane never doubted his God. He always lived in the presence of His Master. " Sing me that beautiful spiritual," he said to me the other day, when I found him without any provisions " sometimes I am up, sometimes I am down, O yes Lord " He then laughed and said to me:- " My friend, in whatever state we are we must learn to be satisfied." With Mr Putsoane Master.

There its hidden things are clear;
There the work of life is tried.

His task is over,
By a juster judge than here.

Now the labourer's task is past ;
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Race Problem - 1933
Africa.

NEW FACTS ABOUT LIBERIA. BRITAIN HAS BEEN HOODWINKED.

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

The above is the Title and Sub-Title of a specially contributed article written for, and published in, *The West African Review* for the month of March current. It gives an historic resumé of the causes and courses and results of the International Commission of Enquiry on slavery and forced labour in Liberia. "During the last three years" the writer points out, the League of Nations has been wrestling with the Report of the Commission, and the delay has caused serious harm to the Republic, both from a financial and moral point of view." The uncertainty regarding the future course of action has prevented the Liberian Government from undertaking any new schemes, and it was not until recent months that the recommendations of the Internal Commission were modified and adopted by the League and accepted by the Liberian Government as mutually satisfactory." Liberia agreed to accept a Plan of Assistance which included the appointment of one general adviser and five other officials and appealed for financial assistance to carry out the Plan.

When this appeal was made, a new chapter in the Liberian crisis was opened. "Great Britain and certain other countries came to realise that they have been used as catspaws in a pretty international game" . . . . They "began to see that something more than the love of humanity had prompted the charges of slavery and cruelty against the Liberian Government. During recent months, it has become increasingly obvious to several members of the League of Nations that the accusations of slavery and forced labour which were made against Liberia, were actually nothing more than a phase in a policy of propaganda, cunningly and maliciously conceived in America, with a view to strengthening American dominance in Liberia. Misrepresentations and exaggerations on matters Liberian formed part of the policy. But on careful examination, the League of Nations soon discovered that "Liberia's financial problem was almost wholly due to the agreements with the Firestone Company and the Firestone Company in America" which absorbed some sixty per cent of Liberia's entire revenue. The League now therefore, acting upon the advice of its experts, suggested a reduction of the rate of interest and an increased rental on lands leased by the Firestone Company. The League also approached the American Government to influence the American interests to reconsider the terms of the agreements and to pay the Liberian Government the balance due on the loan so as to effectuate the Plan of Assistance. But all appeals were unavailing. "No effort has been made by the American interests to confer with the League of Nations or Liberia, although America has shown a particular interest in endeavouring to influence the appointment of an American, as General Adviser, underthe plan formulated by the League." As the League of Nations has not been successful to arrange any adjustment in the terms of the agreement which Liberia has with the American interests, "the Liberian Legislature has passed an Act suspending interest for two years on the loan and reducing the pay of the officials appointed under the terms of the loan."

Immediately this Act was put in to force, letters of protest were also put forth by the Vice-President of the Corporation characterizing the Joint Resolution as a "derogation of the terms of the loan agreement, and a repudiation of the terms and conditions which the Government of Liberia solemnly imposed upon itself by virtue of such agreement." To these allegations, the President of the Republic of Liberia has clearly re-iterated "that the Government of Liberia does not intend in any degree to depart from the administrative procedure authorized in the loan agreement or to avoid its terms except in so far as such terms are inconsistent with the provisions of the Joint Resolution, approved December 23, 1932, authorising the President of the Republic of Liberia to suspend payment of Interest and Amortization on 7% gold loan of 1926 and for other purposes, or where officials employed by the Liberian Government under the terms of the Loan Agreement neglect, decline or refuse to carry out their duties thereunder."

Over and above this protest from the Commercial Group, come the allegations of the American Member of the Committee of the Council of the League of Nations dealing with Liberia's request for Assistance, stating *that the Legislation suspending payment of Interest and Amortization on the 1926 7% Gold Loan was an attempt to modify unilaterally the terms of the said Loan Contract.*

Thus has Liberia been misrepresented in her attempt to afford herself a temporary relief from the progressive desperate financial straits in which she unfortunately finds herself. In this way has the Government of Liberia been attacked in the house of her friends in whom she had relied as having a sympathetic interest in all that concerns the welfare of the Republic of Liberia. So has the Liberian Government been treated by that Department of State, which had given the assurance that she "awaits with sympathetic interest the conclusion of the contracts now (in May 1925) under consideration, as they will tend to promote the country's welfare by contributing to the development of Liberia's resources and open the door for further progress by bringing stimulus and prosperity to the Liberian people."

In reply to the allegation of the American Member of the Committee of the Council of the League of Nations, the Government of Liberia has, under date of February 8, 1933, submitted a memorandum to the Committee of the League, in the stead of a Liberian representative which she is unable to sending up at this time, dealing with the dispute and all of the circumstances leading up to the present situation. A next best course to pursue.

The Memorandum discusses the situation under three general headings, viz :—

1. Genesis of the Loan. 2. Genesis of the Dispute. 3. The present Position.

Under 1, Genesis of the Loan, it was shown that in the year 1920, Mr. Harvey S. Firestone applied to the Government of Liberia for the lease of a large area of arable land for rubber planting, making the negotiations through his attorney-in-fact Mr. W. D. Harris. After protracted discussions definite agreements were reached and a Memorandum of Agreement drawn up that was mutually acceptable to both parties. When the Memorandum was submitted to his Principals for scruting and endorsement, considerable amendments were then made which was objected to by every member of the Cabinet of 1925. The most important of the new proposals was that relating to the question of a loan. The fundamental position which the Liberian Government took up on this question was that it was politically inadvisable, in their view, to place the Republic under financial obligations to any private concern operating in the country under grants from the Government. Mr. Firestone met this objection by declaring that "Objections raised are technical and when injected into large and important transactions, often destroy entire project, I realise that if your officials of Government wish for Liberia to be prosperous and go forward, it should, have loans."

But this suggestion for the floatation of a public loan which was represented as an indispensable pre-requisite to the plantation operations was never accepted with good grace. The then Secretary of State was sent on a Mission to the United States of America in 1925 to adjust matters with the Firestone groups in such a manner that the Firestone Agricultural Agreement might be executed without their further insistence upon Liberia's accepting a loan as a condition precedent to the going into effect of the planting agreements.

He was expressly instructed to point out the prevalent fears in the country, viz., that the great financial investment contemplated might eventually prove dangerous to the autonomy of the Republic, since in other countries, under the urge of the financial interests, the Government of the United States of America had intervened either to wipe out, or to materially abridge, the independence and sovreignty of debtor states. The Memorandum has culled extracts from several documents which show conclusively the following facts :—

(1) That Liberia, at the time, did not desire a loan, either for the financial or economic rehabilitation, or any other existing necessity.

(2) That the suggestions for a loan came entirely from the Firestone Group primarily to subserve their own interests, in which demand of theirs they had, at least, the moral support of the Government of the United States of America.

(3) That the Government of Liberia depending upon the traditional friendly feelings of the Government of the United States towards the Government of Liberia repeatedly expressed in the correspondence, extracts from which have been quoted, reluctantly agreed to take the said loan, but nevertheless, was unwavering in their decision not to accept same from Firestone.

The loan was eventually accepted in the teeth of very strong opposition both from the officials of Government as well as from the rank and file of the population generally.

Notwithstanding those objections the Government of Liberia was surprised to discover, meeting of the Committee of the Council held on January 28, 1932, that the loan had been floated by Mr. Firestone, and that none of the bonds upon which the money was raised had been put upon the open market.

Mr. Firestone is the leading Director, if not the sole owner, of the Firestone Company, the Finance Corporation and the United States Trading Company (Banking Department) which replaced in Liberia the Bank of British West Africa.

The expression that the Government of Liberia had made in 1925, that to obtain a loan from a private concern operating in the country under grants from the country carried *ipso facto* element of future misunderstanding had so clearly materialized that members of the Committee of Council of the League of Nations in one of their recent discussion at Geneva, referred to the Loan contract and the Firestone concessions, in their relation to Liberia as "an important element in the difficulty."

Native Tax in Basutoland.

The editoral comment of this paper on the article of Mr Ben Mofolo on the above subject deserve the consideration of the Government of Basutoland. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that the system of taxing the natives in this country is a progressive one, however, it is reassuring, to find that there are people who would do a world of good for this country. Taxation of this kind has served its purpose in the past, but now it cannot be said to be fair and satisfactry. This is taxation and not extortion or rather it should not be extortion; that been the case then, it is in the interests of every

patriotic mosuto to see that taxation is carried out to the satisfaction of the people taxed.

Especially is this unfair when it is reflected that the great majority of these tax payers are very unable peoples people who must go to the mines to work before they can pay their tax; now with this scarcity of work at the labour centres, it is difficult to imagine how they are expected to pay their tax.

Hence it is that I think Mr Mofolo is reasonably right in advocating that people should be taxed according to the number of lands they cultivate, paying a certain amount for cash land, since it will be from these lands tha people obtain their tax. That land for which tax is paid will be a source of income to the owner, which is something to reckon upon. As a result of this careless system of taxation, a chief and his poorest subject pay exactly the same amount of tax; surely this cannot be said to be just.

There is yet another aspect of this subject namely, that livestock should also be taxed. This would encourage the natives of this country to rear their animals for utility purposes at the present time a man may keep hundreds of horses and cattle just for sake of satisfying his eyes when he goes to the cattle pests, but with the imposition of tax on these animals only good types of animals will be kept with the aim of improving the quality of the herds. This may be a way of reducing this great danger of overstocking which is so responsible for surface denudation and consequent soil erosion. Fair and reasonable taxation should be taxed unless he has a certain amount of income; surely that system will do just as well for the natives of this country and it has proved successful for the black people of other countries. Surely the polities of this country are not such as can defy the brains of our adminstative bodies. But we must remember that the dynamic foce must come from the people themselves

UBO PATRIA

A National Government.

General Hertzog and general Smuts have at last, agreed to form a National Goverament, and this amounts to a declaration of peace between these two opposing parties and the coming together in a friendly way of the English and Dutch speaking sections of the European population of South Africa and we are hoping that this will mean a brighter future for South Africa and we trust that this coming togetner will not only be a blessing to the European communities but to the Africans as well whose problems would be dealt with in a spirit of good will.

"With a view to ensuring peace and co-operation and having regard to the national emergency which has arisen as a consequence of the world depression the two leaders of the National and South African Parties respectively have to work together on a basis of more or less equal participation and upon agreed principles, so that while the identity of their respective parties is retained there may be cordial co-operation between members of the Government along agreed lines of national policy.

The agreed principles are contained in the following clauses:—

Principles and Spirit of Government.

The Government of the country shall be conducted on a basis of national principles and in a spirit of South African national independence in harmony with our Sovereign independent status as confirmed by the Statute of Westminster

Maintenance of the Unitary Basis and the Flag of the Union.

The unitary basis of a united South Africa shall be maintained intact, as laid down in the South Africa Act, and no authority or right in conflict there-with or capable of being applied in conflict therewith shall be granted to any province or provinces. The authority and power of the Union shall continue to be symbolised by our own independent national flag.

Equal Language Rights.

Equal language rights in respect of the Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking sections of the population shall in practice, in so far as the State is concerned therewith, be exercised and maintained in all respect and in every part of our national life within the Union.

Care for Agriculture.

While the interests of the various sections of the population will all equally enjoy the attention and the care of the Government, the maintenance and welfare of a healthy rural population will be the subject of special effort and application.

Standard of Living and Civilised Labour Policy.

The South African worker will have assured to him a proper standard of living, and the Government will continue the existing civilised labour policy.

The Native Question.

An earnest attempt will be made to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Native question along lines which, without depriving the Native of his right of development, sets in the foreground the requirements of white civilisation and provides for separate political representation of white and black. To this end the discussions of the Joint Select Committee on the Representation of Natives, etc., shall be expedited so that the necessary legislation may be brought before Parliament as soon as possible.

Protection of Currency and of Capital Assets and of Reserve Intended For Development.

The Government will take steps for the maintenance of confidence in the economic future of the Union by the protection of our currency as well as of capital assets and resources which serve to promote the development and progress of our country and its population.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Hands Across the Sea.

THE Emir of Katsina ended this week another successful visit to this country. He and his party carry with them back to Katsina the genuine liking of thousands of British people, who have seen them, heard of them, or read of them in one or other of the many friendly references to them which have appeared in the British Press. To the Emir a common Englishism does not apply. "Third time" is not "catching time" with him. He "caught" the English public on his first visit by his shrewd judgments on all he saw—decidedly not excluding racehorses—his never-failing appreciation and good humour, and his true grasp of the meaning and mutual advantage of the British West African connection. Most British people connected with West Africa to-day think of that connection, when they think of it at all, as part of the established scheme of things. Yet, with regard to vast areas of the greatest African Dependency, how recent it all is must have occurred to many who read in WEST AFRICA last week the reminder that Lord Lugard is the first Englishman the Emir ever saw. Neither of them is an old man.

That remark suggests one feature of West African life and relationship. Something else in connection with the visit is not less significant. This is the announcement by the Emir, which we believe took his British friends and his own party equally by surprise, of his resolve to have his grandsons, the two little lads who have acquired so many English friends, brought up at an English school. There is in this a deep significance. Family feeling is very strong among Africans of all faiths, and religious ties among the Mohammedan races are very strong also. It is a great tribute to the people of another, far-distant land that a devout Moslem such as the Emir should wish to place his grandsons there, for them to absorb its life and its spirit. The explanation is simple enough. The British public is innately kindly, friendly, courteous, and when there come to this country people as responsive and appreciative as most Africans are there takes place a quick, real, mutual understanding which brings forth such evidence as this. Incidentally the incident strikingly disproves what is sometimes alleged against British administration in Africa namely, that it tries to mould Africans to its own pattern. Often the pressure is all the other way.

The Emir of Katsina's visit is to be followed up before long by visits of the Emirs of Kano and Sokoto No doubt other Natural Rulers would like to follow their example. This, perhaps, justifies a suggestion Is it not possible, without sacrificing the precious element of friendly spontaneity, to place such visits upon a slightly more regular, organised basis? Of the wisdom of such visits there can be no question. With the means of communication what they are now, we submit that these visits are a necessity. It is well known that part of the success of the visit just ended was due to the fact that when it appeared improbable that the Acting Lieutenant-Governor could be here with the Emir, several ex-Civil Servants of Nigeria gladly and efficiently took charge of the advance arrangements receiving willing co-operation from non-official quarters. There need never be the least doubt as to the readiness and ability of such friends of West Africa, now resident here, to do similar work as an act of friendship towards those among whom they have lived and worked. Africa, like Asia, is a country in which the personal element is all-important. It is surely well worth the while of all sections here connected with West Africa to help in bringing about every year visits of Natural Rulers from all over the four Colonies, and showing them—let us say at the season of the British Industries Fair—British resources, British hospitality, British appreciation of the part which West Africa is playing and will increasingly play in the development of the Empire.

Progress in French Equatorial Africa.

Addressing the Council of Government of French Equatorial Africa, at Brazzaville, the Governor-General, M. Antonetti, said that although the economic situation was serious, the general budget had been balanced both in 1931 and 1932, and there was no need for anxiety in regard to the financial position of Gaboon, the Middle Congo, or Chad. Things were, however, more difficult in Ubangi-Shari, although new sources of wealth were being exploited to make up for the fall in produce prices, the full effect would not be felt for two or three years. In the budgets for 1933 there were no new taxes, and it was hoped that even if the general economic position did not improve, the rigid economies made in the past year would prevent expenditure from exceeding revenue.

During 1932 the Congo-Ocean Railway construction had been pushed on with greater vigour than ever, and completion may be expected by the end of 1933. Already repatriation of labour from this work has begun.

Work on the boat-harbour at Pointe Noire and on the river-port of Brazzaville had been started, and work on the deepwater port at the former place is to be put in hand this year.

In regard to production, great efforts were made to increase exports, and by offering subsidies on cotton, kernels, palm-oil, benniseed, rubber and coffee, the exports of these products had been doubled. Thanks to the efforts made to encourage cotton-growing in Ubangi-Shari, local production was expected to reach 4,000 tons, while in the Kwilu and Fernan Vaz areas three years' prospecting had proved the existence of what should be oil-bearing rocks.

Politically, 1932 had been an uneventful year in Equatorial Africa, but the people generally had shown the utmost loyalty in difficult economic conditions. Progress in health and education had been good, and over 6,000,000 francs had been spent on maternity hospitals and welfare centres.

At the close of his address, M. Antonetti said he felt the time had come for some definite memorial to be erected to the founders of French Equatorial Africa, and intimated that in the near future proposals to that end would be placed before the Council.

THE AFRIKAANS BIBLE.

The news that the first consignment of Afrikaans Bibles is to arrive in Cape Town on May 29 has excited the interest of the entire Afrikaans-speaking population of the "Johannesburg Star," and although it is not expected that the Johannesburg quota of the shipment will arrive in the city much before the middle of June, a tremendous number of orders have been booked by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

There are several problems, however, which the arrival of the Afrikaans edition will create. One of the most interesting is whether the new Afrikaans version of the Scriptures will be used immediately in churches, or whether it will be allowed gradually to supersede the Dutch version now in use.

Apparently the older Afrikaans-speaking people are reluctant to part with the present form, though in their ordinary speech they use Afrikaans.

It is clear that the arrival of the Afrikaans Bible will arouse widespread enthusiasm. It is expected that fully a year will elapse, with regular shipments, before the normal demand can be satisfied. The first shipment of 10,000 Bibles is to be delivered at Cape Town, and of this quantity 5,000 are for Johannesburg. Their price is 2s. 6d. but later other bindings will be sent, with consequent variations in price.

Another interesting aspect of the Afrikaans version of the Bible is the question whether the new publication will finally set a seal on "official" Afrikaans so far as spelling and form are concerned. The translators have taken endless pains and have consulted all existing forms together with the earliest possible renderings. The Bible could have been issued three or four years ago, but it was deemed advisable to wait until now to avoid any necessity for an amending edition.

RETURN OF BOER BIBLES.

A report on thirty years' work has just been presented to the Society of Friends by Mr. William H. F. Alexander, who, after the Boer War, undertook the task of securing the return to their Boer owners of as many as possible of the old family Bibles carried off by officers and soldiers as mementoes. Many Boer families had their registers of births, marriages and deaths entered in these Bibles. As a result of an Army Order issued by Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief, recommending the return of such Bibles, many were sent in, and a number were restored, through the efforts of the Friends' South African Relief Committee, to their original owners.

In 1908 those whose owners had not been traced were left in the hands of Mr. Alexander, who now reports, states "The Times," that during the last twenty-five years, additional ones have reached him from time to time. But he now feels that it is useless for him to continue the search for claimants, and the score of Bibles still unclaimed have been handed over to the High Commissioner for South Africa, to be sent to Pretoria, where fresh advertisements will be issued. Altogether 130 Bibles have been restored, and the work has led to the return of still other Bibles, through the office of the High Commissioner.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, May 16.

Italy and Belgium.

To express him his thanks for his "fatherly" attitude towards the numerous Italians residing in Katanga, the King of Italy has nominated Colonel Heenen, Governor of that Province, Commander of the Crown of Italy.

On April 5, Mr. Grillo, the Italian Vice-Consul at Elisabethville, bestowed upon Colonel Heenen the insignia of this famous Order, and, to take part in this ceremony, numerous Italians came from all over Katanga, wishing to thus personally testify their devoted sympathy and hearty gratitude to the Governor of their second country.

The Italian Vice-Consul, Mr. Grillo, then delivered a speech, reported verbatim by the Elisabethville "Essor du Congo" of April 7. I much regret that lack of space prevents me from even summarising it. I will only say that this speech was much more than an address adapted to the function. In tightening still more the friendly relations between Belgium and Italy, Colonel Heenen has done his country a new and great service.

MR. MOFFAT ON AMALGAMATION.

Objections were voiced, in mail week, by several members of the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia to amalgamation with Northern Rhodesia, mainly owing to the difference in the native policies of the two countries.

The Premier, Mr. Moffat, replied that no matter what line of policy had been adopted in regard to the employment of natives by the Northern Rhodesia Government, so soon as the two countries were united the policy would not be dictated by the present Northern Rhodesian controls but by the united Government, and it must be the policy of Southern Rhodesia—the policy of assisting natives to rise, while at the same time protecting, as far as possible, the combined interests of both the white and black peoples.

For the Southern Rhodesian Government to take action at present might defeat their object, but if any opportunity occurred the Government must not lose the chance of taking action.—Reuter.

Has the Tide Turned in West Africa?

Sir Edwin Speed on "One Very Definite Sign."

Sir E. A. Speed, chairman, presided at the 13th annual general meeting of the Scottish Nigerian Mortgage & Trust Co., Ltd., at Edinburgh. The report and accounts were adopted unanimously.

The chairman first made reference to the death of Mr. A. B. Fleming, one of the founders of the company—"a man of unsullied reputation, a genial and courteous gentleman, a wise counsellor and a faithful friend"—and of Mr. Wallace, the auditor—"who always performed his duties unobtrusively and with great efficiency."

In his comments upon the report and accounts, the Chairman remarked:—"The amount of loans on real estate has gone up £5,000 and more, and there is a diminution in the amount of our other investments. That, I venture to think, is all for the good. That money was only invested because we could not at the time employ it satisfactorily in the ordinary business of the company, and it is encouraging to find that we have been able to employ more than £5,000 in ordinary business in Nigeria rather than leave it at a much lower rate of interest at home. We have also a much larger cash balance than last year, but that is only about sufficient to meet our requirements within the next month or two.

"I should like to call your attention to the two reserve accounts. Ordinary reserve account now stands at £13,500 and special mortgage reserve fund at £1,454. The latter fund was started many years ago to meet certain contingencies. It has not been added to for the last three or four years—four years I think is correct—and the charges upon it have been small. We do not consider it necessary to make any addition to it out of the year's profits; and perhaps it may become advisable to abolish the item in the accounts and merge it into the ordinary reserve. You will notice our proposal with regard to the reserve. We have been in the habit of placing £1,500 a year to that fund, but this year we have decided to recommend that the sum placed to reserve be £1,000. If that proposal is adopted, the amount of the reserve will be the substantial sum of £16,000, which is 64 per cent. of our paid-up capital.

"The balance at the credit of the profit and loss account is practically the same as last year. The application of the sum to the credit of the profit and loss account is recommended as follows:—To reserve, £1,000, and to paying a final dividend of 10 per cent., which, with the dividend of 5 per cent. paid in October, makes a dividend of 15 per cent. for the year. That is an increase of 2½ per cent. upon what has been our practice for many years. I do not wish you to think that the resolution to pay a larger dividend was agreed to by a depleted board. The matter was fully considered by a full board in September, when Mr. Irving was at home, and in connection with the payment of the interim dividend it was anticipated that we should be in a position to pay a slightly increased final dividend, and these anticipations have been realised.

"Now, with regard to our prospects, there does not seem to be any definite sign of any large improvement in trade, but we may derive some encouragement from the fact that in our business we have been able to employ a larger amount of money than we have done for the last few years, the increase being well over 5 per cent. As I have said on several previous occasions, our business is not likely to increase much pending the decision of the Government as to the opening up of new fields for our enterprise in the large towns of the hinterland, which still hangs fire; but there is sign of improvement in trade—at least there is one very definite sign. I do not know if you have seen the accounts of the United Africa Company—which carries on a large part of the trade in the Colony. These accounts show a satisfactory profit as against a large loss for the previous year, and that would seem to show a turn of the tide."

On the motion of Mr. William Ogilvy, S.S.C., and seconded by Mr. F. P. Milligan, W.S., Mr. John L. Somerville, C.A., was elected auditor.

Mr. William Bonnar: I have very much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Edwin Speed. Shareholders will agree with what has fallen from Sir Edwin and from Mr. Sutherland with regard to the loss of our friends Mr. Fleming and Mr. Wallace.

Mr. G. J. Pringle: In seconding, I suggest that Mr. Irving might be associated with it. I think his work in Lagos has been magnificent. As one who had to do with the work of the company in 1919, and who had to work with Mr. Irving, I can assure the shareholders that Mr. Irving is untiring in his efforts for the success of the company. He has assisted very materially in the success of the company, and I think we should remember him out there, and that a special vote of thanks is due to him.

The Chairman: I am very much obliged to you for the vote of thanks to myself, which I know includes the other members of the board, and especially for the vote of thanks to Mr. Irving. In my speech I paid tribute to the efficiency and activity of the management in Lagos. We shall have much pleasure in conveying to Mr. Irving your appreciation of his services, which is thoroughly deserved.

"Witchcraft and African Doctors."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

SIR,—I regret that some recent correspondence in your columns on the subject of witchcraft has only just come to my notice, but I trust that it is not too late to comment on "Nwigbo's" letter. Omitting the herbalist, who is really a medical practitioner, we may readily accept the distinction which your correspondent draws between the "witch-doctor" (or magician, a term which avoids an unfortunate connotation) and the "witch" or "wizard." It is not so easy to follow him, however, when he states that the former enters the category of the witch, when he assumes the power of laying curses on people. Nor can I agree that he assumes this power primarily in order to intimidate the laity. Surely the distinction is that the magician is a tribal official, recognised as such and vested with certain sanctions which depend on his inherent power, whereas the witch has personal and anti-social motives, which are not recognised as valid by the community. The curse wielded by the magician is a legal instrument, which maintains and regulates the social behaviour of the community: the curse of the witch is a very different thing, since it is directed towards the gratification of personal ambitions, which do not, as a rule, conform with public interests, are secret and often sinister, and are never socially approved. It is possible that the magician may occasionally yield to temptation and abuse his power for private ends—an aberration to which our own public officials have been known to succumb; but, generally speaking, the techniques of magic and of witchcraft are so different as to make this unlikely to happen, and even if it does happen on rare occasions the general hypothesis is not invalidated by an exceptional lapse.

The second observation which calls for comment is that, to counteract and to remove the curses of a witch, the witch-doctor must do it in some material way, "and" (your correspondent adds) "to my mind the only rational way is by the use of herbs or medicine." This may be so to the mind of an African who is so deeply imbued with Western ideas and cultures as your correspondent: but is he sure that the uncontaminated African looks at it from the same angle? While drugs have their uses for him as well—indeed, the native pharmacopœia is surprisingly extensive and adequate—yet in my experience he would be the last to expect a purely material treatment for witchcraft, and in general the treatment may more accurately be termed psychological.

Certainly the whole question does not "centre on herbs," as "Nwigbo," with perhaps an excess of sophistication, suggests, and though a study of native herbal remedies would doubtless be of interest, as well as a possible benefit, to our own medical science, this has no bearing either on witchcraft or on the practice of magic.—Yours, etc.

J. H. DRIBERG.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

From Thursday the 28th to Sunday the 30th the Basuto will be celebrating the centenary of the advent of the missionaries in Basutoland. Several important chiefs of Basutoland will gather together at Morija for the occasion with great multitudes of Basuto adherents of the church and others as this is more of a national festival than denominational as the French Protestant Church is regarded as the national church of the Basuto.

We are hoping that the celebration of the first hundred years of christianity in Basutoland will mark the beginning of an epoch of renewed progress among the Basuto and a changed outlook. May it be a blessing to the territory and its inhabitants.

EMPLOYMENT.

There is one great fact that should always be borne in mind both when you are in work and when you are out of work. Always realize that your past and present efforts are going to be brought against you or for you when you apply for a new position. References are the most useful things in the applicant's luggage and to secure them you should always work for goodwill. Always have a definite aim. For this reason, never, unless you are in dire need apply for or accept a "blind alley" occupation if for no other reason than that in light of a reference it is wasted time. Take up a definite trade or profession having good prospects, cultivate it, and get to know all there is to know about it. When applying for the position, endeavour to select one that is an improvement upon your last one. Then, having selected the berth you desire, set out determinedly to convince the employer that you have out-grown your last position, that your are ambitious and can efficiently filled the vacancy he has. Before you apply, whether you do so in person or by letter collect together all your "selling talk" after the manner of a salesman, get together your proofs and set them out in logical order so as to form a sound, convincing argument in your favour. Remember that you are selling your services and that you must first of all create goodwill. Realize that the employer does not know you, you have to go to him and prove to him, that you are better suited to fill the position he offers than any single one of the other applicants. This is your only chance, and you must make the best use of it. Therefore you must not if you are to succeed, write a haphazard letter, or go to an interview without careful preparation, you must anticipate likely questions and be fully prepared to give a forceful and convincing answer. If you are sure of yourself, you will evince a confident bearing. Quiteness and confidence shall be your strength.

An employer is keenly interested in the education a man has given himself in his self training, in his own character building, and the way he uses his spare time. Employers are more interested in what a man has done for himself than in what has been done for him. Every stroke of work you do is experience and you can never forget or lose experience. Everything you learn is knowledge, you can never lose knowledge. Knowledge and experience are never wasted. You may be called to a sphere where your knowledge and experience is not put to any direct use but it is still there behind you as part of your capital, your wealth, giving you support and confidence. To get a good job or to progress to a better job, we must not only be prepared to work hard, but must take a keen interest, and intelligent interest, in whatever work we are called upon to do. To work without interest is to decay the mind and stagnate the personality and when that happens, it carries its own story in the man's face - a dull eye, expressionless features, and a sluggish listless demeanour generally. Employers are very quick to notice such signs, they are the first thing they look for. Nervousness often suggests abundance of energy, often loyalty and sincere unrestrained endeavour, and often does more for a man than against him. Over confidence is fatal. Employers want keen workers, loyal and ardent men, who at all times will put service before self, who don't worry about the clock but who do worry only if they don't do any duty of theirs to the utmost of their ability. Each one has good and bad points. Analyse ourselves and try to eliminate the bad. How do we stand with regard to:—

Enthusiasm	Honesty
Ambition	Loyalty
Energy	Integrity
Initiative	Grit
Courage	Tact
Resourcefulness	Concentration
Perseverance	Creative ability
Judgement	Forsight

If I were an employer, would I employ myself?

After an interview with an employer, go over it all again

in your mind and see where you made mistakes or have not done yourself or him justice and make corrections for future guidance.

Answering advertisements, use plain good paper, be neat in writing, show cleanness, no fancy words, use one side of the paper only. In answering an employer's letter, if he writes you for information read your answer over carefully time after time to make sure that you are telling him what he wants to know.

Interviewing employers see to :—

Teeth	Finger nails
Linen	Collar
Trousers	Boots

Appearance is very important. Employers don't want fancy clothes but clothes showing care, politeness to everyone. You never know to whom you are talking, make a friend of everyone. If you are nervous keep it in the back ground as far as possible. Don't look worried, or the employer will lose confidence in you. Most employers a full of tricks, to find out the strength or weakness of the man in front of them. Beware of the man who sits in his chair and says nothing—a test to see if you have self possession, self-control and confidence, patience. Another type has interruptions during the interview. Chair screwed to the floor. Telephone calls. Goes on writting letters. You are out to give this man service. No inferiority—nothing for nothing, wages in exchange for service. Be careful in your statements cross examination will reveal contradictions; never argue. Be a good intelligent listener, men like to hear themselves talking; silence is golden.

Tribal Chiefs in South Africa to Be Trained; Job Is No Longer Primitive, Official Finds

Vocational training for future tribal chiefs is planned in Basutoland, South Africa, according to Oswin Bernard Bull, director of technical education in the territory where 600,000 blacks live in peace under their chiefs and under the British Colonial office commissioners. Mr. Bull outlined his recommendations to the government for this novel departure in education at a dinner last night at the George Washington Hotel under the auspices of the race relations department of the Federal Council of Churches.

"The position of chief is hereditary in Basutoland," said the speaker, "and we have found that the chiefs have a tendency to take advantage of their position. They must be instructed in civic duty, must have a smattering of bookkeeping and economics, a little of agriculture and knowledge of their own tribal laws."

A native constabulary of 300 helps the chiefs and the white magistrates keep peace among the clans and tribes of the territory. Nominally a dry State as far as the native population is concerned, Basutoland has its bootlegging problems, with plenty of liquor available in the neighboring Orange Free State.

Mr. Bull, in addition to other duties, is principal of the Lerotholi Technical School at Maseru, where manual arts and native crafts are taught. With the development of motor roads he has organized a football league and is now looking forward to arranging a schedule of games for the championship of Basutoland.

Another speaker was Max Yergen an American Negro engaged in Y. M. C. A. work among the natives in South Africa. Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presided.

THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE COLONY.

THERE is no doubt that as well as might be done by Government, the Religious Denominations and Private Enterprise—judging from the restricted financial conditions at present existing—Education has advanced to a considerable degree compared, with say twenty or thirty years ago. We are not now referring to the arrangements to meet the demands of what may be described as Secondary Education, as to that diffused provision for Elementary Education, by means of which the poorest in the Colony and a still larger proportion in the Protectorate may be rescued from the fetters of illiteracy and that sort of ignorance which cripples latent energies—binding as it were the victims, hand and foot. The present Scheme of Amalgamation of Elementary Schools in the Colony and that by which Schools are carried on by the several Missionary Denominations in the Protectorate, with some efforts from Government as well, have proved great boon to the people. But it is not difficult to discover that there is a large proportion in the City and villages of the Colony proper, not to talk of a still larger—absorbingly larger, in the Protectorate, who remain outside the benefits of these arrangements, due either to poverty or the indifference of parents or guardians to fulfil this important obligation they owe to their children or wards.

The thought which has been passing through our mind is in the direction of well-to-do citizens in Freetown, or along the Coast, who were born in one or other of the villages, providing funds from which the fees of poor children in the villages, where parents or guardians may not find it convenient to avail themselves of the provision of free places made in the Elementary Schools, could be paid; for it is quite known that there are many, sometimes—they come to—three in a family—children who have advanced beyond the standard for which they pay 6d. per month—and are quite unable to meet the demands for higher fees, as they get promoted to higher standards; and where there are more than one—it is evident how imposiible the situation would be.

Such a fund created by well-to-do Villagers who reside outside their villages, could be most effectively managed by a Committee in the City of their own appointing, which would be in touch with the Village Committees and the School Committees of which the Pastors or Ministers are the Chairmen. It is possible to envisage how far—say a modest sum of £5 a year would go to give several children in destitute condition, a proper Elementary Education, with a view of averting the danger, and perils to some of which we referred in our last issue.

We dealt with one aspect of the situation in our last issue, when we suggested that to meet the increasing demands, and where Government is not prepared to undertake direct responsibility, private enterprise should be recognised and encouraged, if the Colony should be saved from the baneful effects which vagrancy and youthful degeneracy bid fair to result in, in the near future. The pity and increasing sense of danger, lie in the fact that by means of the increased transport facilities now available, children from th villages have been able to remove to the City where they have been initiated into the secret of becoming adept criminals.

Now, in dealing with this subject, we do not intend to deal with what Government or the Missionary Denominations should do further, as we would like to see some organised great efforts put forth by the people themselves. We take the villages for an example. There is already set on foot, schemes by which the Ex-pupils of the ANNIE WALSHE Memorial School and the Old-girls of the Methodist School at Wilberforce have been able to found Scholarships for poor but deserving girls. It has remained a striking contrast to the activities of the Old pupils of both the Grammar School and Methodist High School in neither of which are we aware that any such provision has been made.

His Lordship the Bishop of Sierra Leone at the opening function of the C.M.S. Grammar School last Tuesday, is reported to have made reference to the position of the villages in days described as "halcyon," when the attraction and facilities to migrate to the City were not so great. It is wonderful how far such "village boys'' have travelled since those days—equally wonderful what distinctions, they have made by means of their wonderful career. Would it not be a duty—pleasurable one at that—if they could turn their attention for a while and think of the suggestion we have thrown out:—repairing like the patriot NEHEMIAH of old (the Educational walls of their villages and setting up the gate of knowledge as evidence of their appreciation of the blessing they have enjoyed also their love for the old village hearth which is fastly going to ruins from sheer neglect and want of a little hard thinking.

in your mind and see where you made mistakes or have not done yourself or him justice and make corrections for future guidance.

Answering advertisements, use plain good paper, be neat in writing, show cleanness, no fancy words, use one side of the paper only. In answering an employer's letter, if he writes you for information read your answer over carefully time after time to make sure that you are telling him what he wants to know.

Interviewing employers see to :—

Teeth	Finger nails
Linen	Collar
Trousers	Boots

Appearance is very important. Employers don't want fancy clothes but clothes showing care, politeness to everyone. You never know to whom you are talking, make a friend of everyone. If you are nervous keep it in the back ground as far as possible. Don't look worried, or the employer will lose confidence in you. Most employers a full of tricks, to find out the strength or weakness of the man in front of them. Beware of the man who sits in his chair and says nothing—a test to see if you have self possession, self-control and confidence, patience. Another type has interruptions during the interview. Chair screwed to the floor. Telephone calls. Goes on writting letters. You are out to give this man service. No inferiority—nothing for nothing, wages in exchange for service. Be careful in your statements cross examination will reveal contradictions; never argue. Be a good intelligent listener, men like to hear themselves talking; silence is golden.

Tribal Chiefs in South Africa to Be Trained; Job Is No Longer Primitive, Official Finds

Vocational training for future tribal chiefs is planned in Basutoland, South Africa, according to Oswin R. Bull, director of technical education in the territory where 600,000 blacks live in peace under their chiefs and under the British Colonial office commissioners. Mr. Bull outlined his recommendations to the government for this novel departure in education at a dinner last night at the George Washington Hotel under the auspices of the race relations department of the Federal Council of Churches.

"The position of chief is hereditary in Basutoland," said the speaker, "and we have found that the chiefs have a tendency to take advantage of their position. They must be instructed in civic duty, must have a smattering of book-keeping and economics, a little of agriculture and knowledge of their own tribal laws."

A native constabulary of 300 helps the chiefs and the white magistrates keep peace among the clans and tribes of the territory. Nominally a dry State as far as the native population is concerned, Basutoland has its bootlegging problems, with plenty of liquor available in the neighboring Orange Free State.

Mr. Bull, in addition to other duties, is principal of the Lerotholi Technical School at Maseru, where manual arts and native crafts are taught. With the development of motor roads he has organized a football league and is now looking forward to arranging a schedule of games for the championship of Basutoland.

Another speaker was Max Yergen an American Negro engaged in Y. M. C. A. work among the natives in South Africa. Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presided.

THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE COLONY.

THERE is no doubt that as well as might be done by Government, the Religious Denominations and Private Enterprise—judging from the restricted financial conditions at present existing—Education has advanced to a considerable degree compared, with say, twenty or thirty years ago. We are not now referring to the arrangements to meet the demands of what may be described as Secondary Education, as to that diffused provision for Elementary Education, by means of which the poorest in the Colony and a still larger proportion in the Protectorate may be rescued from the fetters of illiteracy and that sort of ignorance which cripples latent energies—binding as it were the victims, hand and foot. The present Scheme of Amalgamation of Elementary Schools in the Colony and that by which Schools are carried on by the several Missionary Denominations in the Protectorate, with some efforts from Government as well, have proved great boon to the people. But it is not difficult to discover that there is a large proportion in the City and villages of the Colony proper, not to talk of a still larger—absorbingly larger, in the Protectorate, who remain outside the benefits of these arrangements, due either to poverty or the indifference of parents or guardians to fulfil this important obligation they owe to their children or wards.

The thought which has been passing through our mind is in the direction of well-to-do citizens in Freetown, or along the Coast, who were born in one or other of the villages, providing funds from which the fees of poor children in the villages, where parents or guardians may not find it convenient to avail themselves of the provision of free places made in the Elementary Schools, could be paid; for it is quite known that there are many, sometimes—they come to—three in a family—children who have advanced beyond the standard for which they pay 6d. per month—and are quite unable to meet the demands for higher fees, as they get promoted to higher standards; and where there are more than one—it is evident how imposiible the situation would be.

Such a fund created by well-to-do Villagers who reside outside their villages, could be most effectively managed by a Committee in the City of their own appointing, which would be in touch with the Village Committees and the School Committees of which the Pastors or Ministers are the Chairmen. It is possible to envisage how far—say a modest sum of £5 a year would go to give several children in destitute condition, a proper Elementary Education, with a view of averting the danger, and perils to some of which we referred in our last issue.

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Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Electric Light.

Comet 3-22-33

The capital of Basutoland had its baptism of electric light on the evening of Saturday the 18th inst. after it was declared open officially by Mr E Foord Government Secretary, in the absence of His Honour the Resident Commissioner who is away to Cape Town. A large number of Europeans had gathered at the Power Station at the Railway Station to celebrate the occasion. A large Marquee Tent had been put up in which drinks were freely served. After speeches were made by Mr Foord and a representative of the firm of Engineers who had the contract Mrs Foord was asked to start the machine. After this she motored to the sub-station in town where she turned on the lights and the town and the Native village were flooded with light. On the night previous to this the lights were turned on for a few moments as a test, and the sudden and unexpected illumination of the Native village was greeted with great shouts of joy from the villagers and children who rushed to the streets to watch the sparkling lights and danced and played in the bright light around the electric standards, but while this merriment was going on the lights were turned off and the merry-makers once more found themselves in the dark and stumbled back home where parents were bombarded with questions from young children about the lights and how they were lighted and how they were put out, who lighted them and why they were in the streets etc. Intelligent and silly questions were asked which in many cases correct answers were hardly given. With the village illuminated at night we hope that those is authority will make it a point to improve the streets which at present are a disgrace to the village as they abound in ditches and dongas which make traffic almost impossible.

Sons of Basutoland.

Comet.

The Editor, "*Mochochonono.*"

Sir—In your leader of two weeks ago you emphatically expatiated upon the above subject pointing out facts as they should be. You made a strong appeal to all the sons of Basutoland in and outside the territory. As one of the very "unfortunate" sons of Basutoland, I wish to make a few comments on this very strong appeal. I call myself "unfortunate" because I am one of those who have been destined to earn their living outside our territory; destined because the circumstances compelled us to come into the Union.

All over the unoin sons of Basutoland hold important positions which call for reliability and proper habits; and in which connection they never fail. With the material which is scatted all over the four corners of the Union, Basutoland could have been well equiped today. As things are at present it does not occur to me that Basutoland will ever be counted amongst the advanced countries. The influx into the Union of its young and educated Basuto is regrettable. Basutoland is a self governing territory, under the direct protection of the British Empire; the land of our fore-fathers. It is however sad to say this territory is a curse to-day to most of its sons, who are voiceless even in the government of their country.

We have a Paramount Chief who is a direct handicap to our advancement. He cares for *obnoxious weeds.* He concentrates more on the foregoing subject than he does on the government of his people. He takes not trouble to get to the real cause of dissatisfaction of his subject. He governs the country by means of *Advisory Board* commonly known as *Lekhotla la Sechaba.* Even in this board he has the full powers to drop out any undesirable member; that is any member whose ideas do not agree with his (The Paramount Chief) ideas.

Sons of Basutoland come ye forward to show your blind fathers the right way to success, difficulties may confront you, but be persistent in your struggle, and you will eventually succeed: "Where there is a will there is a way."

Your humble friend,

J.S MODIBEDI.

Nor Yet Man's Opposite

(BY STEREOTYPED)

The Comet

At the very outset we are told "Male and female created He them." We need not go far. Here we are given a definite distinction of sex. Those who have made a peep into the study of Botany and even that of Zoology are conversant with this fact. Therein we learn that mankind and all the higher forms of life worked to propagate their species in one way, namely by cooporation of two individuals (scientific meaning of the word) of the species who are absolutely alike and yet unlike, possessing complementary qualities whose union is such as will be able to originate a new living unit unmistakably the net result of the union of the two. In studying the history of the Basuto people we find that these people were not entirely ignorant of the existence of God. We find them, during the halcyon days, offering prayers to certain "unknown" Gods. This fact is made manifest by the proceedings in the funeral. And now not digressing, there seems to have been in their primitive minds two pictures of gods:- Male and female. Thus "Letsatsi and Khoeli, the sun and the moon are figured as male and female. A simple fact will make this clear; a man and a woman die, these people in the minds of our grandfathers become subordinate Gods subject to the principal gods. The relatives of the deceased offer prayers to the principal gods through these two furthermore women have their gods so do men.

Even in more advanced religions there are traces of this ineradicable tendency to assume difference of sex as the indispensable condition of creation "Begotten, not made;" who has ever found the meaning of that? Personally, I find

no solid value of an idea behind that we learn however that there are cases where without the aid of sexual propagation living forms come into existence. Take, for an example, those monera which are "simple specks of homogeneous protoplasm." How do they multiply? Not by cooperation of two but by a process quite different from the first known as self-division. Let me exaggerate this, suppose a man out grows his natural size, contracts in the middle and splits into two men who are exactly like one another and resemble the original man. This is a fact plus something else It is a fact because we come across this fact in certain plants and animals; but a lie because it never happens with man. Now these two results are respectively, it can be understood, the two halves of the original. These in turn grow and then, just as the original, under go the same process of splitting and duplicating and multiplying themselves.

The next stage is that of the nucleated cell. The nucleus splits into two, each half becoming a whole nucleus which either multiply within the original or burst the old cell wall and become two cells resembling the first.

Up winds the way and wea ultimately find ourselves faced withthat weakens home influence than the problem of man and woman. ignorance.
Here the contrast is as conspicuous as it is obvious. Says Laing:- "Both physical and mental characteristics depend mainly onnation can rise above the level of its the fact that the ovary is developed in the female and thus the whole work of reproduction is thrown on her. To perform this a large portion of the vital energy is required, which in the male is available for larger and more prolonged growth of organs such as the brain, stature, and limbs by which a more powerful grasp is attained of the outward environment." That is, the female comes sooner to maturity and is weaker than the male. The female is animated by much stronger love for the young (offspring) which is in reality part of her own body, both during the period of infancy and afterwards. In addition to these physical attributes the woman has the qualities of softness, devotion, amiability, and these fit her for the office of nurse.

Her physical weakness for untold ages, has made her the slave of the stronger male

The position of women in Basuto social life at present is that of slavery, this is caus d by the bohali system which has been cruelly made ncompatible with civilization—a evolution in the social life of the Basuto which owes its roots from the advent of the missionaries.— A woman is treated just a little bit above a slave. She is a humble creature a darling comforter and a soft partner, yet men tell us nothing good comes from a woman. She is an aged child

Right from the cradle to the grave the child is surrounded by the true love of the mother. It grows in that love; all the teachings and examples are from the mother, who teaches it to speak, who gives it food to eat and clothes to wear; and yea whose are the tears that are shed when it dies?

But what do the Basuto say? To them the mother has no power on the child. She won't even send the child Man the master bull, time and again encroaches upon the woman's responsibility, and yet she must lay the foundation. If there is anything that man can't make, it is a good home, there woman is supreme. An uneducated woman of course makes

As civilization advances—and we can hope for no civilization if only the other half is educated. No and moral qualities gain ascendency over brute and animal instincts, the condition of Basuto woman improves. She has her own personality and character which are in some cases better than those of the male half of the creation.

The one supplements what is wanting in the other, and the harmonious union makes ideal perfection. Tennyson gives us this maxim "For woman is not undeveloped man."

Nor yet man's opposite.

THE DEATH-RATE IN THE CITY.

Weekly News 4-29-33

We have always regarded it as a grievous irony that in spite of the high standard which Medical Science has reached and much improved amenities which have been provided for the comfort of the sick—the death-rate in the City could still remain so high if not quite alarming.

There was a time when the fault may have been laid at the door of the people for failing to avail themselves of the timely assistance of the Hospital, or, relying too much on the experiment of the charlatan. But we do not think such an explanation could now be justified—the people, even amongst the aboriginal elements. have been oundly converted to the conviction that the skill of the Medical Practitioner is much more valuable and consequently, safer. It is therefore necessary to seek for the cause of so disappointing a result from other sources—

Generally, we might describe it as the mode of life pursued by the people. Here again, there is the fact that never before has there been such general patronage of organised games by the young, and amongst the class whose sun has been setting whilst it is yet day—So that, it does not seem to lie in the absence of that "exercise" which would insure a sound mind in a sound body—This would leave us to enquire whether the nature of the food taken, may not be responsible for the failure to preserve life in an A 1 condition. How far the vital organs have been helped to function normally by the food taken, is a question that could not be dismissed so very lightly—and we think it ought to be stressed in spite of the fact that hygiene has been so extensively taught in the schools.

There has always been some incongruity in respect of the choice of food suitable to the nature of the climate. Africans in the Torrid Zone should not think, that what food Europeans take whilst out in Africa would just suit them also, nor also in the matter of the quality and quantity. Speaking generally there does not appear the exercise of that amount of discretion in the choice of the food taken and in proportion to balance the supply of the necessary vitamins calculated to the maintenance of good health. At the present time, whilst it is not so easy for young people to indulge extensively in the use of alcoholic stimulants on account of the expense, the facilities for the indulgence in "Sweets" are never greater.

Then in the matter of dress, the situation is in some cases simply ridiculous—How in a climate as ours often too variable and treacherous, one would find young people dressed in the manner some do, exposing those parts of the body—the back and feet most prominently —which even amongst soldiers—are best protected—passes one's comprehension; and yet this abnormal craze for fashion is certainly responsible for its toll in the death-rate.

Then, we would not have exhausted the probable causes which in our lay judgment may be responsible for such disappointing health conditions, if we failed to mention the increased indulgence in superstitious practices which in some respects goes to the extent of the administration of poison to the food or drink, or, by some other way effecting contact with the person, of the victim of either hate or selfish passion, masquerading in the name of "love." If one has read correctly the signs of the times it is the conviction which is becoming general that there has been an increase in indulgence in superstitious practices amongst young people who have got themselves engrained in the belief that some occult method might better further their interest in any enterprise, than the ordinary 'methods' which as professors of the Religion of Jesus Christ they ought to pin their faith on.

Now if these things are so, it is evident that in spite of whatever Medical Science may be able to do, conditions would still remain just as they are. And we want to think that we have arrived very near, if not entirely at the solution of the rather distressing state of affairs. It remains to invite some deep-searching self-examination that each one may to himself be true as to what his contribution has been in the present health condition in the city.

There is no reason why the death rate should be so high, seeing what facilities are offered by the Hospitals, Nursing Homes, Dispensaries, and the vendors of patent medicines. Our people need to revise their methods of living. Promiscuous or fast living should now be regarded as the highest stroke of tomfoolery—that would in a much quicker time afford employment to the undertaker. We have recently been favoured with the opportunity of being regaled with good and inspiring music at the Victoria Park—why then should so much people turn their steps to the cemeteries to bewail in agony the loss of their dear ones, rather than to take themselves to drink inspiration from the Muses at the Park. It is a painful and disappointing state of things and there is nothing for it, than that the people should help themselves out of the quandary—and thus help to secure a normal death-rate in the city.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

Jim Crow Extended to All Walks of Life in S. Africa

Sidewalks for Whites. Natives Get Lower Prices For All Goods They Sell. They Are Not Permitted to Open Stores. Not a Single Lawyer or Dentist Whites Now Demand Titles to All Lands.

Mrs. Julia Tyesi, a native of Norfolk, Va., who became a British subject through marriage to the Rev. David S. Tyesi, of Middle Drift, S. Africa, guest speaker at the AFRO Club, Saturday, related some of the evils of the white domination of the natives.

Before precious stones were found in South Africa, Mrs. Tyesi stated, white missionaries labored zealously for the spiritual uplift of the native people. Schools, colleges, hospitals ,industrial and medical missionaries are some of the gifts Christianity has given Africa. Such schools as Lovedale and Healdtown have received international fame.

No Voice in Government

At the termination of the Boer War in 1902, the speaker continued, the Dutch and English formed what is known as the Union of South Africa. Leaving Capetown in the hands of the English, the Dutch settled around Johannesburg.

This treaty had an ill effect on the native or Bantu people of South Africa. They had no voice in the government and were used only as farm hands, miners, dock workers, and domestic servants.

Gold and diamonds were accidentally discovered around Johannesburg. Their finding was a faith tester to consecrated missionaries whose aim was to industrialize and spiritualize the African. Men eager to get wealth rushed to South Africa from all parts of the world. Natives who formerly occupied the land were forced to move. Today Johannesburg has a population of more than 600,000 people, modern homes, paved streets, trolleys, trains and autos.

Evils of Civilization

Before the depression came, some natives received fairly good wages, Mrs. Tyesi continued, but the effect of the white man's civilization has had an evil effect on them morally. Natives, who beforehand had been ruled over by pagan laws are now through contact with so-called modern civilization, almost beyond hope. Crude as pagan laws were, they contained many good moral principles. Today, gambling, number playing and drunkenness are some of the crimes of civilization which natives add on to their own heathen vices.

With the Dutch and English in full control in South Africa, at times the law-making is extremely unpleasant for their native subjects, and they must stand firmly upon the principles of righteousness and prove to the world that they have been transformed by the gospel.

Some Progress Made

Several papers edited by natives keep the natives in touch with the current events of the day. Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, of Fort Hare College for natives, a teacher of Bantu languages, is a leader of no mean ability. Mrs. Jabavu, who finished a course of study in England, is now giving a good account of herself in child welfare work. Dr. Francis Gow, of Cape Town, and in fact the whole Gow family, have a record for service hard to beat.

"During my sojourn in So. Africa," the speaker proceeded, "I have met several of the A.M.E. Church bishops. Bishops Vernon, Gregg and Brooks have truly led their flocks into green pastures. Wilberforce school and the beautiful big Bethel Church at Cape Town are a credit to that denomination and a blessing to Africa.

Max Yergan

"Max Yergan, a briliant scholar, an American by bilrth, and his wife, are making a sacrifice that few desire to make. He is always found at his duty doing Y.M.C.A. work. If all of us could go to Africa and see just what condition our youth are in and see what a change has taken place since Mr. Yergan's coming, you would readily agree that Max Yergan is turning useless animal force into profitable brain force.

"The Rev. David S. Tyesi, who was born at Middle Drift, South Africa, came to America wth Dr. L. G. Jordan in 1904. He is a graduate of Lynchburg Seminary and married an American lady who is also a graduate of Virginia Seminary, Lynchburg. For ten years we have been in South Africa, rendering service. The Rev. Tyesi is founder of the Noah's Ark Bible Training and Industrial Schools, of Middle Drift and Dallas.

"Our work being exclusively among heathens has revealed to me the sad lot of those who forget God,' Mrs. Tyesi continued. "Polygamy witchcraft and fetishism are all susceptible to the gospel. The Rev. Tyesi believes that the gospel and the plow will save a man. The test has not been a failure. With the Rev. W. E. Lee, of Norfolk, Va., and the Rev. C. A. Lindsey, of Richmond, Va., aiding us, we hope to render a greater service in the future.

Two Native Classes

"There are two classes of natives in South Africa. Those who have been trained and have come under the influence of Christian missionaries. Second, those who still hold to their primitive customs and are called heathens.

"In Johannesburg, Cape Town, Kimberley, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, King William's Town and Alice, educated natives live just the same as American people. Beautiful homes, gardens with all manner of flowers and tropical fruits, pianos, many own cars, some even have radios in their homes. They have a monthly electric bill to pay just as Americans have.

Feeling of Insecurity

"Native teachers are employed by the government. Native nurses trained at the Victoria Hospital at Alice serve their people wonderfully well according to their ability. Various other positions of trust are held by capable natives, but with all this the native does not feel secure with new laws being continually formed against him and with race prejudice increasing.

Well Up On Garvey

"It is almost a mystery how firmly the Garvey spirit had influenced the native mind. Natives can tell you even today more about Garvey than they can about God. Since this movement, every precaution is taken to prevent American and West Indian Negroes from going to South Africa, even to do missionary work.

Kept Off Sidewalks

"Race prejudice in South Africa has taken on an exceedingly acute form. The whites are determined to possess the land and rule in their own way and for their own interest. In some sections natives are not allowed on the sidewalks. Street cars are used by whites only in Pretoria. On the trains he is Jim-Crowed.

Served Last in Stores

"Natives, when carrying livestock to the markets, receive a native price, which is generally low. In the stores he is always served last. Opening stores even among their own people is denied them, this privilege being reserved for traders.

"Unfortunately there is a standard of education reserved for natives only. There are more than 7,000,000 Negroes in South Africa. Out of this number five natives have crossed the high seas and returned to South Africa as medical doctors. The three I know are Dr. Molema, Dr. Xuma and Dr. Mashlangeni These doctors are doing exceptionally well.

"Dr. Malekebu is also doing wonders in Nyasaland. Several white physicians interested in natives, have asked that natives be permitted to go in for medical training in South Africa. This request has been flatly objected to.

Labor Unions

"The African is shut out from skilled labor of every kind in behalf of the white population. Certain laws render it very difficult for natives to succeed in the trades and higher callings. The trade unions are well organized and they watch every movement the natives make to compete with them. With such a condition many natives are on the verge of starvation. They hire themselves out to their employers for food only.

"Clements Kadalie, of East London, South Africa, secretary of the Independent Commercial Union, a native organization, appealed to the government to increase the natives' wages because of the high cost of living. Failure to do this resulted in a strike, the first of its kind in South Africa. Although it failed in its aim, the organization still moves on.

Not One Lawyer

"In the whole union of South Africa, there is not one colored lawyer. Natives get very little justice in the court-house. Whites get off easy for terrible offenses, while the natives are severely punished. White lawyers have shown the natives more than once that they are not in sympathy with them, but are there to reap only. American Negroes interested in Africa would do a wonderful piece of missionary work if they would aid financially some man or woman (native) who would like to take law at one of England's law schools for the welfare of the oppressed African in South Africa.

Use Rum for Toothache

"South Africa is without a colored dentist. Natives use from boiling hot water down to the white man's rum to ease a toothache. When this fails, he goes with a guinea in hand to have it pulled or filled. Few dentists believe in filling natives teeth. They just pull the mout telling the native they look smart without teeth.

Hair Dressers Needed

"For the past ten years, trained native women have become extremely interested in their outward appearance. Heated flat irons are seen shoving over milady's head with dexterity and skill. Disinterested parties have told little Miss native school girl that her appearance is better with her hair closely shorn, but milady doesn't believe this and with the patience of Job she seeks to straighten and lengthen her hair. With a good touch up the South African lassie would almost win first prize in any beauty contest.

White Meanness

"With 86 per cent of the land in the hands of his rulers and with scarcely enough left for himself the native finds himself almost a stranger in his own land," Mrs. Tyesi stated. "He is now demanded to give up his titles to his land. A law has been passed making it a criminal offense for a European to transfer or sell land to a native. The motive is to force natives on to the location or reserved land where filth is indescribable and where paganism is rampant. This would appear to be the limit of white meanness, but not so.

Unjust Taxation

"Laws have been passed to prohibit him from going from one district to another without a permit which is secured only with difficulty. Upon all this there is a land, poll, and hut tax of two pounds annually.

"With no work and the high cost of living in many instances, the native finds himself unable to pay the taxes. From three to six months imprisonment is the penalty for those unable to pay. At the expiration of that time he must pay his tax or be imprisoned again.

Gypped by Loan System

"A native is terribly afraid of being put in jail. In order to save himself he tries to get a loan of money on his live-stock. The white traders lend them money on their live-stock with a very high interest. If the money is not paid at the expiration of the time allowed, he is compelled to forfeit his cattle in the bargain. Many natives have lost all they had through this loan system.

"Ordained native ministers of the gospel are not exempted from this tax. Even widows have to pay ten shillings annually. Every male from 16 to 60 years comes under this native tax law. The contemptuous attitude of these tax collectors is at times almost unbearable. With the depression on, and with scarcely any work, the native feels that this tax law is a cruel exaction.

"The African knows he has been branded as a heathen but he feels he is not the only heathen.

Christianity's Progress Slow

"The African, being made to feel his inferiority in every possible way, is told to live the life of a civilized man. It is hard to be religious and live a civilized life under bad treatment. The Christian native tries to do this. The primitive native mingles his sorrows with Kaffir beer and the white man's rum and tries to forget his troubles. The plain and ugly fact is that Christianity is making little progress in South Africa, under such unhealthy conditions. I do not say that natives do not go to church, but they are not as responsive to the gospel as before. Civilization has so infringed on their personal liberties, until instead of being responsive, they are indifferent," concluded Mrs. Tyesi.

Comet
3-29-33
Maseru Basutoland
(Mochochonono)

Sometime ago our contemporary the "Basutoland News" made a strong criticism of the methods of the Basutoland Police force and suggested certain improvements in their methods. "Basutoland News" is noted for its moderation and constructive criticism but on the subject in point it must be admitted that it was rather too strong. Perhaps the reason for its scathing remarks was because of the increase of crime that has been noticeable in Basutoland during the recent years especially the increasing cases of burglaries which even placed trade at a disadvantage in this territory as we are told that one of the Insurance societies refused to accept fresh policies for insurance against burglaries in Basutoland as they had become so common that they indangered the progress of the said society. We, however, agree with our contemporary to a certain extend especially in advocating for modern methods of police.

As for the case of the burglary which took place in the office of the N.R.C. Ltd. Leribe which led to this strong remarks the methods employed by the burglars are such that we can hardly persuade ourselves to believe that the crime was committed by Natives. Although we cannot deny the presence of hardened criminals deported from the Union into this territory who, it must be admitted are more experienced in methods of crime than the ordinary Basuto yet we do not agree that the burglary was committed by Natives. We may be right or we may be wrong but it is not like Natives to sand bag people. If the Natives are driven to employ such desperate methods they ago to the very extreme of killing their victim, as it was the case at Thaba Tseka store some years ago. From reports it appears that the culprits at Leribe must have been people who are well acquainted with their victim and the places that he frequented to way-lay him in the street. That being the case it be may suspected that at least one of them must have been residing in Leribe, if not all, and if one of them had been residing in Leribe he could have been traced without much difficulty and arrested. Another point that may be brought up is that it is not the usual method of criminals to attack a man for the purpose of obtaining keys to open a safe unless they are perfectly sure that they would get what they wanted, and before doing that they must again be perfectly sure that the man kept the keys of his safe in his person. That knowledge therefore could be obtained by a person who was closelys connected with the victim. From our experience of criminology in Basutoland the burglars chiefly depend on their skill in smashing open the safe before attempting the burglary as they know that there is more risk in trying to obtain keys as they would leave some clues for police to work upon in tracing them.

The method employed that is sand bagging, is purely European and the police would be wise in their search to suspect European criminals in this case. If the crime was committed by Natives it may be assumed that they must have acted under the instructions of a European. If an experienced officer of the C.I.D. could be employed he would have no difficulty in tracing the criminals and running them to earth.

Basutoland should not be allowed to become a paradise for criminals. Native progress has already suffered from criminals and trade must not be allowed to be endangered by crime. The Government should give the matter serious consideration and take steps to combat in an effective manner the wave of crime that is sweeping the territory at present

The Comet
(Mochochonono)
5-3-33
Maseru,
Basutoland.

Then I did not go into the why's and wherefor's of its death. However, allow me to say since the 1930 conference of Congress at Bloemfontein and it was a success when Dr. Seme was elected President General, nothing has been done. As a matter of fact no sooner was he elected than he disappeared only to re-appear from "Nowhere" with a new programme for Congress. What he has done since 1930 to justify his re-election as President is left to him to tell.

But whatever the reasons for his re-election it cannot be denied that his first three years were years of barrenness, stagnation and sterility in the decadent life of Congress. The only thing that interests him for him to get on' in "get out."

In withholding my name it is for no reason other than that I am not seeking publicity and will therefore subscribe myself.

ANTI-BLUFF

Johannesburg

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

"RACE PROBLEMS Explore ACUTE IN SOUTH Nashville Tenn AFRICA"

Say Max Yergan and Oswin B. Bull, Interracial Leaders There

6-2-33

New York City, May 26—That the descendants of European whites and the Native (black) Bantu in South Africa are becoming increasingly conscious of their race problem and are trying to find a way out was made clear in speeches of Max Yergan, Y. M. C. A. Secretary, home on furlough from South Africa, and Oswin B. Bull, Director of Technical Education of the little protectorate of Basutoland, who were honor guests at the South African Interracial Dinner given on May 23 at the George Washington Hotel, New York City, by the Department of Race Relations, Dr. George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary, and the African Welfare Committee of the Federal Council of Churches. The dinner brought together nearly 200 of the outstanding white and Negro leaders of religious, civic and social life of greater New York and vicinity.

In welcoming the guests, Dr. Haynes said: "It is significant that we should honor on this occasion one leader trained in missionary institutions of America and another from the great university center at Cambridge, England, who for many years were united in friendship and activities in South Africa in trying to show how white and black in America have a common stake in solving their conflicting interests through the application of justice and goodwill to their problems."

Max Yergan, a graduate of Shaw University, who has spent twelve years developing Y. M. C. A. work among Bantu students in South Africa, said that the whites have complete control of political affairs and strictly regulate the economic life and all social life for their own advantage. The Native African Bantu, on the other hand, is conscious of his strength as a man, has a spirit which cannot be crushed, and has demonstrated his powers of adaptability. He pointed out that the Y. M. C. A. work in forty Native Student Associations and the presence of small groups of liberal-minded whites have been a great leaven in race contacts. He described the joint interracial councils of whites and Natives patterned after our interracial committees in America as indications of the goodwill which can be drawn upon.

"It is in this that America," said Mr. Yergan, "can contribute to the racial problem and thereby enter upon the opportunity which South Africa offers to the world today. In the relations between white and black or African and European, South Africa is faced with what is probably the most difficult racial problem in the world. The presence of two such divergent racial backgrounds, the absence of a common language and common social customs, and the superior numbers of the African Natives over the dominant whites—all tend to add tremendously to what is in itself a problem of the first magnitude.

"Here is the epitome of the world's problem of how two quite different races are to live together in the same country mutually helpful and sharing a common progress. The task of dealing with such a progress **as a result of white men's** that of helping the African adapt himself more rapidly through the development of leadership which is intelligent and cooperative; 2)—that of helping the European to allay his fears, overcome his prejudices, and act upon the principle that it is better for the African to progress **as a result of whit men's help rather than in spite of their opposition."**

Oswin Bull after describing conditions of life in Basutoland said that this country has never been conquered by whites and thus has always maintained its freedom and liberty. He also gave an interesting summary of plans now under contemplation for the training of tribal duties. Speaking of the Unfutre chiefs of Basutoland for their ion of South Africa, he said in part:

"South Africa is one of the chief stages on which the present great world process of interracial adjustment is being set out. The main theme is that of black and white but it has subsidiary though important themes of white and white (Dutch and English), Indian and white, Indian and Bantu, Bantu and colored (mixed bloods). In regard to the major question of black and white, South Africa is in the position of pointing the way for the rest of the great African Continent. Contact between black and white has been of longer duration and greater intimacy than in most other parts of Africa.

"White and black (Bantu) or both of them are comparatively newcomers to South Africa. The Bantu worked their way down from the central and more northern parts of the Continent while the white man was making sure of his hold upon its southern extremity. The Bushmen and the Hottentot were the original occupants of the land. The Bantu drove these before them or aside into the mountain caves and fastnesses; the white settlers drew the Hottentots somewhat unwillingly into their service. The stretch of the country where Bantu and white men met, and after repeated battles settled down to live alongside each other, is still termed the 'Border', in common parlance; and Fort Hare, one of the strong points along this 'Border' is now the site of the South African Native College, the one institution of university rank for the Native.

"Black and white are together in South Africa, and inseparably so. Their position has come about hitherto without any deliberate purpose or considered policy. The notable thing in the white world of South Africa during the past twenty-five years is that the 'Native problem' has become the acknowledged master problem of te land, claiming the thought, study and service of an increasing number of the finest sons and daughters of the white people.

Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, Secretary, Foreign Missions Department, Methodist Episcopal Church, was master of ceremonies. Included in the interesting program was prayer by the Rev. Channing H. Tobias, National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; a brief address by Rev. Fred S. Bunker, a pioneer in missionary and educational work in Portuguese West Africa; and greetings from Mr. J. E. Spingarn, donor of the Spingarn Medal awarded this year by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to Max Yergan. Mr. Spingarn expressed his pleasure that this year the Medal had been awarded to a "real American who happened to be of African descent who has gone back to Africa and there is teaching both white and black what the relations between races should be." Miss Ida E. Brown, mezzo soprano formerly of Seattle, Washington, rendered vocal selections, accom-

Africa Has Acute Race Problem

Jubilee

Claim Max Yergan and Oswin Bull at

6-1-33

N. Y. DINNER SPEECH

Savannah, Ga

Say African's Spirit Cannot Be Crushed

New York City, May 26—That the descendants of European whites and the native black Bantu in South Africa are becoming increasingly conscious of their race problem and are trying to find a way out was made clear in speeches of Max Yergan,, Y. M. C. A. secretary home on furlough from South Africa, and Oswin B. Bull director of technical education of the little protectorate of Basutoland, who were honor guests at the South African Interracial dinner given on May 23 at the George Washington Hotel, New York city, by the Department of Race Relations, Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary and the African Welfare Committee of the Federal Council of Churches. The dinner brought together nearly 200 of the outstanding white and Negro leaders of religious, civic and social life of Greater New York and vicinity.

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"It is in this that America," said Mr. Yergan "can contribute to the racial problem and thereby enter upon the opportunity which South Africa offers to the world today. In the relations between white and South Africa is faced with what is black or African and European, probably the most difficult racial problem in the world. The presence of two such divergent racial backgrounds, the absence of a com-

mon language and common social customs, and the numerical superiority of the African natives over the dominant whites—all tend to add tremendously to what is in itself a problem of the first magnitude.

"Here is the epitome of the world's problem of how two quite different races are to live together in the same country mutually helpful and sharing a common progress. The task of dealing with such a problem is at least twofold: (1) that of helping the African adapt himself more rapidly through the development of leadership which is intelligent and cooperative: (2) that of helping the European to allay his fears overcome his prejudices, and act upon the principle that it is better for the African to progress as a result of white man's help rather than in spite of their opposition."

Oswin Bull after describing conditions of life in Basutoland said that this county has never been conquered by whites and thus has always maintained its freedom and liberty. He also gave an interesting summary of plans now under contemplation for the training of future chiefs of Bantuland for their tribal duties. Speaking of the Union of South Africa, he said in part:

"South Africa is one of the chief stages on which the present great world process of interracial adjustment is being set out. The main theme is that of black an dwhite but it has subsidiary though important themes of white and white (Dutch and English), Indian and white, Indian and Bantu, Bantu and colored (mixed bloods). In regard to the major question of black and white, South Africa is in the position to pointing the way for the rest of the great African Continent. Contact between black and white has been of longer duration and greater intimacy than in most other parts of Africa.

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"Black and white are together in South Africa and inseparable so. Their position has come about hitherto without any deliberate purpose or considered policy. The notable 'Native problem' has become the acknowledged master problem of the land, claiming the thought, time and service of an increasing number of the finest sons and daughters of the white people.

Liberia Again.

THE affairs of Liberia are brought before the British public afresh this week in an article by Sir John Harris in the *Times*, to which that great newspaper gives large type and impressive headings. The "situation," Sir John says, is now officially admitted to be "desperate." (It is to be feared that the "situation" in most countries to-day, except, possibly, Palestine, is "desperate"). The Liberian Government has now, it seems, declined to do business further with the Government of the United States, having taken exception to the tone of a recent note from the United States' official representative. Further, the African republic, to our thinking unwisely, has formally appealed to the British, French, and German Governments for official courtesies on its behalf.

The latest crisis has its origin in the Firestone scheme. Sir John Harris says it is not true that that scheme is the first or the main cause of the troubles in Liberia, and he refers to this scheme as an attempt by Mr. Firestone to find a way of salvation for Liberia, and to a former enterprise, headed by Sir Harry Johnston, as an effort "to give economic stability to the Negro Republic." But surely in both cases the enterprise was conceived and prosecuted on business lines, in the hope of getting a profitable return on the shareholders' money? If the ruling motive was not this—perfectly respectable—business motive, but the "salvation" or "economic stability" of Liberia, it seems clear that the respective shareholders had ground for serious criticism. Be this as it may, what is clear is that differences of view between the Liberian Government and the Firestone Company, the world-wide drop in selling price of produce, and the blow to confidence represented by the finding of the Christy Commission, have combined to bring Liberia to a desperate condition. Trade, we are told, has dropped to about one-third of what it was in 1928. The revenue this year is expected to be between £20,000 and £25,000 less than is needed to meet loan interest. Liberia, of course, is unhappily far from being singular in either of these respects. The French and British Colonies on either side of her have also undergone much the same enormous shrinkage of trade turnover in the same period; and as to inability to meet obligations, the Secretary of State for the Colonies a few weeks ago in the House of Commons gave a list of 17 British Colonies and Protectorates (none of them in West Africa, we were glad to note) which during recent years have had to be given grants-in-aid. As one result of the shortfall in revenue, the article says, many of the Liberian officials have had salaries reduced by 50 per cent., and some have received of late no salaries at all. We do not find in the article any mention of reductions of the salaries of non-Liberian officials, nor do we note that loan interest has been lowered. As many of our readers have hard cause to know, European official salaries in British West Africa have been reduced, and posts have been retrenched, while the rates of interest on State loans in Great Britain and other non-African countries are now substantially lower than they were a year ago. The Gold Coast is even reducing savings bank interest. And we recall in the reports of the Council of Foreign Bondholders references to constituent countries of the United States which have never paid any interest at all, or returned the principal, in connection with public loans subscribed to by British investors as far as a couple of generations ago. Even so lately as Tuesday last we find Sir William Goschen expressing the hope, with regard not to Liberia but to countries almost incomparably more important, that the Economic Conference will devise means whereby Governments are precluded from "defeating the intentions of their contracts by throwing the burden of loss upon those who have trusted them." Liberia is not the only defaulter.

But "you're another" is rarely a very useful argument. The question is, Is there ground for hoping that Liberia can and will set its own house in order? The reply is that we do not know and cannot know until the new President, Mr. Barclay, has had his opportunity, and until world-trade revives. Sir John Harris holds that there is no ground for hope. "The Liberian experiment was a mistake from the first. . . . Until Liberia, as well as the civilised Powers, realises that the Sierra Leone plan was the only suitable one then and now, they cannot hope for the salvation of the Negro Republic of Liberia." We are not convinced that the original settlement of Liberia was foredoomed. During the earlier years, when the country was poorest in money, work was done which evoked general respect. It seems to us that a mistake which may have fatal effects was made when the earlier ways and ideals were abandoned. We read Sir John Harris's closing sentence as meaning that Liberia should voluntarily give up its independent status. As to that, every thinking person must realise that if League of Nations principles and practice are to be more generally adopted with the processes of the suns —and who dare face the prospect if they are not?— words such as "independence" and "nationality" must begin to wear a far more limited meaning, and we have no doubt that the "Sierra Leone plan" would mean a better material outlook for most of the present generation in Liberia. But if Liberia were ever so willing to cease existence as an independent State, is there the least likelihood that the European nations in general, and the United States, would allow any change to begin and end with Liberia? Is the world prepared for the re-opening of territorial questions in tropical Africa as a whole?

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Nigeria Letter.

Animal Health in Nigeria.

Although the report on the Veterinary Department of Nigeria for 1931 is late in publication, it none the less affords interesting information to many outside the Northern Provinces of the fine progress that is being made there in cattle-immunisation against the prevalent diseases. In all, 277,778 animals received protection from rinderpest, 385,966 from black-quarter, 49,753 from pleuro-pneumonia, and 11,190 from hæmorrhagic septicæmia; while 8,886 were treated for trypanosomiasis and 1,095 for piroplasmosis. Obviously, to maintain immunity, it will be necessary to inoculate each new generation, while the establishment of ports of entry along the French border is desirable, but steps to secure these two benefits are already being taken.

With the intelligent co-operation of the Native Administrations, systems of hides and skins inspection have been started, and research into skin diseases should soon do something to reduce conditions that make over a third of the goatskins worthless to the tanner. The establishment of animal clinics, too, is reducing the waste from other preventible disorders, and the organisation of a ghee depot at Vom, where local butter is clarified, marks the possibility of a useful new minor production in the North. The possibility of a meat industry has also been discussed by a commercial firm, and might prove beneficial to the producer, who would be spared the loss of time and animal condition caused by the long trek to the Southern Provinces.

The livestock census of Northern Nigeria at the end of 1931 was 2,920,648 cattle, 1,965,026 sheep, 5,267,411 goats, 198,267 horses, 538,698 donkeys, 2,288 camels, 36,720 swine, 54 ostriches, and 34 mules.

A. M. E. Church Laymembers' Conference.

The Comet (Incorporating)

May 27th 28th in the Bantu Men's Social Centre Johannesburg.

5-10-33

The Laymembers' Department has arranged a programme for a Conference to be held in the Bantu Men's Social Centre. This Conference is an epoch making in the church. Men will talk on things that matter very much in the churches of all denominations to-day. Speakers come from far and near to help the work along, some of them are men who have spent the best of their lives in the Mission Field, they will discuss every topic freely. Missionaries of other churches have been asked to render their services for that day and to encourage such a conference even in their own denominations.

The conference will be entertained in music by the Wilberforce Institution Choir, and their choir has especially been asked to prepare the Negro Soirituals for that occasion.

A Banquet will be given on Saturday evening, the 27th on behalf of Bishop D. H. Sims, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., the President Bishop of the Fifteenth District. We are hoping that Dr. Tantsi, who is one of the few remaining stalwarte of the church, will arrange his schedule in such a way that it will be possible for him to attend. We shall also be pleased to see the leaders of the Bantu race attend this conference, so that they can learn or give something to the anxious youth of the A.M.E. Church. Ministers of all denominations have also been invited to participate in this great work.

The Presiding Elder for the Pretoria District has promised to attend with most of his men from that District, several Presiding Elders have written but are not definite, as they have to alter their schedules a little bit. We are hoping that Dr. Gow, the Bishop's Secretary will also be in time for this Conference. Few pieces will be rendered by him.

McNeil Bureng Monyake
Secretary.

'The Comet.'

Maseru, Basutoland.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1933

Bantu Advancement.

The Comet

Writing in the "*Bantu World*" of the 29th April about Native advancement in the North Professor E. Brookes says: 5-10-33

Many readers of the "Bantu World" will be aware of the fact that there is a Native Development Department in Southern Rhodesia, the whole object of which is to help the Bantu population along the road of progress. Its work is not only educational in the narrower sense of that word but it also takes an interest in agriculture in health and in social welfare of every kind.

Three years ago there were only ten Native Demonstrators at work in Southern Rhodesia. The 1932 report of the Director of Native development shews that there are to-day thirty-seven demonstratoion centres in Native reserves and two on Mission stations. Thirty-two are in training at the two Government Training Institutions at Tjolotjo and Domboshawa.

Domboshawa itself is a most interesting place. From the beginning the authorities have tried to work through the Natives themselves, and not go further than they were able to follow. So they began with very simple buildings which the students could put up, and are improving every year. A few months ago when I visited Domboshawa the boys were building an elaborate brick house and building it very well.

The average enrolment there last year was 219. The students work fourty-two and half hours a week—quite a good week's work. In addition to the ordinary students and those training to be agricultural demonstrators, there are a number of men training to be Jeans Teachers. These teachers live in a little village of their own. Their wives and children accompany them to the School. While the men go on with their studies, their wives are given the opportunity of learning more about homecraft, hygiene and first aid, so that they may be well-equipped helpers in their husbands' work when the College Course is finished.

Community Service.

For the Jeans teachers are expected to give a great deal of their time to social work—what are called "community activities." Their job is to visit the ordinary schools and help the teachers. They are not Inspectors, and the teachers learn not to be afraid of their visits, as they are in the case of a harsh Inspector, and sometimes—very foolishly—in the case of

a wise and kind one. The Jeanes teachers are supposed to take specimen lessons themselves, to meet the parents, to organise all kinds of social gatherings, to help the parents to co-operate with each other and with the School. In Rhodesia they feel that it is a mistake to keep the School separate from the life of the people. A teacher who takes his work in the right way will not be satisfied just to teach the children and do nothing at all outside School hours. He will get to know the parents, and will help them. He knows quite well that all that he can do in the School may be spoilt by the influence of a bad home. As one of the few educated men including the village, he is marked to be a leader, and the Jeans teacher comes round to remind him of that, and to help him to do it.

Gift of Miss Jeanes.

I have mys lf seen these Jeanes teachers at work in America, where they first came into being. I remember going on one bright autumn day in Virginia to watch how the Jeanes teacher handled the local School, and I feel sure that the system is a good one. Miss Anna Jeanes, the Quaker lady who left her money to pay for the training and employment of these teachers, did a very fine thing, and now, as a result, her name is remembered with honour not only in her own country, but in many parts of Africa. Here are a few facts about the activities of the year at Domboshawa.

In one year, 84,000 bricks of good quality and 17,200 green bricks were made. The building work done during the year covered 53,000 cubic feet. The maize crop yield (manured) on the demonstration plots, which in 1928-9 was 8.4 bags, was last year 20.0 bags, an interesting proof of the value of looking after your ground. It is interesting to notice how much lower the yield of the unmanured maize was—6.3 bags in 1928-9 and 13.0 bags last year. Sweet potatoes rose during the same period from 6 tons to 7.75 tons, kaffir corn from 3.25 bags to 7.3 bags, and peanuts from 5.5 bags to 19.0 bags

During the year over 10,000 trees were planted out including eucalyptus, jacaranda, poinsettia, pine and cypress. A beginning was made in selling seeds in the Reserve adjoining the School, and the local Farmer's Association with a membership of fity meets once a week at the School to discuss agricultural problems.

I conclude with an extract from the Inspector's Report about the work of the Jeanes teachers in the Districts during the year:—

Parents' School Day.

"The Circuit Inspector, Gwelo, claims that the outstanding feature of the year has been the improvement of fifty Schools and their communities through the work of five Jeanes teachers. He illustrates this fully from the double angle of School and community; describes a successful industrial and agricultural exhibition held, and speaks favourably of the qualities of leadership displayed by the men. The Matebeleland Inspector speaks of the raising of School standards by the Jeanes teachers, describes the inauguration of parents' days at the Schools (on one occasion five schools co-operating and 500 people being present). Refers to the enthusiasm which accompanied the building of better schools, and claims that undoubtedly the work of these men has been most beneficial." —*"Bantu World"*

Future of the Educated African

H.E. Sir Donald Cameron delivered an important address, which has made a deep impression on the educated African community at the Igbobi College Speech Day, on April 1. After congratulating the two missionary bodies, whose co-operation has enabled the college to achieve such excellent results through this year, His Excellency referred to the land, the native administrations and technical services as providing the most wonderful opportunities to the youth of the country for the exercise of their talent. He was particularly strong in his denunciation of the tendency of educated youths to drift to the towns to swell the already over-crowded ranks of clerks where they had only a very restricted scope of usefulness to the country. There were hundreds of thousands of acres in the country, waiting to be served by educated Nigerians and those who were not afraid to work, he said would always reap a fair return from their labours.

The educated youth, living in the tribal community from which he sprang had, he said, greater opportunities of exerting useful influence with his own people than he could ever hope to achieve as a clerk in the towns. His Excellency also referred to the opportunities offered by the Native Administration, urging the youth of the country to join in the great work of shaping the foundations for the new social order that is growing up.

At the conclusion of the Governor's address the prizes were distributed by Lady Cameron, and a vote to thanks to Their Excellencies was proposed by Mr. Henry Carr. A distinguished gathering also included the Bishop of Lagos, the Ven. Archdeacon S. C. Phillips, the Rev. J.P. Shrimpton, Chairman of the Board of Governors, Mr. C. W. Leese Colonial Treasurer, Mr. C. B. Smith Deputy Director of Education, Sir Kitoyi and Lady Ajasa, the Hon. E. O. Moore, Mr. J. N. Panes Principal of King's College, Lagos, Rev. Father Leo Taylor Principal of St. Gregory's College, and Dr. and Mrs. R. M. L. Macaulay.

Gold Coast Independent
Date 3-32
Gold Coast West Africa

Race Problem - 1933

African

Uncertainty of Education in Basutoland.

The Comet
3-15-33.
Maseru
Basutoland

The Editor, "Mochochonono,"

Sir allow me a space in your influential organ to express my views with reference to the above mentioned heading "Uncertainty of educationi n Basutoland."

Unless education in Basutoland totally and fully falls into the hands of the Government it is but true to conclude its welfare and prosperity will never be reached. As long as the following aspects will ever remain in existence—namely (a) denominational prejudice, (b) the limitations and ignorance of the bulk of the native population, immature teachers-uncertainty and unreliability of Basutoland education will never come to a termination. There are three outstanding missions in the territory which if they do not form themselves into a sort of coalition, surely there will be nothing of paramount importance that will ever be attained. "Union is strength? The missionaries do not pull together. Each of the three missions aims towards individual success—not for the mass—as long as kabelo is paid by the members of the congregation the missionaries' soul is at paradise. No heed is paid to the schools under his control and supervision. But to speak fairly,-there is no church without school-as there is no school without it. The majority of teachers, it is amazing and probably shameful to reveal that they are immature. Most of them even in appearance are hygienically unsuitable to lead the new generation. Speaking boldly I should say, some of them look like stable or kitchen boys. How can the blind lead the blind? It is intellectually a matter of impossibility for a Std IV, V or VI teacher to reach both the full development and management of the school. Unless the schools in Basutoland become amalgamated, nothing of the fundamental value will be attained but instead of that there will be a collapse.

In addition, let me bring a little touch in connection with the modern classification of schools—namely intermediate and elementary vernacular schools. This recent classification is a poison if not annihilation towards the future prosperity of the present generation. Comparatively to the old system, there is and only a great deal Before these schools were established in 1927 every Mosuto child could with ease pass his or her Std VI, because, able and well trained, teachers were allowed to teach as far as Std VI.

Until education in the above mentioned territory fully falls into the hands of the Government and schools become amalgamated--no prosperity for the future generations but only a collapse.

C. M. T. MOLAPO.

Education in Basutoland.

The Comet
3-15-33
Basutoland

In this issue of our paper we are publishing two letters on the above subject one dealing with Intermediate Schools in Basutoland while the other deals with elementary vernacular schools in this Territory. There is yet another letter on the same subject which owing to lack of space we have not been able to publish during this week.

The letter dealing with the subject of Intermediate Schools discusses congestion in the Mafeteng Government Intermediate School where over one hundred children who had passed their standard III examination in the two local elementary schools last year were seeking admission in the Government Intermediate School and only 50 of that number were admitted and over sixty of them were unable to obtain admission. The same congestion as that at Mateteng was experienced here in Maseru and nearly fifty children from the outside schools could not gain admission. The probabilities indicate that this will be a yearly experience and the authorities are confronted with the problem of this yearly over-flow of children desiring to proceed with their education, and whose parents are paying an annual education levy of 3/-. If congestion is experienced in this year when the people are hard hit by depresion and lack of food resulting from the prolonged and unprecedented drought, how much more will there be in normal years?

That classification of schools in Basutoland for the purpose of improving Native education is a success is clear, and, what a disappointment will it be if such a marked success could be discouraged by lack of facilities for children to obtain education in the Intermediate schools because these have not sufficient room to absorb all or a great number of children desiring improve themselves.

We are quite aware at present that the authorities are unable to meet the position owing to economic reasons, but this is not sufficient excuse for pressing matters such a this to be shelved indefinitely.

Our correspondent suggests that the existing Government Intermediate schools be extended so as to admit of more children and that higher classes like standard VII be introduced. As funds may not at present permit of extension buildings being undertaken he suggests that a leave could be taken out of the Union's book in this connection by way of hiring buildings to accommodate the overflow of children and that the staff be increased accordingly. We are wondering whether it could be possible to get a building that would be suitable even if the Government would be willing to adopt the suggestion? But where such a building could be obtainable it would be a wise policy to do so. The position must be faced. Another alternative that the government can fall to and which appear to be the least expensive is that of converting more missionary elementary schools into Intermediate schools, but unfortunately that would mean reverting to the old and discarded system which has already proved to be a failure.

As for elementary schools the writer deals with a subject that has been dealt with from time to time by the Basutoland Council and their criticism of the methods of staffing these elementary schools have not helped to change the position. The stumbling block has always been insufficient funds and the desire to bring education within reach of every tax payer, a system which is, of course, unwise and ought not to have been adopted.

While at present education in Basutoland is almost entirly financed by the Government it has, however, been found difficult to take it out of the missionary hands and bring it exclusively under the Government, but we think it is time the principle recently introduced by the Government of placing the school under the management of a committee of parent out to be gradually extended to the missionery Schools, so that the people who are bearing the burden of taxation may have a voice in the schools The system at present in vogue among the missionaries of placing schools under the management of consistories is not productive of good results It is an admitted fact that most of the members of the consistories are not enlightened enough to be entrusted with schools, and in this way the missionary or pastor becomes the sole person responsible for the management of the schools and the parents point of view is not represented. It is for this reason that squables and wranglings and not infrequently discontents among the people about their village schools and the type of teachers with whom the education of their children is entrusted. Sometimes the school loses the services of a teacher that

they esteem for the reason that some how or other he is not in good terms with an evangelist who is a proxy to the Pastor in charge, and there is enough evidence in support of this fact.

We are hoping that the Government will recognise the interest the Basuto are taking in matters of education and that they will see their way to consider the criticisms brought to their notice with a view to bringing about the desired improvement or some other schemes that they consider best suited to bring about the desired effect. Let us move with the times and do away with the antiquated methods that have proved to be useless.

Education

INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL AT MAFETENG.

The Comet

Masuto Land

There are, this year, one hundred and eleven standard IV scholars seeking for a place in the local Intermediate school, and of these only fifty of them could be admitted and have been admitted There is no room for sixty-one applicants. These applicants are from two local Elementary schools and the local second grade schools of the P.E.M.S. and Anglican schools. Now just think of the district as a whole!

These are missionary intermediate schools in the district, but these have specialized themselves in no other way from the old Basutoland syllabus. They are still subjected to spare time teaching as of old. They are privileged to employ the name "Intermediate" but they do not enjoy the senior syllabus, that is, the Cape Syllalus. The class ave no whole time teachers.

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Mr Editor, are not the opponents of the intermediate schools answered? they dare not now turn their faces again a step farther in the furtherance of public feeling which accentuated this intermediate training in Basutoland. Your reporter is not fully informed of the position in Maseru but there are reasons to believe that they have a great overflow there too.

Now I ask myself a question, shall the promoters of intermediate course follow the old, admittedly, mistaken policy of building schools in every village or will they develop the existing intermediate course! it is not the quantity of schools we are after. It is the quality that we are aiming at. The agriculturist motto is "never mind how many lands you have, sow in the one land that you have properly worked. Success does not depend upon the number of lands but upon the amount of work done to improve the soil. This is exactly what we expect in education. Before suggesting something fresh one should deal with the overflow of scholars. We, all are aware of depression, but nevertheless consideration must be taken of those affected parents, who must, come what may, carry out their obligations educationally. We have already stated the reasons why parents and children must aspire for a place in the government intermediate schools. The government should follow the lead of other Educationists. For instance O.F.S. Primary schools do not send back children to their homes because classrooms are full. They hire rooms and add teachers. This is really what should be done at Mafeteng and Maseru. The government, like anybody else, must face the burdens of its parental status boldly. It is only fair that these scholars just as those who are admitted, should receive whole time attention.

Money Lending in the Gold Coast

By "MALLOKU"

Money lending is undoubtedly playing a very great part in the ruin of the economic condition of some of the people of the Gold Coast, and the reaction is bound to be felt on the progress of the country generally. Already many individuals have been ruined who have resorted to money lenders, from whose clutches they have been unable to extricate themselves. At the present time, the Government clerk, by reason of the security of his employment and the award of gratuity and pension is considered the most favoured prey of money lenders.

At some stage in almost every man's life, circumstances force him to incur debt. In recent years, however, this state of affairs has been accelerated by the world-wide economic depression and the unreasonably low wages being offered to African workers, so that it is not surprising that a good number of the African community in the Gold Coast are encumbered with debt. Another factor is the communal system in the Gold Coast, by which the fittest in a "family" are bound to shoulder the responssbilities of the unfortunate ones. Thus a responsible person in a "family" may be compelled to raise a loan to cover the debts and discrepancies of another member of the "family."

The unscrupulous methods of some of the money lenders in the Gold Coast are worth examining. They commence business sometimes with a capital of £20 or less. This is increased by means of exorbitant rates of repaying instalments, which enable them to turn over the money to others on similar terms. The standard rate of interest for long or short-term loans is 50 per cent., though this rate has been exceeded. Apart from these extraordinary terms the borrower must first pay a 'drink,' consisting of anything from five to ten per cent. of the money to be advanced. There is also a further 'drink,' varying from £1 to £5, to be given to the persons who stand as guarantors for the repayment of the debt. Thus, the amount of interest may be reckoned at between 70 and 80 per cent. It is worthy of note that rarely is the amount borrowed and the interest charged thereon stipulated separately in the documentes drawn up for these transactions; when it is done at all, care is taken to describe part of the insterest as the principal, in order that the amount of interest may appear insignificant when, as so often happens, the document is produced in a court of law. It is well known that a Government clerk stands the more and more involved.

Reform is Essential

One case which recently came to the writer will be of interest. A clerk incurred a loan of £20 from a money lender and he was required to repay the loan, plus £10 interest, in four monthly instalments of £7 10s. The borrower was earning £10 a month, and the lender was fully aware of that fact. Yet the nothing less than the £7 10s. a month.

There is urgent need for reforming the whole business of money lending. Legislation should be passed which makes it essential for money lenders to be licensed.

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The unscrupulous methods of some of the money lenders in the Gold Coast are worth examining. They commence business sometimes with a capital of £20 or less. This is increased by means of exorbitant rates of repaying instalments, which enable them to turn over the money to others on similar terms. The standard rate of interest for long or short-term loans is 50 per cent., though this rate has been exceeded. Apart from these extraordinary terms the borrower must first pay a 'drink,' consisting of anything from five to ten per cent. of the money to be advanced. There is also a further 'drink,' varying from £1 to £5, to be given to the persons who stand as guarantors for the repayment of the debt. Thus, the amount of interest may be reckoned at between 70 and 80 per cent. It is worthy of note that rarely is the amount borrowed and the interest charged thereon stipulated separately in the documentes drawn up for these transactions; when it is done at all, care is taken to describe part of the insterest as the principal, in order that the amount of interest may appear insign ficant when, as so often happens, the document is produced in a court of law. It is well known that a Government clerk stands the chance of losing his job when reported of incurring debt or when an action for debt is taken against him.

There are innumerable instances the notice of the writer will be of interest. A clerk incurred a loan of £20 where a debtor, already heavily involved with one lender, goes to another in order to borrow money to pay off the original loan. Thus his liabilities increase and he becomes from a money lender and he was required to repay the loan, plus £10 interest, in four monthly instalments of £7 10s. The borrower was earning £10 a month, and the lender was fully aware of that fact. Yet the nothing less than the £7 10s. a month.

There is urgent need for reforming the whole business of money lending in the Gold Coast. At the present time, young men are having their future careers blasted by exorbitant demands from money lenders. Legislation should be passed which makes it essential for money lenders to be licensed.

The West African Review

Race Problem - 1933

Abyssinia

Africa

Ethiopian Ambassador Arrives In Washington On Courtesy Visit

By CHARLES STEPHENSON SMITH
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 18.—(AP)—Ras Destu Demtu, son-in-law and special ambassador of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, was received in Washington today with pomp and pageantry in keeping with the rank of a member of the most important royal family in Africa.

He came to this country to return the visit of the special American mission which attended the coronation of his father-in-law three years ago.

The Army Band played the Ethiopian national anthem as the visitor emerged from the Union Station dressed in his native costume.

He was greeted by cheers of hundreds of sightseers who had been attracted by the squadron of cavalry and company of marines which awaited him at the presidential entrance.

Ras Destu, which in English is King Destu, is a dignified swarthy man of 40 with a smartly trimmed Van Dyke beard and an easy, regal bearing. He wore tight white trousers and a white tunic over which was thrown a long black cape richly embroidered in gold. His hat was a white sun helmet encircled by a heavy gold sash.

William Phillips, acting secretary of State, accompanied the visitor out of the station, and they stood at attention while the band played the Ethiopian anthem and then posed for photographers.

Ras Destu good-naturedly shook hands with the acting Secretary of State repeatedly at requests from the cameramen which were translated into French, the only foreign language which he understands well.

Requests for a smile were immediately complied with by the visitor, who had long training as a camera subject during the coronation of his father-in-law.

Ras Destu was accompanied by Ato Paulos Manamano, the Ethiopian consul general at Jerusalem, who speaks English and wore the conventional morning attire of a Western gentleman, and a youthful Ethiopian messenger who wore white trousers. A simple white tunic, a white scarf draped about his shoulders and a large broad-brimmed black hat not unlike those generally worn in Spain.

Ras Destu will lunch with President Roosevelt at the White House tomorrow and at night will be the guest of Phillips at a dinner in the Pan-American Building.

He will return to New York Friday after visiting the Naval Academy at Annapolis, the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon and the tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington.

The Ethiopian mission arrived in New York today on the steamer Majestic and was escorted to Washington by Jefferson Patterson, of the protocol division of the State Department.

Items Recalled About Abyssinia

Empire Is Cited as Sole Feudal State Now In Existence

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The visit of Prince (Ras) Desta Demtu, son-in-law of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Abyssinia, draws attention to that ancient and yet little known empire. Ras Desta made the long voyage from the heart of Africa to Washington for no other purpose than to return officially the visit of the Special Diplomatic Mission which President Hoover dispatched in the Fall of 1930. The mission was headed by H. Murray Jacoby as Special Ambassador and included Brig. Gen. William Wright Harts and Charles Lee Cooke, ceremonial officer of the State Department.

The coronation was one of the great diplomatic and brilliant events, representatives from fourteen nations vying to pay homage to the newly crowned Emperor, Great Britain being represented by the Duke of Gloucester, Italy by the Prince of Udine and France by Marshal Franchet d'Esperey.

Remains a Feudal State.

Abyssinia is in a class by itself, representing today a truly feudal State, much like Germany under Karl V. When the Emperor was crowned in 1930 four of the great Princes (Rases) were simultaneously crowned Kings.

The Emperor is a hard worker who with unbounded energy tries to lift his 10,000,000 subjects to a higher state of civilization. Far from following the policies of some of the older régimes which provided a closed door policy, he is inviting all the world to help him in the great task of modern development. An American educational adviser, Dr. Work, and a financial adviser, Everett Colson, have been engaged to help matters along.

The 488-mile long Franco-Ethiopia Railroad connects the capital with the coast town of Djibouti in French Somaliland. Roads and more roads are the crying needs of the country. The principal export items are hides, coffee and civet, while the main import products are corrugated iron and cotton goods. The twenty million dollar dam project of the J. G. White Engineering Corporation, providing for the damming of Lake Tsana to irrigate the valley of the Blue Nile, is now one of the principal American interests.

Racially the Abyssinians are classed as of Semitic-Hamitic origin. There are twelve major languages and 130 different dialects. The principal language spoken is Amheric, somewhat related to Arabic; there is also Ghez, a dead language like Latin, spoken by the priests only.

The Abyssinians are Coptic Christians, having been converted to Christianity by St. Philip. The head of their church, the Abuna, is always appointed by the Patriarch of Cairo. Historically, Abyssinia's history is primarily a story of constant struggle to preserve Christianity against the onslaught of Mohammedan invasion.

FRIEND OF ABYSSINIA.

New York, Aug. 4, 1933.

HAS INTERVIEW WITH NEW YORK EDUCATOR; SAILS

Ring of Pure African Gold Presented To Dr. W. N. Huggins

Special to Journal and Guide

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Prince Desta Demtu, of Ethiopia, recently here as special ambassador of Emperor Haille Selassie I, of Ethiopia, granted an audience last week to Dr. Willis N. Huggins, member of the Department of history and economics, New York City high schools and president of the New York branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Dr. Huggins and Ato Oualdo Ghergis, native Abyssinian resident of Buffalo, New York, were closeted with His Highness for more than an hour in the Prince's suite in the Hotel St. Moritz, 59th Street and Central Park, South.

While partaking light refreshments with the Prince, Ato Manamano, Ethiopian Consul to Jerusalem and Ato Halaku Bayen, special Abyssinian representative and interpreter during the visit, Dr. Huggins informed the distinguished visitors of the status of the Negro race in this country.

Prince's Message

An invitation was extended to the royal party to visit Harlem but the press of direct official obligations made this impractible. However the Prince authorized the following statement which is substantially the same as that given to Dr. Huggins by the Ethiopian mission in 1919.

"On the part of the Ethiopian Empire we desire to express the satisfaction we have felt upon hearing of the wonderful progress the Africans have made in this country.

"It gives us great confidence in the government of the United States to know that through the independence given you by America, you have increased in numbers and developed in education and prosperity.

Biblical Reminder

"We want you to remember us after we have returned to our native country. In order to help you to do this we suggest that you turn to your Bible and in our memory, read to yourselves from time to time, the first chapter of the first Epistle of John. This is the first thing read by our children after they have learned the alphabet, and is called the 'Alphabet of the Apostles.'

"Please also tell this to such of your friends whom we did not have the opportunity to see and kindly convey to them our farewell."

Presents Gold Ring

At the close of the interview His Highness personally placed a ring of pure Abyssinian gold on Dr. Huggins' finger as a memento of the occasion. The Prince sailed July 28th on the Isle de France.

Dr. Huggins and Capt. Arthur P. Hayes, U. S. cavalryman and instructor of military tactics, 2nd Area Corps, U. S. Army, Governor's Island, were on hand to wish the Prince bon voyage. They presented him with a large basket of flowers draped in the national colors of Ethiopia.

SLAVE RAIDS IN THE SUDAN

Governor's Report

The Manchester Guardian Weekly

8-18-33

Manchester England

During 1932, according to the report of the Governor General of the Sudan for the year, raids across the Abyssinian border gave much anxiety to the Government, and "the lack of administrative control by the Ethiopian Government over turbulent tribes and chieftains was responsible for a number of incidents of some gravity."

The ruling caste on the Abyssinian side is known as Watawit, and the most troublesome for them are the people of Sheikh Khogali-el-Hasan in the district of Beni Shangul. They are Arabic-speaking Mohammedans, whose forbears migrated from the Northern Sudan and settled there early in the nineteenth century, subjugated and enslaved the older negroid inhabitants, and still exercise a feudal lordship over them. Beni Shangul was part of the Sudan until 1897, and the Watawit claim rights of ancestral right, lordship of much of the land on the Sudan side of the frontier and of the negroid tribes who live there.

Although the boundary is demarcated and well known, it is resented by the Watawit as an obstacle to the exercise of their pretensions to ownership and exploitation of the black tribes. Sheikh Khogali-el-Hasan is not only the most important chieftain by hereditary right but also the official representative of Ethiopian authority.

In March last year, the report states, a raiding party of Abyssinian anuak penetrated seventy miles into Sudan territory and fell upon the Beir cattle camps, where they killed seventeen men and captured nineteen women and forty-eight children. They also drove off large numbers of stock. The example of their Abyssinian congeners had an unsettling effect on the Sudan anuaks of the Akobo area, who immediately carried out a similar raid on another section of the Beir.

In June a number of armed retainers of the Abyssinian Watawit, instigated and abetted by the Watawit inhabitants of Shima itself, descended upon that village, which is on the Sudan side of the frontier near Kurmuk and forcibly abducted the Berta (negroid) inhabitants to the number of nine men, thirteen women, and twenty-one children.

The report adds: "One of the perpetrators, a so-called soldier of Sheikh Mohammed-el-Mahdi Khogali, was captured in the Sudan and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, and five of the abducted men and seven women later succeeded in escaping back to Sudan territory. But the remainder are still in captivity, and although the names of the Watawit instigators and most of their henchmen are well known, it was impossible to bring them to book and to secure the restoration of the captives. Representations were addressed to Addis Ababa, but Sheikh Khogali-el-Hasan evaded the issue by denials and procrastinating replies. In August the retainers of the same people who had instigated the raid on Shima abducted two more women from Sudan villages in the same area.

"Another incident for which the people of Sheikh Khogali were responsible had occurred in March in the area south of Kurmuk, where Khogali's district marches with the Upper Nile province. The village inhabited by negroid Koma. Four armed men, of whom two were men of the village followed the raiding guards employed at Kawa, a frontier post party, and in the course of the pursuit of Sheikh Khogali's, entered Sudan territory. A fight crossed into Ethiopian territory. A fight a report to Addis Ababa, represented this ory and abducted five women from a took place near Kawa in which two of incident as an unprovoked attack by

Prince In Colorful Array White House Luncheon Guest

Son-In-Law of Ethiopian Ruler Brings Along Lion Skins For Roosevelt As Diplomacy Survives Despite Many Difficulties.

BY HARRY FERGUSON.
United Press Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, July 21.—Diplomacy survived a crisis today when President Roosevelt and Prince Ras Desta Demtu of Ethiopia managed to have lunch [illegible] fact neither of them was indisposed and the other was on a partial religious fast.

Mr. Roosevelt, who has been slightly ill for four days, invited Secretary of Navy Swanson, Acting Secretary of State Phillips and a group of army and navy officers to meet the prince. The latter is the son-in-law of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah and Defender of the Faith.

Reports drifting out of the White House dining room indicated that the prince was enjoying American food despite his partial fast. Usually, when fasting, he eats only thin slices of toast and drinks orange juice.

Where's the Horse?

Two things worried Washington today. The first was what kind of costume the prince would wear to a luncheon. When he arrived four days ago, he was wearing a pair of riding breeches, a white hat and a dark, knee-length coat. Why he selected riding breeches for a train trip remains unexplained.

But the next day he did a quick-change act and appeared in a three-foot hat of lion skin, satin trousers and a waist-length coat. No one was surprised when he showed up in tight-fitting white trousers, and white coat embroidered with green. What did come as somewhat of a shock was the fact that the prince chose a pith helmet similar to those used by African lion hunters. On the front of the helmet was the Golden Star of Judah.

The second mystery was also quickly solved. It concerned a box which the prince had been jealously guarding since his arrival. Today the secret came out. In the blue room of the White House, while the Marine Band was still blaring the Ethiopian national anthem, the prince opened the box.

He took out two lion skins and handed them to President Roosevelt. The president said that he was delighted to have two lion skins, especially since the prince had gone to the trouble of killing the lions himself.

Then the prince took out a photograph of Emperor Haile Selassie, elaborately framed in gold, and handed that to Mr. Roosevelt. The president said that he was delighted to have that, too.

The prince bowed low, almost to the top of his patent leather shoes, and said that he was delighted to give the president two lion skins.

Then everybody went into lunch.

The prince's visit was made to thank the United States for sending a delegation to the recent coronation of Emperor Haile Selassie. It was a timely visit, for during the coronation the dark clouds of controversy blotted out the sunlight between Ethiopia and the U. S. A. That was all caused by Col. Hubert Julian, an American negro aviator, who went over for the coronation.

Why the "Colonel."

At that time the emperor was building up an airplane fleet and to Colonel Julian (where the "Colonel" was acquired by the flier has never been solved) the emperor accorded the honor of flying his favorite plane. The Colonel made a glorious takeoff amid loud cheers, both Ethiopian and American. Then he did a power dive right in front of the emperor's throne.

Unfortunately the colonel did not halt the power dive, but left that function to Mother Earth. Result: A bad crack-up in which the plane was hurt much worse than was the colonel.

The emperor banished the colonel right on the spot and it looked like international complications would ensue. Not until weeks later did the reason for the emperor's wrath become known. It seems that the Ethiopian air force was not as extensive as had been presumed, and was, in fact, confined to one plane. In a single power dive, the colonel had rendered the Ethiopian air force extinct.

But Mr. Roosevelt and the prince patched that all up today and it was reliably reported that there are now no hard feelings.

Slaves in Ethiopia

Ras Tafari Makonnen, who in 1928 became Haile Selassie, King of Kings, Emperor of Ethiopia, dislikes slavery. Some of his chieftains, however, like it exceedingly and the practice of slave-raiding and slave-keeping will no doubt continue in Ethiopia just so long as the chieftains of Ethiopia continue to be stronger than their Emperor. This may be some time.

The year's report of the Governor General of the Sudan complains of the misdeeds of one Sheikh Mohammed el-Mahdi Khogali, whose Arabic-speaking Moslem tribesmen have been making raids into the Sudan and carrying off negroes. Representations were made to Addis Ababa, but Sheikh Mohammed, doubtless assuming, and correctly, that nobody would be likely to do anything about it, returned "evasive answers." Haile Selassie, in effect, is a feudal monarch, with all the feudal limitations on his power. Last year Lord Noel-Buxton went on a mission to Abyssinia and returned with hopeful news. The Emperor promised to set up a new Slavery Department, with all the Rases on its Council; there was to be an Ethiopian Anti-Slavery Society under the personal patronage of the Emperor; "Slavery," announced Haile Selassie, "would be abolished in fifteen or twenty years." But the problem of suppressing slavery in Abyssinia is only a part of the wider problem of turning feudal Abyssinia into a modern centralised State. Haile Selassie is a ruler of energy and resource—an Abyssinian Henry the Seventh, administering, judging, reforming his unruly land with small help from his tiny Civil Service. Almost entirely, reform in Abyssinia will depend on his personal efforts, but he will need all the sympathetic encouragement and advice he can get from outside if slavery in Abyssinia is to be finally put down.

Nippo the Go-Getter.

Japan has just found a new market for its products and an outlet for its surplus population in the most unexpected corner of the earth that can be imagined: Abyssinia. Abyssinia is the last African empire that retains its independence. It is a land of amazing fertility, sparsely populated and by a people that is fundamentally very intelligent. Its ruler, Ras Taffari, is a modern man who would, if he had the means, transform his country into a twentieth-century state.

For years Taffari has been dickering and negotiating with Italian and British, Belgian and German concerns to construct him a system of up-to-date railways. Those negotiations came to nothing. But now we learn that Japan is interested and the railways are going to be built. Sixteen million acres of the finest land have been set aside in Abyssinia for Japanese colonization. The Japanese have also managed to get the poppy monopoly for the manufacture of opium.

It is a tremendous economic victory. Naturally Italy, Britain and France are not pleased about it. Some years ago there was a secret agreement between those powers to divide up Abyssinia, on the pretext that Ras Taffari could not maintain order in his domains. But that emperor frustrated those knavish tricks by notifying the League of Nations of the sinister design. He put the powers in an unenviable position with his revelations.

At present an organization is being formed in Japan to direct a hundred thousand emigrants to Abyssinia. Japanese shops are going to be opened all over Ethiopia, and several official Japanese missions are at present touring the country and studying the situation with a view to extend Japanese participation in the commercial and industrial expansion of the African empire. You have to take your hat off to Japanese business acumen and initiative.

J. A. Rogers Tells Why Ras Did Not Meet Aframericans

Previous Ethiopian Visitor Acted Differently on American Trip and Promptly Failed in His Mission Here—Aframericans, Without Influence, Naturally Receive Cold Shoulder from Foreigners.

By J. A. ROGERS

With regard to the discussion of why the Ras Desta Demtuy, Abyssinian Emissary, did not call on the Aframerican brother while in the United States, it is my opinion that almost all of what I have seen so far of this discussion has little or nothing to do with the real subject.

To go directly to what, in my opinion, was the probable cause for the Ras's Conduct, assuming, of course, that he deliberately decided to ignore the Aframerican, which is not at all improbable:

Some years ago, when an Ethiopian delegation, headed by the Ras Naidu, arrived in America, it fraternized too freely with colored Americans, and this, after the white Ethnologists had gone to so much trouble to prove that the Abyssinians were white people, with the result that the Ras Naidu was snubbed by the white Americans and thereby failed in his mission. The Ras Desta Demtu, as I have very good reason to believe, profited by that lesson.

Not Courted by Foreigners

The Aframerican has no standing in his own country. He is a door-mat for every white foreigner. Almost wholly without influence of any sort, and having to depend largely upon the efforts of white people to get even common justice for himself, he is quite naturally not courted by foreign peoples of his own so-called race and color. Were Aframericans a powerful factor in their own land, I wager that they would have heard from the Ras Desta Demtu.

Moreover, some years ago the Abyssinian government tried hard to get trained Aframericans in its employ and failed. I understand that Dr. Workonah Martin made two voyages to America for this purpose in vain, and finally had to take Hindus instead. In consequence, I heard that Dr. Martin entertains a very poor idea of Aframericans.

Another very importan factor: The present Abyssinian government, like the present Egyptian one, if it is to remain in power, must play, or pretend to play the white man's game, at least to a certain extent.

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Abyssinia

Valdosta, Ga., Times
December 15, 1933

Black Abyssinian Priest Gives Interesting Facts About Nation

Graduate of Oxford and Cambridge Outlines Interesting Characteristics of Social and Moral Life of Far-Away African Country While in City

"I am a native of Abyssinia. I am black and not colored; I wish to be called a negro." Thus spoke Dr. Conzos Falzche Checlzzli, a priest of Abyssinia, in an interview here yesterday.

Dr. Checlzzli is now in the United States for the seventh time in 33 years, having come to this country to inform the people of Abyssinia and the aim of Abyssinians to build a great civilization in their far African domain. He is a priest of the Copte Church of Abyssinia, one of the oldest Christian churches in existence.

The negro is obviously a leader of his race. He is a graduate of Oxford, England, being the first black man to complete his education at this famous university. He attended Baliol College at Oxford and received the Ph. D. degree from there. He is also a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. Tall, thick-lipped, flat-nosed, and very black, is a typical negro. He speaks perfect English.

"I am 74 years of age by the Abyssinian calendar, for it has only 360 days, but I am not that old by the American calendar. I am the youngest of a family of 19 boys and seven girls. My father died about two years ago at the age of 144, by our calendar, and my mother is still living at 133 in San Ballat province in Ethiopia," he said.

Dr. Checlzzli said that he was a member of the Patrician caste of Abyssinia, which is second only to the royal caste. He believes in the caste system for his country, "because the higher castes are more intelligent, have stronger racial blood, and are capable of leading the lower castes to higher levels of conduct and behavior."

He is very proud of the fact that Abyssinia is the oldest monarchy in existence, having been founded 3,260 years ago, and that his people have never bowed before the invasion of an enemy. He is a very loyal supporter of Haile Sel Assie, the present ruler of Abyssinia. "In our nation we do not legislate until we educate. We do not try to enforce a law on all the people unless they are educated to the point where they understand it," he said.

Abyssinia, he explained, is the only country in the world where the people laugh at death. When a person of high caste dies, he is buried in a standing posture, but when a person of the Plebeian or lower castes dies, one of his legs is broken so that he will be buried in a stooping posture.

He attributes the longevity of his race to the fact that they do not eat hog or chicken meat and that a baby is not nursed but six days by its mother. At the end of six days, he said, the child is taken from his mother's breast and fed thereafter on buffalo and elephant's milk. The people of Abyssinia eat their meat rare, leaving it two-thirds raw and this, he said, is another reason why they live to great age.

"We do not eat hog meats, because we think that every time the animal grunts, it's a devil in his belly. Chickens are unclean," he said in explaining his people's aversion to these meats.

Conzos is his father's last name, Falzche is the name given to him by the first person who saw his mother after his birth, and Checlzzli means rhinoceros, as a rhinoceros was the first living thing his mother saw after he was born. Falzche means "Young Christian." It is the custom in Abyssinia for the mother to name her child by the first thing she sees after he is born and the middle name is supplied by the person who sees her first after having given birth.

Abyssinian laws are very strict regarding morals, he explained, asserting that sexual relations are barred until the man is 26 years of age. "Moral and social uplift are necessary for advancement." As a result of the strict enforcement of laws regarding morals, there is hardly any social disease in his country.

Men who violate the law concerning sexual relations or who commit criminal assault are emasculated.

In order to keep the mental and physical characteristics of the caste very high, Patrician children who are deformed mentally or physically at birth are allowed to live two years in the hope that their deformity may be naturally corrected. At the end of the two years he said, the child is poisoned in a painless manner if the deformity has not disappeared.

"Colored," he said, "denotes hybridization and I am not an hybried. I am a full-blooded Ethiopian and I prefer to be called black."

He believes that it was the will of God for Africans to be sold in slavery in that they could be uplifted by American civilization and then go back to their native and to help in uplifting their people.

Dr. Checlzzli was interpreter for Theodore Roosevelt when the great American went big game hunting in Africa. "My country considers Theodore Roosevelt one of the outstanding Americans since the nation was founded," he said.

He delivered addresses to people of the First Presbyterian church Wednesday evening and also spoke to congregations at two negro churches.

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Liberia

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Survivor of Chief Samms's "Back to Africa" Expedition in 1914, Found in Liberia

By WILLIAM N. JONES
AFRO Managing Editor on Good-Will Tour to Liberia, West Africa.

MONROVIA, Liberia. — What happened to "Chief" A. C. Samms and his crew of 52 men and women who set out from Galveston, Texas, on the 28th day of July, 1914, to seek a new home and fortune on the West Coast of Africa?

From one of the few survivors of that fateful venture which became enmeshed in the clutches of the Great World War has come the strange and stirring story.

Full Colored Crew

This man, Bolden Taylor, with his four sons, and a full colored crew including a wireless operator, was the chief engineer of the 9,000-ton steamer. They bought it from a New York shipping company for $69,000 and raised the money mainly in Oklahoma just before the war. Taylor's story in part is as follows:

Samms, who hailed from the Gold Coast, organized the Acum Trading Company in 1913. In Oklahoma and Texas he organized clubs which became shareholders in his shipping company which was to carry passengers and freight between the United States and Africa.

Buy Boat

In March of 1914 they purchased the steamer and after having $14,000 in repairs made, set out from New York. On board were, besides the crew, members of some of their families, much of their furniture, 150 barrels of flour and 300 barrels of cement.

The steamer steamed for Portland, Maine, in June and sailed down the Atlantic to Norfolk, Va., and then to Galveston, Texas. At these places it took on other cargo and passengers. On July 28, it put out for Barbadoes where it registered under British license.

Gets Wireless

While on its way from Barbadoes to Salt Pond, Gold Coast, it received a wireless that the United States had entered the World War and was later hailed by a British cruiser.

When the commanding officer of the British ship boarded the steamer he was so surprised to find a complete colored crew that he radioed to headquarters for further instructions. He was ordered to bring the boat into Sierra Leone for investigation. So suspicious were the British authorities of the vessel that they stripped it of its radio and confiscated its flour and cement.

After 40 days' investigation, however, they were permitted to proceed to Salt Pond, Gold Coast. But having, under British rule, to keep the steamer under steam all this time their coal supply had diminished and they wired back to America to their friends for $1,000 with which to get a supply of fuel.

The $1,000 came, but they found their troubles just beginning for the British dealers refused to sell them coal on the excuse that they did not have sufficient on hand.

Crew Sued Samms

The crew, thinned out by death and discouragement because of the hardships, sued the company for back pay. In a desperate struggle to carry on, Chief Samms went into the interior where he persuaded a native chief, Ammumubu, to furnish him with 500 natives to cut wood with which to supply enough fuel to sail the vessel back out of the war area. From a long trek the natives brought in one to two small pieces of wood at a time on their heads.

However, as the crew pressed their suit for wages, the British authorities took matters in hand, seized the vessel and disposed of it.

People Scattered

Mr. Taylor, now a farmer on the lower West Coast of Liberia, does not know what ever became of most of the people who set out on the ill-fated voyage. Some of them made their way back to America, and some perhaps to Europe. No doubt some are in Africa today.

In recalling the trip over, he says, there was fairly smooth sailing. They had plenty of provisions and coal to last until they reached Africa.

Many of those who were on board had sold everything they had in America in order to settle in their new homes and with him were his four sons, one of whom was second engineer. Before this trip Taylor had been a steam engineer in Oklahoma.

Liberia Uses Poison Test As Aid in Native Trials

William N. Jones Sees Poison Drunk as First Step Towards Discovering Criminals.

By WILLIAM N. JONES

AFRO Managing Editor on Good Will Tour to Monrovia, Liberia.

MONROVIA, Liberia—Two cases now being handled by the Department of Justice of the Liberian Republic, may end in capital punishment, the AFRO-AMERICAN, learned this week.

The cases, which have caused the arrest of a number of natives reveal the tremendous problems with which local courts here have to deal.

A Kru Mother

I heard a little Kru mother tell a tragic story of the kidnapping and slaying of her young son by Kru men who wanted his heart for magic purposes.

Nine men have been arrested and a rigid investigation is being made in the Kru people's village, on the Monrovian coast. This is the governing center of the Kru people

Use for Magic

But for the ancient customs of some natives who still cling to the superstitions of the hinterland, a trial such as this would be unbelievable.

Americans can recall the notorious Lindbergh kidnapping case as this Kru mother tells her story. The underlying motives of illicit greed are about the same.

Some Kru laborers believe that if they take the heart of an adolescent boy, mix it with herbs and put it on their tongues, those with whom they deal will be compelled to grant their desires. Some of those who go out as longshoremen to handle cargoes, particularly, believe that having this magic concoction on their tongues, the captains of the ships will be compelled to favor them by giving them the preferred places as head men of crews.

This mother believes her son has been kidnapped and murdered for such a purpose, and I have been able to go over records of numerous cases on file here which indicate that her fears are well founded.

Ordeal Trial

What may seem even more surprising to readers of the AFRO is the fact that the Liberian Department of Justice is compelled to begin investigation of these cases with considerable recourse to hinterland justice including the trial by ordeal. While this is always followed by a trial in which the modern court procedure must establish guilt beyond reasonable doubt, as we say in the States, it begins with the ritual of the tribe and its laws.

I sat in on an ordeal conducted under supervision of authorities. It was not difficult to understand why this superstition is resorted to. That magic term, "Sassawood" acts with more practical precision in detecting a crime among natives than any line of questioning a Sherlock Holmes could conduct.

"Preliminary Hearing"

In this case, for instance, there was what in America would be called a preliminary hearing. It was conducted as follows:

From the interior a magic man, not known to nor connected in any way with those in the neighborhood of the crime was secured to conduct this preliminary ritual. Practically the entire village of men was called before him.

Concocting a bowl of the "Sassawood" tree and herbs which are said to react somewhat similiarly to our Strophanthus, well known heart stimulant, but violently poisonous in large doses, this magic man placed it on his head with the men sitting about him and asked this bowl on his head certain questions. Its motion and movements on his head indicated the answers:

Question: Was this pickin' killed by anybody in this village?

Answer: The bowl of sassawood tilted very perceptably to the right and forward of the man's head.

Question: Is his body hidden somewhere it can be found?

Answer: Bowl again tips forward.

Question: Are any of the men who did this here in this compound?

Answer: Bowl tips with more perceptable rapidity about.

The next process of this hearing was a ritual in which the magic man went through a series of mind concentrations and incantations in which he pointed out a number of men which included, the guilty parties. Here then we had a line-up very similar to the English and American court lineup, from which there must be more positive identification.

The Test

Then came the ordeal in which this lineup took the "Sassawood" test. That is they drink a cup of this poison.

Kru people are among those tribes which believe that if an accused person is innocent this violent poison will be expelled from the stomach through vomiting. If it is not vomited, of course, the person is judged guilty.

It is not the belief in the magic of this drug which makes the Liberian Department of Justice allow natives to begin their investigation of crime in this manner, but the effect of the thing upon the psychology of the native. To appreciate this fully it is necessary to take into consideration thousands of years of traditional native justice.

Seldom Fails

In practically every case where some one man refuses to drink the sassawood and confesses his guilt, the Department of Justice has been able to begin with this man and work out an indisputable case. The fact is, the real trial of the government begins at this point. And the finding of the body at some hidden spot pointed out by the confessor, and his implication of others and the building of evidence about these others, in a requisite for infliction of punishment by the Liberian courts.

I do not doubt, however, that this system fails sometimes and that there are times when innocent men who take the sassawood ordeal are victims of its poisonous effects. The manner in which it is conducted by the government here works, perhaps, with as few slips in the administration of justice, as the average American court.

Native Confidence

For one thing, it is the only way, under present development, that natives may participate in the administration of justice, and it is building up a cooperative system which will finally merge wholly into the more modern Liberian system itself.

Civil Cases

This is true also in civil cases. For an afternoon I sat through a case appealed, first from the clan to the tribal courts and then up to the Liberian court in Monrovia. This case was brought up by a native who was not satisfied with court decision of his clan chief and its confirmation by the paramount chief and his district commissioner.

Under the Liberian system he had the right of appeal to the Liberian court, and even if he is not completely satisfied with the ruling of this court he can go further and appeal to the president of the republic.

The large number of cases coming up to Monrovia on appeal indicate the growing confidence in the Liberian Department of Justice.

Second Case

A second and even more tragic case now being handled by the Department of Justice, involves the murder of nine innocent mission

boys, the victim of an inter-tribal feud. In connection with this case 25 persons have been arrested.

Files of the Department of Justice which indicate the motive for this crime goes back many years. It involves tribal disputes over a boundary line. There was a civil trial and decision, but it did not please the losers.

A few weeks ago some nine mission boys planted a coffee farm on a part of the once disputed land. While working they were set upon by the other tribesmen, coldly taken one by one and chopped to pieces.

But the "sassawood" has "caught" some of them and brought them to the long arm of the Department of Justice. There will likely be some executions, a stern lesson that the government punishes crime.

Some day the Liberian Government won't need the "sassawood" ordeal, for some day there will arise some Silas Marner from among the natives who will awaken and wail forth as did George Eliot's great epic character, "There is no just magic man who rules over my people."

If we are observant we can easily go far enough back into American history to come face to face with our own trials by witchcraft.

WASHINGTON BACKS LIBERIAN REFORMS

Informs Monrovia Indirectly It Expects Full Cooperation With League in Plans.

FISCAL CONTROL IS BASIS

Foreign Advisers to Supervise Revenues, Expenditures and Public Health Program.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18.—Liberia was informed indirectly today by the State Department that the United States expects it to co-operate with the League of Nations in reforming its government and its finances.

World attention was focused on the African republic three years ago by charges of slavery within its borders. Since that time the League, at Liberia's request, has evolved a plan of assistance, providing for supervision of the republic's affairs by foreign advisers.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood headed a special committee that approved the plan. The United States was represented at the discussions by Major General Blanton Winship. Ratification of the plan is now before the Liberian Legislature, and it was in view of the State Department assumed signifcance.

The action took the form of releasing official documents bearing on the long deliberations of the League committee. These were of a nature designed to refute Liberian objections that the plan of assistance was unconstitutional, that it would impose a dictatorship on the country and that it would favor the Firestone interests, which have established rubber plantations in Liberia.

Observers' Opinions Set Forth.

In addition, some of the documents bore one the publicly expressed opinions of outside observers, including Lord Cecil, that Liberian independence would be endangered if reforms were not effected.

The State Department expressed its own view in an introduction to the documents. This stated:

"It will be recalled that the Liberian request for the assistance of the League has been under consideration for nearly three years by the League committee, in whose work the American Government has participated. Every phase of the situation has been examined by impartial experts, whose work has been passed upon by the committee, representing eight separate governments, in addition to Liberia, and finally by the Council of the League.

"Prolonged and sympathetic consideration has been given to all the Liberian views by the committee, including a rehearing on the entire matter last month at the request of the Liberian Government.

"The American government expects Liberia to accept the plan of assistance and will be pleased in this case to cooperate in its successful execution. Should the present administration at Monrovia [the Liberian capital] reject this opportunity, such action could only be construed as opposition to reforms, the urgent desirability of which has been apparent for over three years, and as indifference to the welfare of a million and a half native peoples of Liberia."

This last statement was taken to refer to statements made during the long discussion of Liberian affairs that the 1,500,000 natives of the population are dominated by about 30,000 citizens descended from the freed American Negroes sent to the country as colonists. American interest in Liberia as a Negro sanctuary dates largely from this colonization.

Winship Statements Appended.

The document made public included the final report of the League committee to the Council. Appended to this were two statements from General Winship, one advising that the United States would not insist on the appointment of an American adviser to the country, although this might be desirable, and the other protesting against a Liberian plan to issue a 3 per cent internal loan. Objection was made to this on the ground that such action would contravene the agreement of 1926, by which the country obtained a loan from the Finance Corporation of America.

Also attached was the plan of assistance, together with League documents indicating that the Finance Corporation had agreed to reduce interest on its loan from 7 to 5 per cent and to make other concessions in the interest of restoring Liberia to a sound financial condition.

Still another group of documents, submitted to the League committee by the American representative, controverted allegations made by Secretary of State L. A. Grimes of Liberia and listed complaints that had been made against Liberia.

The League plan provides for a foreign chief adviser, to be designated by the League Council and accepted by the Liberian President, and for three foreign commissioners, one to supervise administration of each of the three Liberian provinces. The plan also insists that two public health experts be named, or one if immediate financial resources are insufficient, to supervise sanitation and public health measures.

Fiscal Adviser Continued.

In addition, the plan would continue the financial adviser set up under the loan agreement of 1926 and would so strengthen his powers as to give him virtual control of revenue and expenditures.

Three deputy commissioners, who may be Liberians, would ultimately be named under the plan to assist the foreign provincial commissioners. To aid in the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order, the plan provides that a corps of messengers proposed for each commissioner may be armed. if the Liberian Government so decides on recommendation of the chief advisers.

Under the plan the Liberian Government would engage to give the chief advisers sufficient authority to carr yout reforms but would reserve the right to appeal to the League Council in case it should disagree with this chief adviser. The government would also sanction a financial plan drawn up by a League expert.

This plan, included in the documents made public by the State Department, is based on estimates that expenses for 1933 will total $733,000, including $150,000 as the total cost of the plan of assistance, and that income for 1933 will total about $456,000. The cost of assistance during 1933 will not be the full yearly amount of $150,000, the financial plan points out, but it recommends that $150,000 of working capital be advanced by the finance corporation.

The task of balancing the budget is attacked, under the financial plan, by a provision of $40,000 yearly for the amortization of outstanding claims, by a recommendation that interest due at the end of any year be renounced if the country is unable to meet it, and by recommendations that revenues be increased by development of the country's resources and by effecient administration.

Lenders Agree to Reforms.

The Finance Corporation has agreed to accept these proposals, including the renunciation of interest and the provision of fresh capital, provided the Liberian Government agrees to reforms, and inaugurates a program of gradually reducing its floating indebtedness through amortization, the documents stated. Under the $150,000 annual cost of the plan of assistance would be included $78,000 for the salaries of officials and their traveling expenses, $10,000 for sanitation, $54,000 for road construction, $3,000 for educating medical assistants and $5,000 for contingencies.

In nearly all of the documents, other than the draft of the plan for assistance and the accompanying text of the budget plan, sections dealt with charges of misgovernment or lax financial procedure in Liberia. A statement submitted by the American representative to the League committee denied that the loan of 1926 had been "forced" upon Liberia by the Finance Corporation or that Liberia had failed to profit from the loan by reason of unwise counsel from foreign financial advisers.

Liberia sought the 1926 loan, this report declared, to liquidate internal and floating debts, which had risen to more than $600,000, and to relieve the country of a customs receivership established under a previous loan agreement made in 1912.

Counselors Are Defended.

"The foreign officials serving Liberia under the Finance Corporation loan agreement have been men of character, experience and proven ability," the statement continued. "They have given the Liberian Government constructive advice on repeated occasions. Among other matters, they have advised the Liberian Government regarding:

"Waste of public funds in the maintenance of overstaffed or unnecessary institutions and bureaus; failure of the government to enforce the payment of delinquent taxes; failure of the government to prosecute Liberian officials for embezzlement, or to take action against them under their bonds; failure of the government to enforce the payment into the treasury of consular and other fees; failure of the government to foster and encourage commerce, or to open the hinterland to trade; failure of the government to interest itself in the condition of the million and a half native peoples, or to utilize the taxes collected from the natives for their benefit."

Discussing the part played by the Firestone interests in the 1926 loan, the statement by the American representative said:

"The Firestone interests recommended the acceptance of a loan by Liberia. They were of the opinion that the proceeds of a loan, if utilized in the proper way, would promote the general development of the country and in this sense contribute to the successful prosecution of the company's main interest—the plantation project.

"There is likewise evidence that Mr. Firestone Sr. shared the widespread Amreican interest in the progress of Liberia and that, entirely aside from his business concerns, he wished to see the country develop along sound economic lines.

Firestone Interest Denied.

"There is no evidence that, when the matter of a Liberian loan was first considered, the Firestone organiation itself had any interest in financing such an issue."

The company had desired that the loan be made by the American Government, but the government concerned itself with the Finance Corporation only to the extent of extending its good offices during the preliminary negotiations, the statement continued.

A statement from Harvey S. Firestone Jr. was appended. In this document, which was part of the record of the proceedings before the League Council, Mr. Firestone stated that his company had, up to June, 1923, invested $8,000,000 in Liberia and had planted rubber on 53,087 acres. He listed donations made by his company, including $20,000 to the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine for a medical and biological survey of Liberia; $6,50 for an anthropological survey, $5,000 for investigation of serum for yellow fever and $4,500 to the Yale Schol of Forestry to investigate and classify the woods of Liberia.

In addition, he said, the company had erected a hospital at a cost of $656,000 and had since spent an additional $200,000 for medical purposes. Other expenditures listed by Mr. Firestone included $10,000 for establishment of a trade school, $30,000 for a public radio service, $115,000 for an unsucessful attempt to provide Monrovia, the capital of the country, with a harbor; $125,000 for the extension of roads within the plantations and $65,000 for the extension and betterment of government roads.

Several Complaints Made.

Other complaints, including the charge that the Liberian Government was not observing the loan agreement of 1926 in several details, were contained in a copy of a letter from the National City Bank of New York, fiscal agents under the loan agreement of 1926, to President King at Monrovia. This communication, dated Oct. 5, 1930, was answered by a conciliatory letter from President King, the reply also

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being part of the League committee's record.

Still other material contained in the documents included a list of thirty-one recommendations made to the Liberian Government by the financial adviser appointed under the agreement of 1926. These recommendations dealt with possibilities for reducing expenses, developing the resources of the country and improving revenues. Notations on the list indicated that in the great majority of cases no action on the recommendations was taken by the Liberian Government, and that in the few remaining cases the financial adviser regarded the action taken as insufficient.

A somewhat similar list set forth a contradiction of fifteen statements made by Secretary of State Grimes, who opposed the plan before the League committee. This section charged that the Liberian Government had failed to cooperate, not only with its financial adviser, but with a military adviser who reached Monrovia in 1930. This officer, Colonel George Lewis, formerly of the Puerto Rican constabulary, was ignored in suppression by the Liberian Government of a Kru uprising that developed in the Summer of 1931, the statement said.

The methods adopted in the pacification of the rebels were at the time the subject of protest by other nations and added to the difficulty created by the previous charges of the existence of slavery. This last question of slavery was not dealt with specifically in the plan of assistance, reports condemning it having been adopted after an earlier investigation.

These reports of undesirable conditions in Liberia were followed by the request of that country for assistance from the League of Nations, and the plan of assistance was the ultimate result of the League's interest.

Liberia Today, Tomorrow

Homeward Bound After a Good Will Tour of the Liberian Republic

By WM. JONES

Editor's Note: This introductory note begins a series of twelve articles on the Liberian situation for which the AFRO-AMERICAN sent its representative to obtain early in October. Following this introductory statement and beginning next week, articles will appear in the following order: 1. The Liberian Commonwealth. 2. The Present Liberian System of Government. 3. Liberian Imports, Exports and Natural Resources. 4. Education in Liberia. 5. Liberia's Dual System of Criminal Justice. 6. Uncle Sam and Firestone in Liberia. 7. Why Liberia urned Down the League of Nations Plan. 8 Liberia's Good and Bad People. 9. English and French Policy in Liberia. 10. The clash of Native and Americo-Liberian Cultures. 11 Men, Women and Events in Liberia. 12. Shall Liberia Live or Die?

After more than 100 years of conception, gestation and parturition, Liberia still finds herself in the throes of childbirth. Close up you can still observe the excruciating pain of Mother Africa as she is bringing into the world a black republic.

As this is written the fever and heartbeats still perplex its anxious forbears and the silent shadow of the jungle still hovers over the newborn.

Will it live? And if it lives, will it become a healthy child? Will it be allowed breathing space in the complicated international playground of Western Europe? What will its life or death mean to the American Negro who sired it? What will it mean to the future of the great continent of Africa which is mothering it?

These are questions which blurt themselves out with sharp and cutting emphasis as you set foot on Liberian soil. They not only chant themselves from the jungle bush, but they make wrinkles in the faces of that little band of pioneers, black-skinned ex-slaves from the Americas, who, fighting always with their backs to the wall, are still bravely carrying on.

Your first wonder is, as you survey the terrific odds against which this embryonic nation still clings to life, how could it do it? England, France, Germany, Holland and other European nations, have pumped copious draughts of oxygen in the form of money to build roads, cities and harbors in their African West Coast possessions, but Mother Africa has had not only to go down into the valley of death almost alone to bring forth her first-born republic, but she has had to do so fighting menacing enemies.

GOD FINDS IT HARD

True, the religious organizations of America and Europe have given liberally and sacrificingly of money and noble manhood and womanhood to the welfare of the republic, but even God finds it difficult to make His way through matted bush. God, like other forces of progress, needs roads, means of transportation, soil and natural development, in order to reach the souls of human beings.

In the very shadow of Monrovian churches, and within the sound of the church bells, as this is being written, nine human beings are under arrest and charged by a native mother of kidnaping and cutting the heart out of her six-year-old boy in order that they might make lucky charms of it.

Except among those who have come under the aegis of that pioneering band of ex-slaves who set out under the American Colonization Society, those who have joined them since, and natives who have been touched by the electric lights, a varied diet, modern homes, schools music and recreation, the behavior of Liberians is still motivated by the law and tradition of the bush.

COMING HOME

And yet, no man or woman of African descent could set foot on Liberian soil without becoming exalted by the thrill of pride which he feels in standing on the holy ground of a real Negro republic. Like "Home, Sweet Home" feeling, be it ever so humble, there is nothing like it. Nor can you help feeling that it will be in Liberia, or some republic in Africa, that the real prestige and history by which the race in the final analysis will be judged. In America, and even in every other section of their own mother country, except Liberia and Abyssinia, we will be able only to demonstrate what we can do with the help of the white man.

After some 125 years of precarious childbirth, therefore, Liberia still lives. There are menacing enemies about and there are also internal maladies. But she stands today a challenge to the Negro and to her race kin throughout the world.

WEAKNESS AND STRENGTH

Like other groups, she has her weaknesses and her strength. That she still exists amidst the highly competitive scramble of the nations for African soil, is proof that there must exist within her boundaries men and women of exceptional courage and fortitude. That she has produced, as other nations have, her scoundrels, crooks, charlatans, and selfish opportunists, is not the most important thing. The real important thing is that, like other nations, she has produced men of fortitude, honesty and courage.

This series of articles, therefore will endeavor to give a full picture of Liberia as it exists today, and its trend towards tomorrow. It will try to reflect into the picture in true perspective, both its lights and shadows. Most of all will these articles strive to set forth what Liberian life or death may mean to readers of the AFRO-AMERICAN and the American public.

In gathering this series we have looked into the nooks and crannies of every governmental department; we have talked to Americo-Liberians who favored and those who opposed the present governmental regime; we have talked to members of all the legations now active in the republic as well as to men prominent in the colonial government in London; we have gone into the interior and talked to chiefs and natives who opposed and some who favored the present government.

Liberia: A New U.S.A. Movement.

A correspondent writes from New York:—

A movement which may have a good effect upon the future of Liberia was begun in October, when Mr. William N. Jones, managing editor of the "Baltimore Afro-American," representing Afro-Americans in the United States, ended a mission to Liberia in which the outlines of a programme of internal development was discussed with the Government and people.

For some time representatives of the 14,000,000 Afro-Americans of the United States have been following with interest affairs in Liberia, and recent developments growing out of the League of Nations' plan of assistance had the result that Mr. Jones was selected to make a first-hand study of what could be done in co-operating with the Liberian people to strengthen the republic as an autonomous country.

The main interest of the Afro-American sympathisers arises from the fact that they consider it of importance to show the world Africans can exercise self-government.

Liberia, unlike other African Governments, has, it is felt, had little real help in so far as large governmental projects are concerned. There have been loans, but little of the money has gone into far-sighted internal development. It is this deficiency that the group in the United States will seek to over-

come. They feel that despite shortcomings those who have brought the country thus far through conflicting forces of international politics deserve co-operation.

They plan a programme which will make "Save Liberia" the objective of African people throughout the world for the next 10 years. The plan involves road building, development of farming, co-operative marketing, business and cultural development in the interior built upon the background of African life.

Liberia is rich in natural resources and the plan of the United States group is not only to help to develop these resources but to help to establish markets which will put Liberia on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. In the past, it has been realised, there has been too much dependence upon purely sympathetic help. Through this plan it is hoped that the Republic will come to the point when borrowing will be upon a sound business basis in the general money market. This, they feel, can be done only by first making the Republic self-supporting.

While the Afro-American group will try to carry out this programme whether or not the Liberian Government accepts the League of Nations' plan of assistance, they hope that there will be a way in which the acceptance of this plan in its present form may be avoided. The vital point in the aspirations of the Afro-American people in the United States is the keeping of Liberia one spot where African men and women may experiment in self-government. Any plan which destroys the autonomy of the country will, they feel, hurt the African name in the world.

They feel that they might, with justice, appeal to the world on this point, that this small section of Africa be kept as a spot where Africans and their relations in the United States and other countries may train themselves to take an ultimate place in the march of civilisation, by their own initiative and accomplishments.

The Liberian Government and people have agreed to co-operate in this plan. At a session of the Legislature a resolution was passed accepting, in principle, the plan, and President Barclay and his colleagues approve.

There is, of course, to be worked out the problem of the League of Nation's situation and the relations with the Firestone Company and the United States Government, but the American group believe that adjustments can be made satisfactory to all concerned.

The group believe that Liberia should keep her financial obligations and commitments despite the fact that many countries are failing to keep theirs, and their first work will be to settle in a satisfactory manner present pressing financial obligations.

In addition to a general plan of immigration of farm and industrial groups to stimulate local industry, there are proposed scholarships in United States schools for young men and women trained especially for Liberia in education and business administration, and to help in the problem of harmonising Liberian and Afro-American culture and relations.

Liberia

Race Problem – 1933

Africa

Liberia Accused Of Violating Rights Of American Citizens; Committee At Geneva To Act

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Charges by the State Department at Washington that the Barclay administration has violated the rights and interests of American citizens by executive acts and the passage of hostile and unlawful measures designed to modify, without the consent of both parties, the loan agreement of September 1, 1926, between Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America, has precipitated an impasse which the International Committee of Liberia will seek to settle amicably at Geneva at a special meeting.

During the past five weeks the American Government has made repeated protests to Liberia against a series of actions taken by the Barclay administration at Monrovia, which included legislation on December 17, in contravention of the loan agreement and subsequent acts by Liberian officials interpreted as confiscation of monies due the American Company and the destruction of the security on which over $2,000,000 had been lent by the company to Liberia.

The Barclay administration is also accused of having cancelled the depositary agreement between Liberia and the National City Bank of New York, fiscal agent for the loan, without obtaining the requisite agreement of the latter.

On December 18, P. J. Fitzsimmons acting American financial adviser, informed the Liberian Legislature thait its proposed action would constitute a violation of the contract. His communication was referred by the Legislature to President Barclay with the suggestion that the acting financial adviser be dismissed. Since December 23, the day on which Barclay affixed his signature to the legislation, the advice and representations of fiscal officials mutually appointed under the loan agreement have been ignored. One of their number has been discharged and the resignation of the other two have been requested.

American Minister Protests

Charles E. Mitchell, American Minister, protested to President Barclay orally on December 21 and by letter December 23 against Liberia breaking its pact. On January 24, a further communication which the American Minister had been instructed to deliver on behalf of the American Government was returned unopened.

The substance of Mr. Mitchell's protest was that the American Government viewed with deep concern action by Liberia leading to repudiation or unilateral modification of Liberia's contractural engagements with the American company, and that such action would be construed by the American Government not only as an effort by Liberia to repudiate a legitimate contract, legitimately acquired, but also to nullify Liberia's engagements with the International Committee. Mr. Barclay was informed that, in the circumstances, the American Government would feel that Liberia was blocking American participation in the international efforts to assist Liberia, and that, moreover, the American Government would be prepared to protest the extension of financial aid to Liberia from whatever source, unless the prior rights of American citizens had either been met in full, or the loan agreement had been modified on a basis of mutual consent.

Discourtesy is Charged

On December 30, the American Minister received a letter from President Barclay's secretary purporting to acknowledge and to take issue with Mr. Mitchell's letter of December 23, the tone of which communication is said to have been so discourteous and the attitude indicated so uncompromising, that under instructions from the State Department the letter was returned to the sender, who was informed that the American Minister could not accept a communication of this character in reply to his letter to Barclay.

The Finance Corporation of America is a subsidiary of the Firestone Rubber Company which arranged to lend the republic over $2,000,000 at a time financial aid could not be received from any other source. The amount of interest paid on the principal to date is said to be negligible, and the Firestone Company is credited with having maintained a lenient and sympathetic and honorable attitude toward the debtor nation at all times.

Negotiations between Liberian officials and representatives of a Danish syndicate which seeks to acquire valuable concessions in Liberia, are attributed to that country's unfriendly attitude toward the United States.

LIBERIA NEEDS A PILOT.

Henry L. West of Washington, D. C., president of the American Colonization Society, delivered an address at the home of Bishop Campbell in Monrovia, Liberia, October 18, which was listened to by President Barclay, members of the Cabinet and the Legislature. Commenting on the advisability of the republic securing outside assistance, he said:

I am aware that when I mention the words 'outside' assistance, I am treading on delicate ground; and yet I observed something on my way to Monrovia which appealed to me as possibly having direct bearing on your situation. At every port where we stopped a pilot came on board to assist in guiding the ship safely into the harbor. He went up on the bridge beside the captain, who still remained the captain, but who welcomed expert assistance without the slightest loss of dignity or dimunition of self-respect. When the ship had been docked or anchored, the pilot withdrew, leaving the captain still in command.

"Is there not in this daily and familiar occurrence something of an application to Liberia? Is it not possible that somewhere there is a pilot with the skill and experience to tell you how to avoid the rocks and shoals that lie along your course and who will have sufficient sympathy and wisdom to step down and go ashore when your ship is finally safe in port? I sincerely hope so."

Mr. West's striking, apprehensible "pilot illustration" is of particular significance to colored Americans unalterably opposed to the setting up of a dictatorship in Liberia such as Mussolini wields in Italy or Stalin in Russia. If a chief adviser is named and clothed with clearly defined powers and authority ample and sufficient for the effective execution of a proposed program of assistance, if such an arrangement were to last for not more than five years, and the relation of the administrative official was to be that of a pilot of the type envisaged by Mr. West, the move would be haled by American Negroes as a forward step toward Liberia's economic rehabilitation.

Sympathetic friends of Liberia in

DuBois's Four Points Given to State Department

FOUR POINTS

(1) *Firestone's $2,500,000 loan to Liberia negotiated by fraud and based upon use of slave labor.*

(2) *U.S. busy trying to turn Liberia over to Firestones by a new agreement which will put Liberia further into debt.*

(3) *U.S. dictates a Liberian budget which does not appropriate a cent for education of Liberians.*

(4) *U.S. urged not to send ultimatum to Liberia now, to recognize that country diplomatically and to disassociate the Firestone Rubber Co. from control of the Liberian government.*

America to whom the republic's sovereignty is of much concern, are greatly disturbed over the recent statement by the State Department at Washington that the Barclay Administration, by executive acts and legisaltion, since December 17, had not only violated the loan agreement of September 1, 1926, negotiated by Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America, but the Constitution of Liberia as well; that no heed by Monrovia has been given the repeated representations of the American Government against this series of actions, and that the International Committee at Geneva will be urged to bring pressure to bear upon Liberia to repeal measures unlawfully affecting the rights of American citizens.

President Barclay is accused of assuming the role of a dictator and taking the initiative in the adoption of governmental policies in contravention of the loan agreement amounting in effect to confiscation of monies due the American company and to the destruction of the security on which over two million dollars have been advanced by the company to Liberia.

The Finance Corporation of Amreica is a subsidiary of the Firestone Rubber Company, which lent the Liberian Government the above-mentioned sum when no financial aid could be secured from foreign governments or outside private interests. Both parties to the agreement accepted to the terms in good faith. Corporations usually are pictured as greedy, designing, domineering and heartless. In all fairness to the Firestone Rubber Company, an impartial investigation into its dealings with the Liberian Government will reveal that it has observed its part of the agreement to the letter and as creditor has at no time played the part of the proverbial "Shylock."

During these eventful, uncertain days of economic stress and storm, nations large and small have encountered serious financial difficulties. Liberia has been no exception to the rule. The decrease in government revenues following the fall in world prices of the raw materials pro-gravate the situation. But Liberia's financial difficulties are principally due to the persistent unwillingness of its government to follow the advice and recommendations of the advisership officials and the refusal of the Liberian officials to endorse reasonable economy measures. Therefore the financial affairs of the republic have reached a chaotic condition, as no budget is observed, and violations of the Loan Agreement, even prior to December, 1932, were said to be of frequent recurrence.

The experience of the American Sanitary Adviser in 1930 have been frequently pointed out as indicative of the general apathy of the Liberian Government toward the execution of real reforms. After the death of Mr. Francis, the American Minister, and Dr. Sibley, American Educational Adviser of yellow fever in 1929, foreign governments called upon Liberia to improve sanitary conditions. The American Government agreed to send a qualified public health official to the republic, and Dr. Harold Smith was given the assignment. After remaining in Liberia eleven months he returned to America, reporting that it was unmistakably apparent that Liberian officials would not cooperate in the introduction of measures providing for the most elementary sanitary reform.

Viewing with alarm the present unsettled state of affairs in Liberia, to an impartial yet interested observer it would seem that unless definite steps are taken at once to extricate the republic out of its present difficulties, the fond hopes of 12,000,000 American Negros to see Liberia a prosperous, highly respected power among the nations of the world will soner or later go a glimmering.

The New York Age agrees with Henry L. West that Liberia is in need of a pilot. And in view of the American Government's unselfish interest for more than 100 years in the social improvement of the Liberian people, the contributions by American colonization and missionary societies of four-fifths of the money expended in the republic for education, and the economic and commercial purposes of American private interests whose business principles and methods have been above question, we do not hesitate to say that the pilot, by all means, should be an American.

Liberia has been known to the world as America's step-child. Since 1820, when liberated slaves were transported to West Africa under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, which deeded them the territory now occupied by Liberians, Monrovia has appealed to the American Government time and again to come to its aid at crucial periods. America casts no greedy eyes at one of the only two governments in Africa not under white domination. It is unfortunate that strained relations exist between Washington, and Liberia. It is sincerely hoped that all misunderstanding will be ironed out. For Liberia needs America, but its capacity to borrow is restricted, to say the least.

As most know, Liberia consists of a strip of African coast whereon dwell from fifty thousand to sixty thousand civilized blacks, and back of this coast line lies a vast territory inhabited by uncivilized and undressed natives to whom clothes and Christianity make no appeal, and the work of civilization is likely to progress slowly among these natives. It may be said that Liberia is likely to make little appeal to American sympathy at this time.

It was different a century ago, for Connecticut with the rest of New England was keenly interested in the conversion of these heathen. The Courant gave much space to lectures given here for the purpose of raising funds for the furthering of a colony started by Jehudi Ashman for the conversion of the heathen. Missionaries went there and gave their lives, for the country is not one for white men, as the temperature averages from a low of seventy-five degrees to a high of one hundred or better and the rainfall is great. But the colony was founded and is now a free state. Those who use rubber are interested in it, but it offers few attractions to those outside the rubber trade.

HARTFORD, CONN.
COURANT

JAN 31 1933

In Liberia

The Department of State has informed the Republic of Liberia that unless it meets its outstanding indebtedness it will not be permitted to float a new loan in this country. Liberia is charged in the note with having broken a loan agreement with the Finance Corporation of America, involving a matter of $5,000,000. One of the notes exchanged was regarded by the Department as being so discourteous that it was returned to the Liberian Foreign Office without having been completely read. Not content with this, the United States has called the attention of the League of Nations to the situation and has asked cooperation to prevent further loans until Liberia has discharged existing obligations.

One may wonder what Liberia will do, and we may assume that its undersized legislature, eight members in the upper house and thirteen in the lower, will deliberate at some length, especially if it follows the example of similar bodies. Liberia, we note has an indebtedness of $7,500,000. In 1930-31, its receipts amounted to $980,156 and its expenditures to $985,554. One readily imagines that it is in need of funds.

Race Problem—1933 Liberia.

Africa

A Liberian Gives a Close-Up View Of the Firestone Tire Co.'s Work

Afro American 13-11-33

America Produces the Greatest Business Genius and Philanthropist of the Twentieth Century, Liberians Say Sarcastically. Firestone Expected Liberia to Give up Its State Dept., Foreign Representatives, Police, Post Office and Hospital.

By THOMAS E. BUCHANAN

MONROVIA, Liberia.—To appreciate the situation, it is recommended to the reader to carefully perus and digest the following: Philanthropic and economic program o Mr. Firestone's activities in Liberia during the period 1926-31.

The ostensible object of this undertaking supposed to be The welfare of Liberia and its people, under the guise of producing rubber below world's market price.

This undertaking which we will call Firestone's Unlimited, is organized and directed by Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Sr.; Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Jr.; the Firestone Plantations Company, the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, the Finance Corporation of America, the fiscal agents (National City Bank of New York), the United States-Liberia Radio Corporation, the United States Trading Company, the United States Trading Company Banking Department, which are all one and the same person, Mr. Firestone, whose ambition, inter alia, is the domination of the European rubber market (Anglo, Dutch and French).

His Theoretical Program

(1) Loan for Liberia, $5,000,000; (2) Interest of 7 per cent for 2(years, $7,000,000; total $12,000,000.

The loan to be refunded by amortization, $5,000,000; credit balance after 20 years, $7,000,000; or $350,000 per annum net profit on loan.

The following shows how this net profit will be utilized:

Development, comprising roads, bush clearing, purchase and planting of scions, transportation, salaries, etc., $5,000,000; incidentals during transitory period between planting and tapping, 7 years, $2,000,000; total $7,000,000.

Rubber Free of Charge

These figures show only partly the geniality of Mr. Firestone in producing rubber free of charge, as besides other important advantages for his enterprise the loan of $5,000,000 is floated at the rate of 90 per cent, and must be redeemed by the Liberian Government at the rate of 102½ per cent, which makes again 12½ per cent, and is another produce of Mr. Firestone's genial philanthropy of which the "Black Man" in Liberia bears the expenses.

Contrary to understandings and promises, Mr. Firestone or Firestone Unlimited is the sole holder of these loan-bonds, which gives him all facilities to administer his business as an autocrat, being sometimes arbitrary.

Unfortunately as in every enterprise, there were unforeseen eventualities, only two and one half million dollars instead of five million were advanced, absorbed and squandered by Liberia under the guidance and direction of Firestone Unlimited. (For reliance see International Report of the Experts to the League of Nations, C-Lib. 4 (1), Page 31, Section 1, para. 3).

Collapse of King's Administration

Furthermore, more than $5,000 was expended on rubber developments and the unfortunate collapse of the past administration in Liberia, which under the influence of Firestones, contributed to this scheme in its entirety, contribution which is contrary to the economic policies of the present adminstration in Liberia.

However, certain compensating events facilitated the scheme, and these were:

1. Business(?) operations created by Firestone Unlimited.

2. Non fulfilment of agreements (cancellation of Harbour construction in Monrovia).

3. Payment of rents on areas occupied by plantations solely on Firestone's figures, Government verification being rendered difficult through lack of means and facilities.

Closed Up Dutch Bank

Towards the realization of Firestone's Unlimited theoretical program, the following movements were engineered:

1. The operations of the reputable Bank of British West Africa, Ltd., who for many years have been recognized as bankers to the Liberian Government, were prejudiced by the movements of Firestone's Unlimited.

This was a great contributing factor for their retirement from Liberia. The past Liberian administration charged the financial adviser (Firestone), whilst in London to induce the continuity of their operations in Liberia. Acting to the contrary, the bank closed down.

Firestone to Firestone

Firestone forwards money for the loan service to the Finance Corporation (Firestone), who in turn transmits same to the fiscal agents (Firestone), and by them it is transferred to the United States Trading Company, banking department (Firestone) in Monrovia, automatically accruing financial benefits, to Firestone's Unlimited, as the Black Republic is charged for every transaction for these various financial manipulations.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the Liberian Government may utilize the money only upon the approval of the financial adviser who is Firestone's agent, which he reluctantly gives except for the investment of moneys whereby Firestone Unlimited benefits or is interested in. Such as the purchase of steel for constructions, equipments, engines, vehicles, radio station, and payment of his costly but inexperienced employees, who are supposed to be Liberian Government officials.

Collects and pays

Firestone collects the revenues of the Republic of Liberia, pays himself interest and sinking fund, which are promptly transmitted to the Plantations in Du No. 1 to meet its expenses. But the poor Liberian Government is mulcted in charges for transmission to the United States.

As an aftermath of this program a general economic reaction is unavoidable.

Europe Alarmed

The rubber statistics of the European market causes alarm for so long as Firestone can get rubber in Liberia **free of charge** the rubber price must remain below the average price which means impossibility for Liberia to progress through the development of the rubber production.

1931-1933

Liberia also reacts. The Negroes of that small Republic who had realized their predicament, started to lose all notions of appreciation for this wonderful philanthropic organization, Firestone Unlimited, and made a clean cut move towards the safety of their economic independence which in return brought about a reaction and revulsion of feelings by the Firestone Unlimited who chagrined at the turn events were taking, embarked upon a series of reprisals and engineers a great political move, resulting in Liberia being accused of **slavery and forced labour**, a capital crime repugnant to the civilized world. Although Liberia held no monopoly in this respect, it was a dangerous movenant calculated to endanger her independence.

Commissions

Following in its wake came the International Commission of Inquiry (Christy-Johnson Commission), suggestion of a mandate to Liberia. The Brunet Experts' Commission, the Plan of Assistance and finally American dictatorship.

Being unsuccessful in the foregoing, due to the impartiality of the League of Nations, it being profoundly attached to its covenant and its probity and integrity in the cause of the weak nations.

Firestone Unlimited adopted such an apathetic attitude in collaborating with the League towards the close of the negotiations, to assist Liberia to put its house in order that it created a deadlock and took advantage of the situation to carry out his final plan of economic strangulation of Liberia.

Moratorium

The latter, to avoid these dire perils, was compelled to proclaim a moratorium, which resulted in the interruption of business relations between the Liberian Government and the United States Trading Company Banking Department, as Firestone refused to release any funds whatever standing to the credit of the Government to relieve the starving population of Liberia. (Quite 90 per cent of whom have been working for over 12 months without pay).

What Firestone Asked of Liberia

As a last attempt to reduce Liberia's source of resistance (their independence), the Almighty Firestone recommends the following, through his financial adviser, to the Liberian Government for acceptance:

(1) Abolition of their State Department.
(2) Abolition of foreign representatives abroad.
(3) Abolition of post office.
(4) Abolition of National College.
(5) Abolition of hospital.
(6) Reduction of Frontier Force to 100 men with one American Commander-in-Chief.
(7) Revenue agents under control of fiscal agents to be vice-gerents to the President in different Provinces.

New Plan of Assistance

The foregoing at a glance seems to be a new plan of assistance, elaborated by Firestone Unlimited which aims to offset the accepted plan of the League of Nations, the latter guaranteeing to the small black Republic its independence and gradual economic recovery, and the former reducing Liberia from a national rank of an independent state to that of an American province, ruled, controlled and administered by Firestone. Firestone. Firestone and Firestone.

The situation in Liberia is not only dramatic but tragic, and pregnant with great potentialities, as the Liberian Government and its people with their backs to the wall despite their weakness and shortcomings are united in putting forth every legitimate effort to obviate any repetition in Liberia of those dramas enacted so vividly by Alexandre Dumas, as portrayed in the Count of Monte Cristo.

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

INTRODUCTION

for those not acquainted with events and conditions in Liberia preceding the telegram from Mr. Stimson to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Weekly Review 11-5-33

We note from our 6th document C. 720, 1932 VII, that the plan of assistance drawn up by the committee, i.e., by the representatives of the departments of Foreign Affairs of the various countries making up the committee, has been accepted by both the League and Liberia. The State Department of the United States alone has seen fit to denounce it.

We also note that in your telegraphed reply to Mr. White you returned to the charges against Liberia in the first report and that do not seem to know that the two reports definitely state that what was said in the first report does not hold true to-day.

See C/Liberia/ P.V. 12 (1)

Quotation :—

> "The experts on their arrival in Liberia found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbibbing slavery and forced labour and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."

The whole tone of the reports of the Commission of Lighthart, Brunot, and Mackenzie in 1931 is quite different from that of the 1930 Commission and you alone, do not seem to be informed of the change. In regard, however, to the first report we would say :—

1. That the acts committed by some Liberians in power in 1930, though admittedly shocking, are no more shocking in character and much less shocking in so far as the number of sufferers affected is concerned than those perpetrated by other governments which are unreproved and left in full possession of their sovereign rights. Hence, we think your recalling these incidents connected with a past government which the Liberians themselves had condemned with shame and rejected, both not relevant to the request of the N.A.A.C.P., and we also think them uniust.

2. If you will read the first report (which, by the way, was finished and signed September, 1930, and printed in Geneva on December 15, 1930 and not in January 1931 as you state) you will note that Mr. King was President at that time and was considered responsible for many of the shocking acts reported by the Committee. Will you kindly compare the attitude towards the guilty on the part of the Liberians and on the part of the Firestone Company. The Liberian Government at once forced the resignation of Mr. King and Mr. Yancy, the Vice-President. The new President Mr. Barclay, has stood the searchlight of two Commissions since and both the report of the Commissions of Brunot, Lighthart, and Mackenzie in 1931, and the report of Mackenzie alone in 1932 state that President Barclay is honest and that he has co-operated with them in every way (page 3, C. 662. M. 319, 1932 VII). Mr. King, the ex-president, discredited both by the League Commission and by his own people has been retained as counsel by the Firestone Company, a connection which speaks for itself.

In the report of the second Commission (the commission of experts) one item may have escaped you. It seems that the United States Financial Adviser instead of being an advantage to Liberia "according to these experts" was responsible for most extravagant and unwarranted expenditure. (Official No. C 469 M 238, 1932, VII, page 31).

Quotation: "The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given the Liberian Republic by the Financial Adviser at that time in office."

This is the sober opinion of the experts of the League—but it could not but be also the sober opinion of anyone who read the intimized account of this expenditure—which intimized account is given in the report of the same page. This Financial Adviser whose deplorable advice and $12,000 salary squandered Liberian money was passed on to Haiti! And you ask that financial advisers who may be such as these, be given such "ample power" that there should be no power in Liberia which could suggest that their advice was not acceptable.

In your telegram you state "We have not proposed dictatorial powers." It would seem that the officials sent there "in behalf of the League of Nations" (your words) having or not having "sufficient assurance of support and authority from both Liberia and the League of Nations to make it worth while sending them" (your words) might be a matter on which the League's Council might have a right to decide. You seem not to have heard that every member of the Committee—except the delegates from the United States, that is *every* delegate of the League of Nations considers that enough assurance of support and authority *has* been given, and we should like to know in what way the Government of the United States demand for greater authority than that with which the others are satisfied, differs from a demand for dictatorial powers, though the word "dictatorial" may not have been used in the resolution suggested by Mr. Reber in the 21st meeting.

The most surprising statement in your telegram is the following: "The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been the subject of criticism by any investigating body."

We grant that the first commission, that sent by the League in 1930, was strangely silent concerning the Firestone Company—but we should like to remind you that the British and American members of that commission were *guests* of Firestone most of the time they were in Liberia. It is rather difficult to bring in a report criticising the conduct of one's host. Yet note in even that commission's report; League of Nations bulletin C. 658. M. 272, 1930, VI, page 56, a witness before the commission at Kakata, April 30, 1930, says: "This year I have no place to stick one cassada stick. Firestone got the place, cut the bush burned it up .....This year we will have no rice because Firestone have taken our land.....We got nothing when Firestone took our land. I took work to Mr. Parker of Firestone to report, he said 'Not time yet.' Every time I go he says no time." Another witness also at Kakata the same day says, "We don't know if white people open Firestone, but the piece of ground we had Firestone took it and we have no place to work on".....But the experts, Ligthart, Brunot, and Mackenzie were not so silent about Firestone. May we point out to you the following criticism.

(League of Nations Bulletin)

Official No. C 469 M 238 1932 VII, page 14

"The advantage of the loan to the lenders was undoubtedly that they secured a large concession on very favourable terms."

Note: The farce of considering the Firestone Company the concessionaire and the Financial Corporation the lenders as different bodies has long been dropped in the League of Nations. They are spoken of as the Firestone Ground of Companies. Therefore, any criticism of the Financial Corporation is a criticism also of the Firestone Plantation Company, the concessionaire. Also the Liberians were led to believe that the Firestone Company and the Financial Corporation were two different bodies in reality and not only in name, for in accepting the Financial Corporation Company's terms even under the pressure which was exerted on the Liberian Government they insisted that the two should be different, i.e., that Firestone should not be both Lessee and creditor and so have Liberia completely in its power. Buell explained this in his chapter on the Loan that succeeded, but by using a different name for a corporation founded and controlled by itself, the Firestone Company hoodwinked the Liberians but it could not hoodwink the League of Nations.

On Page 17 of the same report is this statement:

"Liberia like all the similar regions of West Africa should be a country of small prosperous farmers working in full assurance on their own land with every facility for selling their produce."

And on pages 31 and 32: "The situation to-day is that the sum derived from the loan has been spent without material advantages (owing to the deplorable advice of the American Financial Adviser; see same page) while the annual charge represented by the salaries of the American advisers, the interest and the redemption of the loan remains." Then follows a table which gives an idea of the charges to be borne by the Liberian Republic in 1931 as a result of the loan. Liberia's charges amount, as you may see Mr. Secretary, to $269,284.32 a year, $215,634.64 interest and other expenses in connection with the debt, and $53,600 in salaries to American advisers and their expenses.

On page 32: "This table does not indicate all the expenses, since, in addition to the above officials there is also a depository for service of the loan, i.e., a bank at Monrovia, at which the tax receipts must be deposited. The Firestone Company has set up for this purpose a bank at Monrovia under the name of the United States Trading Company which has concluded an arrangement with the Liberian Government. Under the terms of this arrangement the bank is designated a depository, and receives as such a commission of one and one-half per cent, on transfers to New York. At certain places along the Coast the East Afrikaansche Company acts as a depository in return for a commission of one-half per cent."

Still on page 32: "It is impossiple to examine Liberia's financial situation without taking into account the fact that there is a close connection between this loan and the Firestone concession . . . This concession was granted on terms very favourable, to the lessee.

The situation may be expressed in figures if we calculate the receipts which the Liberian Government obtains under this concession. Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years (this was in 1931) for the whole plantation to reach its full output. The crop is estimated at 400 pounds per acre, the exports will amount to about 9000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present (1931) about five and one-half cents a pound. *But even assuming a price of twenty cents per pound*—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would total $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive one per cent or $40,320. In addition Firestone pays a rental of six cents per acre which gives $3,000. *The Republic of Liberia then receives from Firestone* $43,320 an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan ($53,600). If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of five and one half cents per pound for rubber, *the amount is only 13,188 instead of 43,320.*"

Also on page 32: "The Liberian Republic must pay its American officials"—(the salary of the Financial Adviser, his office rent, his house rent and removal expenses; the salaries of the auditor and assistant auditor, their removal expenses and allowances, Supervisor of the Internal Revenue, removal expenses Customs Supervisor, removal expenses and allowances, and the Commander of the Frontier Force all amount to $53,650) *during the period when there is no crop as well as during the period of full production.*

Liberia.

Race Problem-1933

Africa

N. Y. HERALD

FEB 1 1933

Liberian Ruler Charges 'Snub' By U. S. Envoy

De Facto President Feels Insulted by American's Letter to Mere 'Mr. Barclay'

League Hears of Matter

France Is Asked to Convey Resentment to Stimson

By The United Press

GENEVA, Jan. 31.—Reports of further strained relations between the tiny Negro republic of Liberia, in West Africa, and the United States over an alleged snub to President Edwin Barclay were aired before the Liberia committee of the League of Nations today.

The situation came up when the committee met to consider Liberia's decision to suspend payment of interest and service on a $2,250,000 loan obtained in 1926 from the Finance Corporation of America, a subsidiary of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company.

Members of the committee revealed that the problem apparently was hopelessly muddled, owing to the breakdown of regular diplomatic relations between Washington and Monrovia the Liberian capital.

During the discussion it became known that these relations had suffered because President Barclay of Liberia felt that the American Minister, Charles E. Mitchell, a Negro, had snubbed him. The incident, reported in a letter from the Liberian Secretary of State to the government of France, occurred on January 4.

The Liberian State Department's letter declared that the government could not disregard the "snub," which it "regards as an insult" to such an extent that "it cannot find it possible to continue to afford Minister Mitchell the courtesy, official or unofficial, which he hitherto has enjoyed." The Secretary of State asked the French government to convey this message to Washington.

The correspondence, shown to the committee today, pointed out that Minister Mitchell had written to President Barclay a letter about the debt, addressing him merely as: "My dear Mr. Barclay." Later, when Mr. Mitchell received a reply from the President's secretary pointing out purported inaccuracies, the minister returned the reply to the Executive Mansion with the oral communication that "the American Minister cannot accept a letter of such a nature from you."

The committee was informed that this "snub" caused all the trouble, and that diplomatic correspondence could not continue through Mr. Mitchell as minister. Hence, the debt problem ran into a deadlock in the committee, which doubted that it could reach a solution under the circumstances.

Mr. Mitchell, it appeared, sent the letter addressed simply to "Mr. Barclay" because Washington does not officially recognize the new Liberian regime under Mr. Barclay as President. Mr. Mitchell sought to protest the suspension of debt payments, and the dispute followed.

Protest Not Received at Capital

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—The State Department said tonight it had not received, through the French government, the complaint of President Barclay of Liberia against an alleged insult from American Minister Mitchell.

The situation, it was explained, undoubtedly arose out of actions of the Barclay administration and the Liberian legislature to alter basic requirements in the 1926 loan agreement, actions which the American government has resisted and which are the reason for the committee meeting at Geneva. One of the Barclay complaints cabled from Geneva appears to have rested on the fact that the American Minister addressed a letter on the subject to him as "My dear Mr. Barclay," and another on the fact that, as American Minister, he had refused to receive a reply to it from the President's secretary, a clerk.

The State Department's attitude was that the Minister's letter was personal, and, like all others sent to the President, in view of the American nonrecognition of the administration, was addressed in that way. Upon receiving the reply from a clerk, instead of the President, Mr. Mitchell was instructed to send it back by his clerk to the sender, with an explanation that it could not be received by the Minister.

Minister Mitchell, formerly business manager of West Virginia State College for Negroes, was appointed by President Hoover as Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia in September, 1930. He was a Republican National Committeeman from West Virginia for many years.

BOSTON, MASS.
TRANSCRIPT

JAN 31 1933

The Need for an Adviser to Liberia

One of the most delicate of the relatively minor tasks ahead of the League of Nations is to straighten out the finances of the Republic of Liberia and to establish the credit of that country on a firm basis. The Negro republic is as much an independent sovereignty as the United States itself, and no more subject to mandate; consequently it seems to be the recognized program of the League to accomplish such reforms as may seem necessary through the appointment of an "adviser." Liberia represents perhaps the sole experiment, on any large scale, in self-government by Negroes, and not alone the fate of its more than a million native inhabitants but of some thousands of Americans resident there, many of them Negroes, now hangs in the balance of international consideration. For more than a hundred years the United States Government, American colonization societies and various other organizations, one of them in Boston, have exerted themselves to preserve and advance the Liberian experiment, which is to the Negro somewhat analogous to the Zionism of the Jews; yet the end of this century finds the republic seriously in need of stern yet sympathetic guidance.

As far back as 1909, an American commission composed of white and colored Americans reported upon Liberian conditions, finding the Negro Republic faced with many difficulties, the most important of which were registered as maintenance of the integrity of the frontiers, effective control of the native tribes, systematization of the national finances, to enable the payment of foreign and private debts, and development of the hinterland in such a way as to increase the volume of trade, for Liberian revenue is dependent chiefly upon customs duties and "hut" or real estate taxes. With reference to hinterland development, the Firestone Company has acquired a million acres of Liberian land, some 50,000 of which are under cultivation—rubber trees are now being planted at the rate of 10,000 a day—and the company also has made a large loan to the Government, but will refuse to advance more until the credit of the country and the administration of its affairs are placed on a more substantial and promising basis.

The League of Nations has appointed a Committee on Liberia, and it will be part of its duty to select the "adviser," upon whose ability and tact so much of the future of the Liberian experiment may depend. It will have the warrant of the American committee of 1909, that "there are many precedents for the delegation by a sovereign State of its international representation to the diplomatic machinery of another State"; and of course any such step as is contemplated by the League must have the assent of the Liberian Government. That Government is a bit miffed at the United States, whether warrantably or not, and of late has been snuggling up more to Europe. For other reasons, also, the League may find it more appropriate to appoint a European than an American representative; but this need imply nothing of menace to American interests or to the concern of Americans for the advancement of the country. The selection of this representative, however, bids fair to mark the next important practical step to be taken in behalf of Liberia and its people, whose kinship with the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States may not be overlooked.

FIRESTONE WILL APPROVE LOAN MORATORIUM

Liberian - U. S. Peace Hinges Now on Rehiring Jobholders.

3-1-33

CAN'T STARVE "BUGGERS" OUT

Firestone Said to Have Thwarted Concession.

(Special to the AFRO)

MONROVIA, Liberia.—From an official governmental source, the AFRO-AMERICAN has learned that representatives of the Firestone Company here and in America have made overtures to the League of Nations to accept Liberia's demand for a debt moratorium with suspension of interest and amortization payments.

A stumbling block in the path toward realization of Liberia's request, however, is the insistence of the Firestone interests that the government agree to continue the same personnel of fiscal officers. This, the administration has refused.

The entire foreign element in the republic, together with 99 per cent of the natives, is backing the administration in this struggle. In the first place, it it reported that the combined salaries of the British, German, Dutch, Syrian, French and Swiss heads of firms established in Liberia would not equal the salaries paid to the three American loan officials here.

Unsuccessful efforts on their part to starve the administration out, it is said, led to the overtures from the Firestone group. The Bank of Firestone is no longer the depository of the government and it is reported that in 1931 and 1932 and also in January of this year, Firestone made several trips to Copenhagen to discourage the Danish capitalists from investing in Liber

"Starve Buggers Out"

He is reported to have said that he held the only power in Liberia and that he could "starve the d— buggers out." The struggle going on between the Firestone group and the government is being eagerly watched by the population and it is evident that peace now hinges upon the re-employment of jobholders.

The Danish-Liberian concession, the paper of the 99 years' lease, has been presented the legislature and revised four times and the Danes have not yet come out. Local Europeans are quick to point out that the present attitude of the government should have been taken two years ago.

LIBERIA WRONG AGAIN

LIBERIA continues to stay in the limelight. Not satisfied with the wave of unfavorable publicity that beat upon her when the illegal and inhuman traffic in "boys" was effectively exposed in 1930 and 1931, the Barclay administration has sent Dr. F. W. M. Morais and other spokesmen for the native population to a jungle military prison located in the heart of the cannibal country. Their only crime was speaking up for the defenseless natives. They have never been tried in any Liberian court.

As if this were not enough, the Barclay administration has completely repudiated its loan agreement with the Finance Corporation of America, a Firestone subsidiary, by passing a resolution in the legislature to suspend all payment of principal and interest for an indefinite period. In defense of this action, President Barclay has pointed to the fact that other countries have declared moratoriums during the depression and that the Finance Corporation has refused to make concessions.

The facts are that, through the League of Nations "Plan of Assistance" signed by all interested parties on September 27, 1932, in Geneva, the Finance Corporation of America agreed to advance Liberia ADDITIONAL funds to enable it to meet its expenses and carry forward improvements until such time as the republic's treasury contained sufficient money to meet all government obligations. When Mr. Lyle, Vice President of the Finance Corporation, visited Liberia in December he immediately conferred with President Barclay, requesting the Executive to lay any plans or requests before him for consideration, stressing the willingness of the Corporation to help, in accordance with the "Plan of Assistance." This meeting was on December 14th. The following day President Barclay, having informed Mr. Lyle that Liberia had no plans or requests, had his legislature to pass the resolution suspending all payments stipulated in the loan agreement. The loan officials have now retaliated by refusing to release any money for the payment of Liberian officials, from the President down.

The folly of these Liberians is incredible. They cannot exist without the support and co-operation of the natives, yet they antagonize them and send their leaders to rot in jungle jails. They can get no money to improve their country save through the good graces of the Finance Corporation because of the terms of the loan agreement and because no other country or firm will do business with Liberia until such time as its relations with the American firm are cleared up satisfactorily. Yet they antagonize the company and insult its agents.

We are all interested in Liberia and want to see the republic progress because it is governed by those related to us. In a real way, the Negro is on trial in Liberia, and so far he has unquestionably failed. If because of ignorance, petty politics and stubbornness, the Liberians egg the United States on to intervention, it will be their own fault. No country has so consistently been their friend. No country has so frequently aided them in fighting off the encroachments of England and France. No country has done more to help them for the century of the republic's existence. Now they turn on the only friend they have ever really had. Such a policy is madness.

LIBERIA

League Action on the Moratorium

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The Committee of the League Council appointed to consider the request of the Liberian Government for assistance met on Tuesday, with Viscount Cecil presiding, to consider what action should be taken in view of the fact that the Liberian Legislature declared an indefinite moratorium on December 17 on the interest and sinking fund payments of the loan granted to Liberia in 1926.

Copies of the exchange of correspondence between the United States and Liberian Governments regarding this question were laid before the Committee. The American Government said that it regarded the unilateral action taken by Liberia as not only an effort to repudiate a legitimate contract, but also an effort "to nullify the engagements made by Liberia in Geneva." The Government believed that it would be impossible for the Finance Corporation to continue negotiations on a plan of assistance until the moratorium had been revoked. At the same time it was indicated that the Finance Corporation, appreciating the financial difficulties of Liberia, would be willing to admit a temporary de facto moratorium while the negotiations in Geneva were being concluded, provided the Liberian Government revoked its resolution of December 17.

The Council Committee decided to send a telegram in this sense to the President of Liberia.

ATLANTA GA. CONSTITUTION
MARCH 26, 1933

Urban League Bulletin

By JESSE O. THOMAS.

Of recent years the negro republic of Liberia has received considerable attention because of the unfortunate condition of the country as a result of the World War.

Liberia was originally settled by the American Colonization Society of America in 1817 as a haven for free negroes. In 1847, it was constituted as the free and independent republic of Liberia. The republic grew to an area of 40,000 square miles with a population of approximately 2,000,000 people.

In 1911, an international loan of $1,700,000 was made to the republic by the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, and was administered by controllers for each of these countries until the World War.

Because of the cessation of trade and weakened finances during the World War, Liberia found it necessary to arrange for a $5,000,000 loan with the United States. This loan did not meet the approval of congress in 1921, when presented. However, on July 1, 1927, the Liberian government entered into a contract with the Firestone Rubber Company, of Akron, Ohio, for a loan of $5,000,000. The terms of the loan are known as the "Three Planting Agreements," the first of which gives to the company the Mount Barclay rubber plantation of 2,000 acres for experimental purposes. The second gives the company the right to lease a million acres of rubber land. The third of the agreements obligates the company to construct a harbor at Monrovia with its own funds and engineers, subject to reimbursement by the Liberian government at an interest rate of 7 per cent.

Since the signing of the agreement with the Firestone Company, there has been much conjecture as to the relationship of the Firestone Company and its concession to the United States department of state.

Because of the widespread interest in the welfare of Liberia and its relationship to the Firestone concession, the "27 Club" Forum Council, of Atlanta, has invited Anna Graves, who maintains headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, and who has been in close touch with the problems of Liberia, because of her close contact with the League of Nations, and a three-year visit to Liberia, where she had an opportunity to study, quite thoroughly, Liberia's problems. She will speak Sunday, March 26, at 4 p. m., First Congregational church, corner Houston and Courtland streets, on "Liberia and Its Firestone Concession." Admission is free and the public is cordially invited.

DENISON, TEX.
HERALD
MAY 26 1933

LIBERIA GROWS DEFIANT.

The Republic of Liberia, which was founded by the United States before the Civil war as a haven for freed slaves, has always been considered a ward of this country. The problem of the freed slave was a difficult one before the War Between the States, as the South did not want him and the North would not have him. Georgia and Virginia passed laws requiring all freed slaves to leave the state as soon as they were given their freedom, and Massachusetts immediately passed a law forbidding a former slave from entering her borders. This left an emancipated slave no place to go.

The government conceived the idea of founding a colony in Africa and returning these former slaves to the land from which they had come. Accordingly, a commission was appointed and purchased from the native chiefs the territory which is now Liberia. Several thousand negroes were taken to Africa and became the nucleus of a growing colony. A republic was founded, modeled after the American republic, with a constitution almost identical with ours and a flag that was very similar. From that day to this, the United States has shown paternal interest in Liberia. Several times we have sent over warships to protect the Liberians in their wars with native tribes. We have loaned Liberia vast sums of money.

But the Liberians have of late years shown an attitude of defiance toward the United States. In 1929, it was proven that certain Liberians were actually engaged in the slave trade, selling their helpless black brothers from the jungles to Spanish employers. This country rebuked Liberia and soon afterward diplomatic relations ceased. Now Liberia has repudiated all her indebtedness to the United States and has spurned all our advice and counsel.

The American State Department is convinced that some European power is backing Liberia in this step. This republic is the only independent negro state in Africa. If it could be destroyed, all the continent would be under the control of Europeans. And the Liberians seem to be listening to the advice of some scheming European nation and turning against their best friend, the United States.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Liberia

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

INTRODUCTION

for those not acquainted with events and conditions in Liberia preceding the telegram from Mr. Stimson to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

1. Liberia's debt in 1926 amounted approximately to $1,493,776 on most of which (the external debt) she was paying 5%, and on some of which (the internal debt) she was paying only 3%.

(For details concerning the borrowings, which caused this indebtedness and the way in which Liberia was cheated, so that the country got practically nothing of this money on which she has been paying interest, cheated both by the British bank and by her own president—See Buell Native Problems in Africa Vol. II, Chapter on Liberia, p.796. See also—for figures in detail—League of Nations Bulletin Official No. C.469 M.233 1932 VII, page 30. This is an account of the situation in 1931, but it also gives some (and ealier figures.)

2 Territorial aggression on the part of both France and Britain.

(1) France in 1892 takes land between Cavalla and San Pedro River, formerly Liberian and adds it to the Ivory Coast. (See Buell The Native Problem in Africa, Vol. II, pp. 789-90.

(2) England in 1908 adds to Sierra Leone land which as recently as 1904 she had acknowledged Liberian. (See Buell Vol. 19, p.p. 786-787.)

(3) France, in 1923, states in her Colonial report that it was not yet settled to what degree she would extend her influence over Liberia. (See Buel Vol. II. p.782.)

Liberia terrified at possibility of being sliced out of existence, considers that her safety might be greater if she should welcome an American concessionaire, for in protecting the property of its national, the United States might insist on the territorial security of the Country where that National's property was invested.

3. Hoover, at that time Minister of Commerce, becomes panicky about Britain's owning or controlling most of the rubber of the world. He is either inspired by Firestone or inspires Firestone. They are personal friends.

4. Firestone decides to invest in Liberia—negotiations begin.

5. Firestone demands extraordinary terms—one million acres to be selected by him, where he chooses, without compensation from him to the natives displaced, when he *notifies* Government that he *has selected certain* sections the government is to warrant him the title, etc., etc. One million acres being one twentieth of all Liberia. See below in letter to Mr. Stimson, and also see Buell, Vol. II, pp. 818, Liberia, the chapter on Firestone.

Firestone also demands that Liberia allow some financial body in the United States to redeem and refund the debts and accumulated interest and lend Liberia still more money, i.e., increase her debt, up to $5,000,000, if it was thought best (by the financial body) and at any rate up to $2,500,000, and on this Liberia was to pay 7%; and that a corps of highly paid American advisers take charge of the finance of the country; Firestone also demanded later that all revenue from the trees of the country be deposited in an American Bank in Liberia (the British Bank of West Africa to leave) and that this revenue was to be in the control of the American financial adviser, he being able to shut off all funds from the government even for sanitation, if he did not like the Government's policy. See Buel, chapters on the Firestone Agreements and the Loan that succeeded.

7. Liberia hssitates to accept such terms—does not wish to increase debt—also insists that if the terms should be accepted that the financial corporation which lent the money should *not* be Firestone (not wishing to be entirely in the power of one body). Firestone promises to spend $300,000 on harbor (which he has never done!) French aggression still feared, but Liberia hesitates—1924-25, and settles down to economy and begins to do well. See Buell. The contracts are very unpopular, especially the increased debt. The Native Problem in Africa, Section Liberia—Chapters on Liberian Finance. The Firestone Agreements and the Loan that succeeded.

8. Firestone deals with Mr. King, President.

(*a*) Mr. King suddenly had more money than even the Fernando Po incidents warranted.

(*b*) Firestone has stood by Mr. King since Mr. King was proved guilty in the first commission's report of the very shocking acts which Mr. Stimson seems to think so shocking that the innocent present president must be punished for them though the guilty ex-president is Firestone's counsel.

(*c*) The whole transaction was so secret that even one of the departments concerned in the United States Governmment could not get the information from the other. Departments of State and Commerce. See Buell Vol. II, p. 851.

(*d*) When it was discovered that the State Department's higher officials were being kept in the dark by the lower officials about the white contract to use slave labour in Abyssinia, and the acting Secretary of State at that time was told of it and reminded of Liberia, he said: "My God, yes, and there is not going to be another such contract as Liberia's while I am Secretary." The State Department refused to sanction the white contract, though under officials in the Department were trying to get it through and warned Mr. White when Mr. Coton was told that the public was awake.

(*e*). Mr. King signed the contracts, and some of the members of his Cabinet did not see them until too late. The Attorney General did not know until it was done, though he had opposed.

9 The contracts with the Firestone Plantation Company and with the Financial Corporation were signed, 1926 (The United Trading Co., did not displace the British Bank of West Africa until January 1931.) The two, contrary to the expressed stipulation of the Liberians, turned out to be one and the same thing. Firestone has Liberia in a strangle hold.

10, Great discontent, and scandals in Liberia. The members of the political party opposed to that of which Mr. King was chief, send letters to America and to the League, accusing Liberian Government officials of corruption and of sharing in profits of forced labors.

11. Liberia invites a Commission to investigate, to be under League of Nation's supervision. Report of this Commission made (Finished and signed) *in September 1930—not January 1931.* as Mr. Stimson states.

12. Report (League of Nations publication C.658. M 272 1930 VI) finds;

(*a*). Slavery exists among primitive tribes.

(*b*). Pawning of children to enable parents to pay taxes not infrequent.

(*c*). Labour forced from tribal people and sent to Libreville and Fernando Po, *President King* and *Vice President Yancy* involved in the forcing and in the profit sharing from proceeds of this labour.

(*d*). Atrocities committed by members of the *Frontier Force* in obtaining this labour, by which Mr. King and Mr. Yancy profitted on their own farms as well as in sending it to Libreville and Fernando Po, and in extorting excessive and not infrequently illegal taxes from tribal people—members of the Government seemingly profitting by these surplus's.

13. Liberian people and members of Liberian Government ignorant of, or actively opposing, these acts of unworthy or (greatly tempted) members of their government, (also glad of an excuse for deposing the man who had tied them up with Firestone) for resignation of Mr. King and Mr. Yancy.

14. Mr. Barclay—Secretary of State—mentioned only once in the report and then because he had *prevented* the sending of forced labour to Fernando Po—first made President.—pro-tem, then elected President.

15. America refuses to recognize Mr. Barclay!

16. Liberia appeals to League for assistance.

17. League appoints a special Committee of Council, on which Committee the United States Government has a representative, Mr. Reber, to study question and three experts are appointed: Ligthart, from Holland; Brunot, a Frenchman; and Dr. Mackenzie, expert in tropical hygiene, a Britisher, but a member of the permanent staff in the League. These experts visited Liberia in 1931, investigated conditions and made a report and a detailed plan of "assistance."

18. Dr. Mackenzie goes again, alone, in 1932.

19. Campaign of calumny against Liberia by? So that (1) interest in her was lessened and it was difficult to make even Negroes care whether she was strangled or not, also (2) a deliberate attempt to stir up tribes against Government. For proof of (2) See Dr. Mackenzie's report—League of Nations Bulletin C.662 M.319.

(*a*). Almost no papers would publish anything about the way she was being cheated and strangled.

(*b*). Even editorials were written in liberal papers on unproved stories against her.

20. Stories that she was not trying to put down slavery and had not stopped sending forced labour to Fernando Po disproved by findings of experts commission—see below in letter to Mr. Stimson. Also minutes of Committee of Council of League of Nations C/Liberia P.V. 12 (1) page 13.

21. Stories that the Kru Wars were due to reprisals for information against tha Government—disproved by Mr. Rydings and Mr. Travell and also indirectly by Dr. Mackenzie in 1932. See below. Also minutes of Committee of Council of League of Nations C/Liberia P.V. 14 (1) pages 14-15 and C/Liberia P.V. 24 (v) page 8.

22. League's Council Committee has twenty-five meetings on question and agrees on plan—accepted by Liberia—but the Firestone Co-,

induces the United States State Department to refuse co-operation at 21st meeting in plan, unless practically dictatorial powers are given to a Chief Adviser, who would be practically an agent of Firestone.

23. At this juncture the N.A.A.C.P., remonstrates and receives the following telegram from Mr. Stimson.

24. During this time—spring and summer of 1932—Mr. Davidson, the director of the United Trading Co., the bank in which the revenues are deposited, an Englishman, an old and tried official of the National City Bank, recommended to Firestone by the National City Bank, refused to conform to Firestone's orders, considering them unfair to Liberia and, because of this refusal, was dismissed by Firestone. He then sued Firestone and Firestone employed Mr. King as his counsel, the man whose conduct largely is responsible for the stories held against Liberia.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH

ISD. CY. 309 N.L.

SD. Washington D.C. Sept. 27

Mr. Walter White Secy. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois Editor the *Crisis*, 69 Fifth Avenue New York City.

The view of this government in respect to Liberia is simply that any officials sent there in behalf of the League of Nations shall have sufficient assurance of support aud authority from both Liberia and the League of Nations to make it worth-while sending them. The United States has no desire or plan to intervene in Liberia but is seeking to co-operate with the other Nations of the world in bringing to an end conditions which have shocked the humanitarian sentiments of the whole civilized globe. In January 1931 an International Commission of Inquiry reported that conditions continued with the knowledge if not the active participation of the high officials in Liberian Government. It was a distressing revelation for a country founded a century ago in the name of human freedom. The remedy suggested by the League has been supervision of Liberian administration by non-partisin officials representing the enlightened nations of the world. We have urged only that these officials be promised in advance sufficient authority to make them useful. The experience of previous advisers established in Liberia has been that without adequate authority their presence accomplishes nothing whatever. Our Government is ready to approve any practicable plan based on these principles but in the absence of an adequate grant of authority by Liberia feels that International co-operation would be futile. We have not proposed dictatorial powers but we have been reluctant to see an assumption of responsibility by an international commission which has not been granted power to meet that responsibility. The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interests but of order and humanity. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State. 12.48 a.m.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. STIMSON.

Dear Mr. Secretary,—We have before us :—

1. The telegram sent to you on September 27, 1932 by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

2. Your answer to Mr. White, the Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

3. The report of the International Commission sent to Liberia in 1930. League of Nations Official No.C 658. M.272. 1930 VI.

4. The League of Nations document of which the official No. is C.469. M.238. 1932 VII, which consists of :

(*a*) Report of the Council Committee.

(*b*) Report of the experts designated by the Committee (experts Ligthart, Brunot, and Mackenzie, sent by the League to investigate conditions in Liberia summer of 1931).

(*c*) Memorandum of Liberian Government on the Report of the Expert.

(*d*) Draft of the detailed plan of assistance prepared by experts.

(*e*) General principles of the plan.

5. Report of Dr. Mackenzie on his mission to the Kru Coast—summer of 1932—Official No. C. 662. M. 219, 1932 VII; September 24, 1932.

Mimeographed copy (mimeographed in the League of Nations, and distributed by it to those whom the members of the Committee wish to possess copies. Official No. C 720, 1932 VII; October 12, 1932). Report by Committee of the Council containing principles of the plan of assistance—*drawn up by the committee, and accepted by the Liberian representatives.*

7. A complete set of the mimeographed minutes of the committee of the Council of the League of Nations appointed to examine problems raised by Liberian Government's request for assistance from the 6th through the 25th meetings.

8. Mimeographed copies of various communications which different members of the Committee asked to be distributed to members of the committee.

MIAMI, FLA.
HERALD

APR 25 1933

MINISTER TO LIBERIA

AMONG those who would like to be American statesman is James William Noble, negro capitol custodian and "dean of state house employes" at Oklahoma City, Okla. He has written President Roosevelt applying for the appointment as minister to Liberia.

It is a noble ambition of Noble and he possesses some of the qualifications. For one, he has the temerity to ask for the job, and that is something. For another, he professes to be a good Jeffersonian Democrat, whatever that may be in these times. He claims to have swept out the dust of carpetbag rule when the Republican stranglehold was broken, and that is a record worthy of note. Then he must be a diplomat to have bossed a capitol building for years. And not altogether the least argument is the fact that he owns and can wear a silk hat and swallow-tail coat, without which no one can expect to be a great statesman. Mr. Noble's application should be given due consideration.

Just why he should prefer to surrender the job of janitor in the Oklahoma statehouse to become envoy to Liberia, however, is a question that we cannot answer.

NEGROES AND LIBERIA

The Negro press and Negro journalists of the United States have committed a faux pas which may have acted as a boomerang to the aspirations of budding Negro diplomats. We have reference to the recent calumnies directed at Liberia by the Negro press and the unwarranted "pot boilers" by Schuyler in several magazines.

Liberia has been branded as being incapable of self government and intervention by the United States has been suggested by the Negro press of America. Its citizens have been described as lazy and shiftless and the whole country has been libeled by a journalist whose knowledge of Liberia was gained by a ten days' visit.

We are not aware that Liberia requested the appointment of a white minister. The people of Liberia believe in the potentiality of the Negro. They are so race conscious that in all Liberia a mixed marriage is an unheard of procedure. This, too, despite the social contact with liberal Europeans. To them Liberia is for the black man. With these points foremost in our minds it may be far-fetched to think that they would request a white United States diplomat.

On the other hand, however, it would not be surprising if they allowed their resentment to control them and strike back at us, the Negroes of America.

Then again President Roosevelt may have taken the Negro journalists' view that the Negro is incapable of administering a government.

We are not in favor of suppressing the truth, but the information published of Liberia by Negro journals and journaists, has been distorted and untruthful..

NEW YORK WORLD—
Telegram

JUN 14 1933

LIBERTY FOR LIBERIA.

PEACE organizations and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People are protesting the State Department's reported policy of forcing an American adviser upon the Liberian government. The protests are in order.

The United States government already has enough trouble at home and abroad without embarking on a new venture in imperialism.

Liberia has asked the League of Nations committee, which is now meeting in London with an American representative, to name as chief foreign adviser for Liberia a citizen of some nation which neither has nor seeks Liberian concessions. That is a reasonable request. It should rule out not only the United States but also Great Britain and France and the other imperialistic powers.

Race Problem - 1933

Liberia

Africa

"Liberia's Sovereignty Is Of Vital Concern To American People"---Thomas Jesse Jones

1-21-33

New York N.Y.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Without missionary contributions education in Liberia would be practically negligible, as four-fifths of the total expenditures for this purpose comes from America, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, stated in his address at the League of Nations Association Convention held here last week. Showing an intelligent grasp of his subject, "Liberia and the League of Nations," Dr. Jones said:

"Liberian sovereignty is a vital concern of the American people and of the League of Nations. For over a hundred years the United States Government, American Colonization Societies and American missionaries have endeavored to preserve and to advance the Liberian experiment in self-government by Negroes. The exceedingly precarious condition of Liberia at the present time brings to a climax similar conditions that have threatened the Republic in practically every decade of its existence.

"An accurate statement of these conditions was made by the Commission of the United States of America to the Republic of Liberia in 1909. This commission, composed of white and colored Americans, approached the problems of the Republic with the utmost sympathy. Their report, published in 1910 by the United States State Department, is as applicable to conditions in 1933 as to those in 1909.

"It would require a volume of distressing and disappointing history to relate all the negotiations and all the efforts of the American Government and American people to help Liberia to solve her problems. The general character of these efforts and the reason for their failures are clearly implied in the following quotation from the report of the United States Commission of 1909:

"It is, however, to be remarked that in the past the assumption by the United States of the position of next friend has been unavailing, and the remonstrances of this Government have generally been met by an intimation that the dispute has been settled directly with Liberia. Something more is needed if the United States is to discharge any adequate function of advocacy and counsel for Liberia—such, for instance, as a treaty engagement whereby Liberia delegates and the United States assumes the function of attorney in fact for Liberia in matters of international controversy. There are many precedents for the delegation by a soverign state of its international representation to the diplomatic machinery of another state."

"This exceedingly frank statement is of extraordinary significance to all the friends of Liberia and especially to the League of Nations Committee appointed in 1931 to help Liberia during its present grave crisis. The clear implications of this statement are, first, that the difficulties of Liberia are not primarily in the powerful neighbors without, nor in the indifference or mistakes of the American Government. Second, that Liberia should follow trustworthy international precedents whereby a soverign state delegates its international representation to the diplomatic machinery of another state.

"The clear implication of the above recommendation, as to the delegation of authority by a sovereign state, underlies the plan of the League of Nations Committee on Liberia at the present time, namely, to persuade Liberia to grant to a chief adviser, to be appointed by the League of Nations, sufficient authority to administer a plan of assistance for the Republic of Liberia. Since the Report of the American Commission of 1909, Liberian Affairs have been complicated by the upheavals of the Great War, the failure of the efforts to grant a United States loan in 1921, the entrance of the Firestone Rubber Company in 1926, and the disclosures of the International Commission on Slavery and Forced Labor in 1930; but the Liberian problem remains essentially the same, whether those responsible for the administation of the Liberian Republic will accept a plan of assistance whereby definite authority may be granted to a representative of the League of Nations, and thus guarantee the fulfilment of any obligations incurred.

Role Played By Coolnization Societies.

"American Colonization Societies are still active in all matters relating to the peace and progress of Liberia. The American Colonization Society in Washington, D. C., the New York State Colonization Society, and the Trustees of Donations in Boston represent the best citizenship of America. They have helped to maintain schools and so to develop the citizenship of Liberia.

"For more than a century, American missionary societies have sent devoted missionaries and large sums of money to found and maintain schools, hospitals and churches. At present these societies are sending $250,000 annually to Liberia for the physical, educational and religious development of the people. These generous contributions from America constitute more than four-fifths of the total expenditures for education in Liberia. Without missionary contributions education in Liberia would be practically negligible.

Firestone Stimulates Economic Welfare.

"In 1926, the Firestone Rubber Developments were begun in Liberia. The Firestone Company is well-known in America for its high business principles in dealing with its employees as well as wth the general public. Though the purpose of the organization in Liberia is avowedly economic and commercial, their sound business principles and methods have been maintained in all their Liberian activities. The company has been uniformly just and generous in dealing with native labor both as regards wages and conditions of employment. Liberia imperatively needs a sound economic groundwork and the Firestone activities are helping to create better conditions of life and stimulating the improvement of the whole economic fabric. Until the international financial depression limited the expansion of the company, the economic welfare of Liberia was stimulated and advanced in many directions.

"More important than all American interests in Liberia is that of the twelve million American Negroes whose blood relationship to Americo-Liberians is a vital factor in all international plans for the safety and progress of the Republic of Liberia. The United States government has consistently appointed a Negro to the position of Minister to Liberia and these diplomatic envoys have been representatives of the best thought, interest and sympathy of American Negroes in the welfare of Liberia. The basic kinship of American Negroes, the historical relationship of American Colonization Societies and the devotion and generosity of American missionaries are substantial guarantees that American business and American Government will continue to work actively and sincerely for the full development of Liberia and Liberians. If the League of Nations can secure the cooperation of those responsible for the Liberian Government and will give effective recognition to the historic American interest in Liberia, an authoritative plan of assistance to Liberia will be realized. and Liberian affairs will be placed on a sound and enduring foundation."

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 14 1933

LIBERIA AND THE LEAGUE.

The Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, THOMAS JESSE JONES, in addressing the League of Nations Association Convention yesterday in St. Louis Mo., remarked that it would require a volume of distressing and disappointing history to relate all the negotiations and efforts of the American Government and the American people to help Liberia.

It is about the size of the State of Pennsylvania and has a native population of between one and two million. The coast groups, which have attained various degrees of civilization, include 50,000 or 60,000, of whom about 30,000 observe European or American standards of life, the Americo-Liberian numbers being about 15,000. There are not more than a hundred white persons of European and American origin. The problem is more difficult than the numbers suggest, and the difficulty is increased by the failure of the Americo-Liberians to recognize the importance of the agricultural, industrial and commercial development of the country. They have been almost wholly if not exclusively concerned in commercial pursuits and government service.

Historically the people of the United States, through the Government, the American colonization societies and American missionaries, have endeavored to advance the experiment of self-government by the Negroes. Not only has there been for more than a century substantial and genuine concern of American groups in this experiment; millions of Negroes in America have an interest in what their blood-relations in Liberia are able to do in the way of self-government with such incentive as they have from this side. But though the United States has been Liberia's "next friend" and generous in its helpfulness, we have not been able to give such immediate and effective direction as seems to be imperatively needful.

The League of Nations, through its International Committee on Liberia, may now give such assistance without impairing the sovereignty of this little State with less than a fourth of the population of New York City. Secretary STIMSON urged late last September that the "adviser" to Liberia to be appointed by the League of Nations be given full authority to administer the Government, with responsibility to the Council of the League. Through such an agency the historic altruistic interest of the people of America should be

able to function more effectively. Particularly will be needed such educational provision as is illustrated here by Hampton and Tuskegee. That is the best gift which the American Negro has to send back to the shores from which his ancestors were compelled to come to ours.

Firestone Has Been "Double Crossed" By Scheming Liberian Politicians, Says English Writer

LONDON, ENGLAND—High government officials of the Republic of Liberia are not only accredited with being astute politicians, but in some respects none too ethical and dependable, according to an English writer, who, in an article in London Truth, charges that the Firestone rubber interests of the United States have been duped by wily and shrewd Liberians. The word picture presented of the situation follows:

"Everybody knows that Mr. Firestone U. S. A., makes excellent rubber tires, but Mr. Firestone has, I fear, burnt his fingers rather badly by sticking them into a very hot place called Liberia, the Negro Republic in West Africa. The story opens about ten years ago, when Great Britain saved her rubber plantations in the Far East from ruin by adopting temporarily what was called the Stevenson Rubber Restriction Scheme. It meant, of course, that our Yankee friends had to pay a decent price for their rubber, and at once a great howl went up about a British 'corner' in rubber. Mr. Hoover lent his support to this flapdoole, and poor Mr. Firestone, who I am told, is no politician, but just one of the best of American citizens, blundered into the politician's trap and patriotically agreed to 'save the American rubber industry' by going into Liberia. If he had consulted the Foreign and Colonial Offices in Whitehall, I am sure that a thousand Hoovers would never have dragged him into such an infernal mess.

"Before long Mr. Firestone discovered that Liberia was badly misgoverned, that the country reeked of corruption and infamy and that its Negro statesmen were mainly concerend with lining their own pockets, some even going to the length of sharing in the profits of slavery. But it was then too late for Mr. Firestone to draw back, for he had poured out millions of dollars in loans to the Negro government, and in laying down rubber plantations. It is said that Mr. Firestone's Liberian venture has probably dipped into his banking account to the tune of nearly two millions sterilng!

Firestones In The Middle

"The inevitable happened. The scandalous state of affairs in Liberia could no longer be ignored, and there followed Commissioners of Inquiry and discussions as to what should be done. The Liberians were invited to meet the League of Nations Committees, but the idea of Liberian statesmanship is a mixture of dignity and impudence—and a little palm oil. Finally the League evolved a plan for the reform of Liberia which was acceptable to all parties. It is really a good plan, but it depends on Mr. Firestone's banking account. Mr. Firestone knows that the Liberians either won't or can't pay him a cent of interest on the money he has loaned, nor a single dollar refund of capital, and the rubber plantations—if all one hears is correct—are simply a huge white elephant. Yet Mr. Firestone is now cooly asked to place a further substantial sum of money at the disposal of the statesmen of Monrovia to enable them to carry out the league reforms—indeed, he is asked for a good many other things too.

"The card-sharper has, I believe, a dodge which is called double-crossing. Something of this ki in the treatment of Mr. Firesto is revealed by the latest devel ment in Liberia. Whilst the Leag Mr. Firestone and the Ameri government were planning the form of Liberia and considerin especially Mr. Firestone—the fir cial part o fthe scheme, one of bright young statesmen of M rovia came to Europe with a liant conception. Nothing was to the League or to Mr. Fires about his mission. It is now un stood that he has arranged, on half of the Liberian Governmen sell what looks like the asset about half the blessed country a group of company promoters Hamburg and Copenhagen. The mary object is stated to be tha building roads in Liberia. T roads are to have a complete n opoly over all traffic. Even traffic from Mr. Firestone's pla tions would have to pay a he toll to the syndicate, and shipm from Monrovia and certain o ports would also have to pay t ute to the syndicate.

Monrovian Statesmen to Prof

"But the concession—at any as drafted—is not limited to roa Other trifles are thrown in, such the gift to the syndicate of h areas of native lands, the creat of a sugar monopoly, and, fina rights to the whole of the miner of the country of every sort kind. It all looks very generous the syndicate but tucked away one corner is a pretty little con tion, namely, that the Monrovi statesmen are to take 25 per c interest in the concern for t treasury, of course!

"One of these special monop trunk roads is to run from the W Coast to British territory in t North and another from the co to French territory in the Ea with the double objective of cutti off both French and British tra which, by the way, is to be ma illegal within one mile of any offi of the syndicate.

"Mr. Firestone wants to kn whether he is to go on finding d lars for the Liberian Governm whilst they double-cross him w economic strangulation. The Leag wants to know why they were ne told that they were being torpedo British merchants are going to a Whitehall what will happen British trade agreements. Last Herriot's Foreign Office has I told, addressed some very point questions to certain quarters abo gentlemen from Hamburg who wa o build a harbor on the Atlan Coast, and then a broad highw right up to the backdoor of Fren Equatorial Africa. What, I w der, will be the next chapter the comedy?"

U. S., LIBERIA CLASH OVER $5,000,000 DEBT

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—(UP)—A diplomatic clash between the American and Liberian governments in which the former charged that Liberia had violated its $5,000,000 loan contract with the Finance Corporation of America, a subsidiary of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., was revealed today by the state department.

So violent has been the controversy that the American legation in Monrovia deemed it necessary to return, without reading, a "discourteous" note from the secretary of President Barclay, of Liberia.

The trouble arose over an act passed by the Liberian legislature calling for suspension of payments on the finance company's loan and the dismissal by the Liberian government of one of its American financial advisors.

LIBERIA IS ACCUSED OF BREAKING PACT

State Department Says Barclay Administration Violates Rights of American Creditors.

ISSUE WILL GO TO GENEVA

International Committee Will Be Asked to Use Pressure to Force Repealing of Legislation.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—Executive acts and legislation by Liberia designed to modify by unilateral action the loan agreement of Sept. 1, 1926, between Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America have been repeatedly protested by the United States, the State Department announced today, as violating rights of American citizens and the interests of the American company, and will be the basis of the position the United States Government will take before the international committee of Liberia at a special meeting in Geneva next week.

The Finance Corporation of America is a subsidiary of the Firestone Rubber Company, which has plantations in Liberia and has made loans to that country. The international committee of Liberia was created by the League of Nations to assist in the accomplishment of slavery and sanitary reforms and economic improvements in the African Republic.

Great Britain Also Interested.

Liberia has not only sought to modify greatly the terms of the loan agreement but has dismissed fiscal advisers and reduced the salaries of others. The attitude of the United States has been communicated to Great Britain, which also is deeply interested in Liberia and is represented, with the United States, on the international committee.

At the meeting next week the United States will urge the committee to bring pressure on Liberia to withdraw actions in contravention of the loan agreement and to reinstate the fiscal officials so the way may be cleared for the beginning at Geneva of direct negotiations between Liberia and the Finance Corporation concerning modifications in the loan agreement necessary to the establishment of the League plan of assistance which was adopted at Geneva on Sept. 27, 1932.

"The Liberian actions," the State Department said, "include legislation in contravention of the loan agreement and subsequent acts by Liberian officials amounting in effect to confiscation of monies due to the American company and to the destruction of the security on which over $2,000,000 has been advanced by the company to Liberia.

"Since Dec. 23, 1932, the day on which President Barclay affixed his signature to the legislation, the advice and representations of the fiscal officials appointed under the loan agreement have been ignored, one of their number has been discharged, and the resignations of the other two have been requested. The Barclay Administration has also cancelled the depositary agreement between Liberia and the National City Bank of New York, fiscal agent for the loan, without obtaining the requisite agreement of the latter."

Acts of Barclay Administration

The legislation approved by President Barclay provides for the suspension of interest and amortization on the loan, reduction of personnel and salaries of fiscal officials, disregard of stipulations in the agreement that all revenues shall be applied to government salaries and the surplus to a cumulative reserve fund, and modification of the previous resolution to conform to the League plan of assistance.

In a protest on Dec. 23, 1932, Charles E. Mitchell, U. S. Minister, stated that "in the circumstances the American Government would feel that Liberia was blocking American participation in the international efforts to assist Liberia and that, moreover, the American Government would be prepared to protest the extension of financial aid to Liberia from whatever source, unless and until the prior rights of American citizens had either been met in full, or the loan agreement had been modified on a basis of mutual consent."

Race Problem—1933.

Africa

Liberia.

N. Y. HERALD

OCT 10 1933

U. S. to Accept League Choice As Liberia Aid

Winship Informs Council Roosevelt Will Not Insist on American as Adviser

Denies Loan Pressure

Points Out Firestone Unit Acted Within Its Rights

By John T. Whitaker

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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GENEVA, Oct. 9.—Major General Blanton Winship, American representative, today announced that the Roosevelt administration had agreed not to insist that the chief adviser in the League of Nations' reorganization of Liberia be an American, thus paving the way for settlement of the dispute, which long has been before a special Council committee under Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

[In September, 1932, the League's special committee on Liberia, which was set up following reports of slavery and killings in the Negro republic, offered a plan for the reconstruction of the West African nation, which was rejected by the United States as not giving the latter a hand in naming the chief supervisor of Liberian affairs. The League proposal would have made reorganization of Liberia purely a League affair. Since then several proposals have failed to meet with approval, although the League committee has supported Washington's position concerning the violation by Liberia of loan agreements with the Firestone interests. Last February President Hoover, after consulting Mr. Roosevelt, designated General Winship as the special American representative to investigate Liberian conditions.—Ed.]

Today's American concession did not prevent Louis A. Grimes, Negro Secretary of State of Liberia, from resurrecting before the committee the old Liberian complaints against the Firestone rubber plantations, the loan agency of the National City Bank of New York, and American governmental policy. General Winship immediately entered an emphatic rebuttal.

Grimes then objected to the League's reconstruction plan, on six grounds: First, there was danger of infringing on the sovereign power and existing constitution of Liberia; second, the chief adviser should not be the citizen of a country whose nationals have special financial interests in Liberia or in the territory contiguous to Liberia; third, the plan makes no provision in the Liberian budget for education; fourth, Liberia cannot concede its constitutional power to grant concessions; fifth, the financial burden under the League plan is too heavy on Liberia, and, last, the plan must not increase the capital indebtedness of Liberia.

Concerning Liberian assertions that the 1926 loan of the American Finance Corporation (a Firestone affiliate) was forced on Liberia, or that the funds were misspent by the financial adviser or that the loan and its administration were responsible for the present plight of Liberia, General Winship said that these were all "inaccurate, misleading and without foundation." The American government had extended its good offices but had at no time induced American capital to invest in Liberia, he declared. There were reasons, he added, why an American adviser might be desirable, but Washington would insist only upon the competence of this official, who might be selected from another country.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y

TIMES-HERALD

OCT 4 1933

For Liberia

EDITOR'S NOTE: Liberia, the tiny Negro Republic founded by freed American slaves, faces a white dictatorship to save it from economic and financial ruin and to protect American rubber interests. The United States actively is cooperating with the League to devise a "new deal" for Liberia. Some of the complexities of the problem are discussed in a series of two articles.

By Stewart Brown

A joint United States-League plan for a five-year white dictatorship over Liberia, tiny Negro republic founded by freed American slaves on the west coast of Africa, now is before the Liberian Legislature in Monrovia for adoption or rejection.

If Liberia rejects the plan she will fail to get any interest reductions on her loans from the Harvey Firestone rubber interests and the promised assistance of the League in the economic, financial, educational and medical rehabilitation of her country. Adoption of the plan means submission to the dictates of an international white commission for five years.

The League of Nations, the United States Government and the Firestone interests prepared the "new deal" for Liberia in the form of a national reconstruction program under League supervision. In return for Liberia's approval of the plan the Firestone interests promise to reduce from seven to five per cent the interest charges on a loan of $2,500,000 granted to Liberia in 1926.

This loan was extended after Firestone obtained a 99-year lease on 1,000,000 acres of land, of which 53,000 acres are now under cultivation, for development of rubber plantations designed to free the United States from British and Dutch control of the world's rubber production. In addition, the Firestones also have agreed to underwrite the cost of the League's program of assistance to Liberia.

Under the plan the League would send to Liberia for five years a staff of nine foreign experts in administration, education, medicine, law, and finance to help the Liberian Government to its feet. The Chief Adviser, or chairman, of the international commission would have absolute authority in Liberia subject only to the veto of the League Council.

American interests, including the Government, Firestone and various religious and educational societies spending about $250,000 yearly in Liberia, are insistent that the League name an American as Chief Adviser. But Liberia, partially inspired by British and Dutch rubber interests and frightened of further American control of Liberian affairs, does not want an American and is holding out for a neutral.

Under the 1926 loan contract, Liberia already has an American financial adviser appointed by Washington, Liberians argue it would be unjust to overload the administration of Liberian affairs with Americans. On the other hand, American interests, and especially Firestone, hold that because of America's traditional sympathy with Liberia and money invested there, it only is logical that the proposed plan of assistance should be administered by an American.

If their opinion prevails, it is generally believed Major General Blanton Winship, of the American Army, will be named Chief Adviser.

NO DICTATOR FOR LIBERIA, SAYS GRIMES

Sec. of State Recommends Refusal of the League's Plan.

COUNTRY IS SOLID AGAINST CHANGE

Colorful Native Chiefs in Capital.

(By WILLIAM N. JONES, Managing Editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN in Good Will tour as a guest of the Liberian republic).

MONROVIA, Liberia — November 15—(Cable via France)—Liberia won't accept the League of Nations plan for a foreign dictator, it became certain today.

Secretary of State L. A. Grimes, who served as special envoy for his country at the League's general meeting, told the AFRO-AMERICAN Wednesday morning that he would recommend refusal.

Strong opposition has been expressed in executive sessions of both houses of the Legislature to the "League's attitude of take it or leave it by January 15th." Public feeling is that this amounts to a virtual ultimatum.

The AFRO's goodwill mission here arouses the hope of cordial American cooperation. The Legislature has appointed a committee to study this subject.

Liberian native chiefs in colorful dress, from the hinterland, are here in the capital urging the government to stand pat against a foreign dictation.

Under the League's plan a principal adviser or white dictator would be named at a salary of $12,000 a year (which is pay higher than that of the President), three white commissioners at $8,000 each, three Liberian assistants at $6,000 each, two white doctors at $8,000 each and $8,000 a year would be allowed for their traveling expenses.

The League plan proposes virtually to turn Liberia over to four white foreigners whose authority would be superior to that of the Liberian Government, and give them $300,000 to spend as they see fit on carrying out the League plans for rehabilitation of Liberia.

Columbia, S. C. State
October 9, 1933

White Dictator Proposed for Liberia Under Auspices of League of Nations To Pull Negro Republic Out of Hole

BY STEWART BROWN,
United Press Staff Correspondent.

Note: Liberia, the Negro republic in Africa founded by freed American slaves, faces a white dictatorship to save it from economic and financial ruin and to protect American rubber interests. The United States is co-operating with the League to devise a "new deal" for Liberia. Some of the complexities of the problem are discussed in a series of two articles.

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American Interests.

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U. S. PRESSES LIBERIA TO ACCEPT LEAGUE PLAN

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18.—(UP)—The state department today put pressure upon the Liberian government to accept the plan of international management for the little African republic that was drawn up by a League of Nations committee, including an American member.

Under this plan, it is anticipated that the Finance Corporation of America, a subsidiary of the Firestone interests, which have rubber plantations in Liberia, would advance the country a loan.

"The American government," the state department said in a public statement, expects Liberia to accept the plan of assistance and will be pleased in this case to co-operate in its successful execution.

Firestone Liberian Report Shows More Than $8,000,000 Spent In Republic On Health, Sanitation, Roads, Education

GENEVA, Switzerland—(ANP)—In a statement submitted recently to the committee on Liberia of the Council of the League of Nations, Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., submitted the following record of financial advances made by the Firestone Company in the promotion of various objects in the West African republic:

"Up to the present time we have invested more than $8,000,000 in Liberia and we have cleared and planted to rubber 53,087 acres on which there are approximately ten million rubber trees, ranging in age from one to seven years. In due course a large proportion of these trees will be ready for tapping.

"In the interests of health and sanitation we donated $20,000 to Harvard School of Tropical Medicine to aid in a research expedition in 1926 headed by Doctor Richard P. Strong of the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine and seven fellow-scientists, which made an extensive medical and biological survey of Liberia resulting in the most complete records yet compiled of the medical and social history of the people of Liberia and of all forms of life in West Africa.

Hospital Erected

"A hospital has been erected at a cost of $56,000 and since our entry into Liberia we have spent an additional $200,000 in medical treatment resulting in greatly improved health for many thousands of Liberian people.

"In 1927 a gift of $5,000 was made to the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine for the investigation of a preventive serum for yellow fever by Doctor A. E. Sellards.

"We have contributed $6,500 for an anthropological survey by Doctor George Schawb of Peabody Museum of Harvard University which has resulted in an invaluable addition to the knowledge of the world regarding the background of the people of Liberia. In addition, we have spent approximately $25,000 on a motion picture expedition to Liberia, a large part of which forms a perpetual living record of the life and customs of the people of Liberia of this period.

"We have donated $4,500 to the Yale School of Forestry to investigate and classify the woods of Liberia.

Operated Trade School

"To help the natives of Liberia learn trades and become more useful citizens we established and operated a trade school and farm at a cost of $10,000 and retained the services of a famous German philologist for the preparation and publication of a grammar of the leading native language of Liberia, thereby putting this language into written form for the first time.

"We have imported from the Far East and established in Liberia the highest yielding rubber stock in the world.

"In order to provide reliable communication between Liberia, the United States and other countries we have established at a cost of $30,000 a public radio service.

"We undertook to provide Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, with a harbor and later, when it was found not practicable, we absorbed a loss of $115,000, sparing Liberia all expenses in connection with the undertaking.

"We have expended $275,000, in the construction and maintenance of 125 miles of road within our plantations and in addition have contributed $65,000 to the extension and betterment of government roads, which has materially aided the development of the interior of the country."

Tennessean
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE

NOV 27 1933

Editorial of the Day

LIBERATING LIBERIA

We of America have been from the founding of Liberia most concerned of all peoples that the experiment there in self-government by negroes should succeed. Those in authority have been men who have had contact either directly or through their forebears of one or more generations with American institutions. The special white friends of the Liberians—the American colonization societies and the American missionary societies—have been sending a quarter of a million dollars annually for educational and medical purposes. And millions of negroes in America have an even greater interest in the improvement of the condition of their blood-relatives who have only an African inheritance. All are eager that the sovereignty of this little republic with a native population of between one and two millions should not be impaired.

Friendly assistance in making the relations between the Americo-Liberian governing group of 15,000 and the native population more helpful to the advancement of the latter is obviously needed. Our government has hesitated to assume this relationship from fear of the charge that we should be doing it for the advancement of our own material interests. Happily, the League of Nations has machinery adaptable to just such situations, and it was urged by Secretary Stimson more than a year ago that the Council of the League appoint a "chief adviser," with the acceptance of the president of the republic of Liberia. The League subcommittee has now made this proposal. It is clearly within the discretion of Liberia to accept or reject such friendly assistance. The fear expressed by Lord Cecil is that unless "something of this kind" is done the political independence of Liberia would be in serious danger.

The United States, whose representative has participated in the work of the special League committee, has given support to the League plan whose ratification is before the Liberian legislature. The details of the plan were reported in Sunday's Times. Every phase of the situation has been examined by impartial experts during the past three years. If the present administration at Monrovia were to reject this opportunity, the action would be construed as opposition to reforms urgently desirable and as "indifference to the welfare of the million and a half native people of Liberia." The aid proffered is that of an "adviser" and not of a "dictator." It would be most fortunate if educational provision of the Hampton and Tuskegee type could be made available to the natives there. Africa is still a child, as Dr. Aggrey, that remarkable "African of the Africans" said, but a child that is growing. It is often more important "to work with than to work for." This is a proposal to work with.—New York Times.

Liberia

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

EL PASO, TEX.
HERALD

JUN 16 1933

Liberty for Liberia

PEACE organizations and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are protesting the state department's reported policy of forcing an American adviser upon the Liberian government. The protests are in order.

The United States government already has enough trouble at home and abroad without embarking on a new venture in imperialism. The Firestone loan and concession should not put the Washington government in the position of asking special privileges in Liberia or of exercising there any kind of dictatorship, open or disguised.

Liberia has asked the league of nations committee, which is now meeting in London with an American representative, to name as chief foreign adviser for Liberia a citizen of some nation which neither has nor seeks Liberian concessions. That is a reasonable request. It should rule out not only the United States but also Great Britain and France and the other imperialistic powers.

NO WHITE MINISTER NAMED

WASHINGTON, June 22 — Government officials Monday emphatically denied that McGeney Worlich, white, a State Department attache, recently appointed Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, Liberia, would be the next Minister Resident to the African republic.

To the charges made in Negro press reports that Mr. Roosevelt had broken all precedents by appointing a white man to the Liberian post, an official spokesman branded the rumors as "erroneous and inaccurate."

Subtle Influences Seen In Liberian Situation At League of Nations

Journal and Guide 7-22-33

GENEVA, Switzerland — (ANP) Behind the scenes at Geneva where the International Committee of the League of Nations is engaged in "straightening out" Liberia's financial affairs, European rubber interests are said to be exerting a subtle influence in retarding negotiations by creating an atmosphere of hostility against Americans in general and the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company in particular.

Harvey S. Firestone of Akron, O., has been an uncompromising foe of the Stevenson Act, passed by Great Britain in 1922 to stabilize the price of crude rubber by restricting production. Characterizing this piece of legislation as decidedly unfriendly to American industry, Mr. Firestone has repeatedly quoted the public statement of Winston Churchill that "one principal means of paying our (Great Britain's) debt to the United States is the provision of rubber."

In 1925 when Great Britain was producer of 75 per cent of the world's crude rubber supply and the Dutch 16 per cent, the United States consumed 75 per cent of all crude rubber marketed. That year the price of rubber sky rocketed to 1.28 a pound, confirming Mr. Firestone's predictions that the Stevenson Act would put tire manufacturers and motorists in the United States in the clutches of a foreign monopoly.

Leases Million Acres

Calling upon America to become "rubber conscious" and not depend upon any nation for crude rubber, Harvey S. Firestone in 1926 entered into an agreement with the Liberian Government to lease a million acres for rubber culture. In 1910 a British company had leased 2,000 acres for that purpose. The project was a failure and the plantation, abandoned after the World War, reverted to the government, which released it to Firestone.

Due to American initiative and the expenditure of millions of dollars, the Firestone Company in 1931 had put 55,000 acres under cultivation. At one time 18,000 natives were on the daily payroll. Where the British had dismally failed, Americans had within a short time succeeded in developing the fourth largest rubber plantation in the world.

Not only has a campaign of propaganda allegedly been systematically carried on against the Firestone developments to misrepresent them in Europe and Africa, but representatives have been active in confusing the issues in the United States. Americans have registered a protest against the naming of an American as chief adviser to the Liberian government by the League of Nations.

The record shows, it is argued, that the Firestone Company's business relations with the Liberian government have always been honorable, and that the American firm has not violated one agreement. On the other hand, in view of the unfavorable economic situation, it has consented to certain important modifications in the loan agreement of 1926, such as the reduction of interest charges and regularizing the status of past due interest charges.

That Harvey S. Firestone has been successful in breaking the grip of the British monopoly and freeing the American rubber manufacturer and consumer from European domination seems to be an unpardonable sin by European rubber interests, who view with undisguised alarm and disfavor the Firestone rubber experiment in Liberia.

The Liberian Case.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

DEAR SIR,—I have read with interest and appreciation the report of the address which I had the honour of delivering before the London Group for African Affairs, appearing in the July 1st issue of your weekly

West Africa 7-8-33

I regret to have to say, however, that I find an inaccuracy in the paragraph headed "The Last Loan." From the tenth to the thirteenth line of said paragraph I am reported to have said: "Although Mr. Grimes could find no record of it having been passed," etc. What I did say, and what is the truth, is that upon the objections of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney-General, the agreement was sent back to the United States for certain modifications. A few months afterwards it was returned to Liberia, and pushed through the Legislature without the two officials having had an opportunity of seeing it again to know if note had been taken of their objections, and, indeed, without the knowledge of most of the prominent Cabinet officials.

I wish you would be kind enough to have that correction made, as that there is a record of its having been passed eventually cannot now be contradicted —Yours faithfully,

L. A. GRIMES.

Liberia and the League.

Mr. A. Grimes, Secretary of State, Liberia, has been on a visit to England in connection with Mr. T. Ligthart's report to the League of Nations Committee that is considering the grant of assistance to Liberia. Mr. Ligthart estimates that the minimum expenditure on which the Government of Liberia could carry on is $300,000 (Liberian dollars at 4.80 to £1) as against the authorised budget of $367,800 for 1933. He obtains this figure by leaving out certain non-recurrent items not strictly connected with the year, by further cuts in salaries, by holding over certain expenses such as the street-lighting of Monrovia and by omitting provision for District Commissioners, who will be replaced by "foreign experts" under the Plan of Assistance. Mr. Ligthart suggests that a lower salary, paid promptly, is better than a paper figure paid in part, but Mr. Grimes has pointed out that already salaries have been reduced twice—once by 50 per cent.—and that they have reached a minimum living wage. Moreover, the people would not welcome a change which would give their President $2,000 less per annum than the Financial Adviser, and would place Cabinet Ministers on one-fourth the rate of the lowest-paid foreign official. He might have added, too, that scales which would give Collectors of Customs and other revenue from $360 to $540 per annum (£75-£112 at par) are likely to drive officials to embezzle monies in their care, and will certainly not attract the best type of candidate.

West Africa 7-8-33 British Mandated Africa

Commenting on the suggestion that education might be left entirely to the missions, Mr. Grimes pointed out that this might as reasonably be advised also in regard to the hospitals, also largely run by the missions. The Liberian Government, however, collected certain taxes specifically for education, and it was its duty to provide the people with as modern a system as it could afford.

In addition to the $300,000 for the ordinary Budget, Mr. Ligthart estimates that $202,000 will be needed for the Plan of Assistance, salaries, bank commission, etc., $125,000 for loan interest, and $206,000 for development of the country, with up to $106,000 annually for arrears of loan amortisation. Leaving out the last item, this means expenditure of $733,000 annually against a present estimated revenue of $456,320.

It is intended that the deficit shall be met by additional bonds to the Finance Corporation, although Mr. Ligthart is optimistic that revenue will soon begin to expand under ordered development. Whether that prove to be so or not, the fact remains, as Mr. Grimes pointed out to the Committee, that Liberia was being asked to undertake new burdens for the further development of commodities which, under present prices, were already being left to rot in farm and forest.

Another document placed before the Committee answered a request for details of certain loan expenditure. It explains that the Financial Adviser of the day had charge of public works, and engaged three foreign engineering "experts"—one of them with qualifications in husbandry rather than construction. These had kept no clear accounts, and had used goods purchased through an agent in New York, also appointed by the Financial Adviser, in a very loose fashion. Moreover, the stores provided, save for certain articles specifically named in the document, were of inferior quality, and have long since, in many cases, become unserviceable. It is to be hoped that if any further commission of enquiry visits Liberia, it will be asked to look into some of these charges of profiteering at the expense of the Republic, for they, and the fact that of a loan of $2,027,700, less than one-tenth was ever made available for public works, should remove the general impression that the Republic has squandered vast sums, to the great profit of her own officials, in abortive public works.

CONTROL OF LIBERIA LAID TO FIRESTONE

WASHINGTON, July [illegible] (UP) The state department was urged tonight by a group of negro educators to use its good offices to disassociate Harvey H. Firestone, rubber magnate, "from his apparent control of Liberia," African republic and site of the Firestone rubber plantations.

The negroes, including President Mordecai Johnson, of Howard University, and Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, magazine editor, charged that the recent loan agreement between Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America, Firestone subsidiary, was "fraudulent from the beginning."

STATE DEPT. REPLIES TO LIBERIA PROTEST

(Another Story, Page 14)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—After a group of prominent persons had appealed last Monday to William Phillips, acting Secretary of State, to end the control of Liberia by Harvey H. Firestone, rubber manufacturer, the State Department issued the following statement:

"The Acting Secretary of State this morning received a group headed by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis, who laid before him their views concerning the present situation in Liberia and the plan of assistance devised by the League of Nations for Liberia.

"Mr. Phillips listened sympathetically to their discussion and informed them that the United States Government had not altered its traditional policy of keen interest in the welfare of Liberia and the Liberian people.

U. S. Also Invited

"Regarding certain specific points in the League plan to which they objected, Mr. Phillips reminded them that following a request by Liberia to the League of Nations for advice and assistance in January, 1931, the Council of the League had set up a committee to study the question consisting of the representatives of eight countries and on which the United States Government, in view of its recognized interest in the welfare of Liberia, was also invited to be represented.

"This committee has had under preparation for the last two years a plan which would meet the needs of Liberia. Their work was completed on June 27 last and the plan submitted to the Council of the League and the Government of Liberia with a strong recommendation for its immediate acceptance by the latter in view of the long period which, for various reasons has elapsed since work was begun.

"It was suggested that Liberia give notice of its acceptance before the meeting of the League Council in September in order that steps might be taken as soon as possible to put the plan into effect.

"This Government has gladly cooperated with the League. It has had no larger share in the preparation of the plan than other countries represented thereon.

"Mr. Phillips stated, however, that he would be glad to give careful consideration to the views of so large a group of friends of Liberia and that he would transmit them to Major General Blanton Winship, the present American representative on the League Committee, for his consideration and such suggestions to the Committee for alteration as might seem feasible."

BOTH RACES JOIN TO SEEK JUSTICE FOR IT FROM U. S.

Private Investors Put Ahead Of Liberian People

WASHINGTON — A conference was held at the State Department with Acting Secretary of State Phillips on Monday, July 31, at which time representatives of influential groups of colored and white Americans, headed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded fair treatment for Liberia at the hands of America.

Included in the delegation which was headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis, were Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Miss Dorothy Detzer, representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Rayford W. Logan, assistant director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; Professor Charles W. Wesley, of Howard University; and Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, representing the National Association of Colored Women.

Also Mrs. Addie W. Dickerson, representing the International Council of Women of Darker Races; Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Howard University; Charles H. Houston, of the National Bar Association and a member of the national legal committee of the N. A. A. C. P.; Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.; and representatives of the press.

The delegation presented frankly to the State Department the facts regarding the present financial condition of Liberia, and made strong protests against the attitude of the Firestone interests and the U. S. government towards the African republic.

The State Department was vigorously urged to change its attitude of placing the interests of private investors before those of the Liberian people.

Telling on Liberia

Two years ago, George S. Schuyler was sent to Liberia by a group of U.S. newspapers to write a series of articles on the West African republic.

Mr. Schuyler's integrity is not questioned. The facts are that from this trip resulted a book distinctly unfavorable to Liberia. This was not due to the fact that his employers were anti-Liberians and pro-Firestoners, but because Mr. Schuyler is cold to sentiment, lethargy, and shams.

Lester Walton, who sailed from New York, July 22, also to write a series of articles, is a journalist of a different type. An off-hand judgment of Mr. Walton is that he will quote statements of what everybody, he meets thinks of Liberia and what Liberians think of themselves. Mr. Walton has devoted his life to saying nice things about other people, and it is almost impossible to believe that his Liberian articles will present that country unfavorably.

However, it does seem that the Liberian government should be aroused by now to the need of its own publicity and propaganda department.

If U.S. newspapers can hire reporters to write the kind of articles they want on Liberia, then Liberian newspaper men should busy themselves in seeing to it that their friends in America are supplied weekly with news articles designed to present Liberia's most favorable views.

After all, no one can tell the Liberian story like Liberia herself. It is time President Barclay realized that

Faces Toward Liberia; Hands Across the Sea

Next week, the AFRO-AMERICAN starts William N. Jones across the Atlantic Ocean to Liverpool and thence down the coast of Africa to Monrovia.

This 12,000-mile journey will require three months: a month to reach West Africa, a month to visit with Liberians, and a month to return. Leaving here at the beginning of autumn, he will be fortunate indeed if he returns in time to eat Christmas dinner with his family.

This is the final and most pretentious of the AFRO-AMERICAN'S four excursions this year in search of news and first-hand information for its readers.

The Scottsboro, Alabama, trial, which Mr. Jones covered for this newspaper, was the beginning. The AFRO sent Ralph Matthews by plane to write of the Tuskegee murders, and Professor Rayford Logan to Cuba to cover the revolution. Now Mr. Jones sails for Liberia, where events of tremendous importance to us and to all Africa are taking place.

For over a year the United States government, which helped to found Liberia and watched over it like a Big Brother, has been at odds with the government of that republic. Each government has said sharp things to the other. The United States helped bring about the resignation of one Liberian President and the election of another.

Still the quarrel goes on. The second President, Edwin M. Barclay, is not acceptable either to Uncle Sam who has declined to recognize him as the President.

This is no pink tea quarrel. Back of it is the ominous fact that the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, has invested several millions of dollars in Liberian rubber lands and has also loaned Liberia $2,250,000 in money. To be sure, Liberia accepted the loan against its will, and Americans misspent it but the main fact is that Liberia in this depression is unable to keep up interest on its loan and wants Firestone to stop asking for it until times get better.

Mr. Firestone says no, and Uncle Sam who has seen every large foreign nation default on its U.S. loans, is busy trying to help Firestone collect his "pound of flesh." "Cut off your street lights, close your hospital, don't pay your employees and teachers, don't have telephone service," is what the U.S. says, "but pay Firestone his interest."

The dispute has been taken to the League of Nations, which seeks to act as mediator. A white dictator for Liberia is proposed by the United States. Liberia, in a note delivered to the League of Nations last Friday, again said, "No," so the quarrel continues.

In a situation such as this, what position shall we take? The AFRO-AMERICAN believes we should take a very decided position.

To President Roosevelt, whose foreign policy is based on the principle of "the good neighbor," we shall need to say that Liberians are our brothers, that for a hundred years we have been the good neighbor and the big brother, and that now, above all times, we should continue that policy of friendship and helpfulness, wherein we, as creditors, ask nothing of bankrupt Liberia that we do not ask of bankrupt France.

We think Liberia is worthy of our friendship. We turn our faces toward Liberia and we stretch our hands across the sea in sending Mr. Jones to Monrovia.

Race Problem - 1933

Liberia.

Africa

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

INTRODUCTION

For those not acquainted with events and conditions in Liberia preceding the telegram from Mr. Stimson to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

FINALE.

"The Chairman (Lord Cecil) said that the members of the committee were now unanimously agreed on the non-financial provision of the plan of assistance. As the Liberian representatives therefore accepted the plan on behalf of their Government, subject to a successful outcome of negotiations with the American groups interested, the Chairman went on to ask the United States representative how soon a representative of the Finance Corporation and the Firestone Plantations Company might be expected to arrive in Geneva for the purpose of taking up negotiations. He pointed out that the committee had been led to expect that such negotiations would be initiated, provided that a plan waa agreed upon by the committee based upon the expert's proposal affording sufficient guarantees. This was now the case."

"Mr. Reber said that he hoped the negotiations *might be begun in a few days' time.*

"The Chairman said that the representative would discuss matters with the Liberian representatives in private. *During these interviews the Liberian representatives would have the assistance of Mr. Ligthart and of the Financial Organization of the League.*"

After September 27th there was no meeting until October 12th. It was known, as has been stated above, that Mr. Firestone himself was in Europe and that the Firestone Companies were in direct communication with Mr. Reber, the United States representative on the Committee, who had said on September 27th that "he hoped the negotiations would begin in a few days." On October 12th neither Mr. Firestone nor any representative of the Firestone interests, was in Geneva. The negotiations could not take place. But a definite statement was made by Mr. Reber in the October 12th meeting, that the Firestone interests were willing to send a representative, in *November* and that they were willing to negotiate *in Geneva* as the following quotations:

C Liberia/P.V. (1) October 12th Meeting.

"Mr. Reber said: 'In referring to this letter of October 5th" (the letter regarding the status of the plan, which eight days after!—the September 27th meeting of the Committee, Mr. Reber had transmitted to the Finance Corporation). The Finance Corporation's reply stated in part as follows: "The General Principles are receiving our careful study, and although we are not satisfied that the General Principles are as yet in a form to afford a solution—we are willing *to send a representative to Geneva* to explore in negotiation the possibility of agreement on a plan mutually acceptable to, and that will be of practicable benefit to Liberia and her people."

"Mr. Reber imformed the Committee that the Finance Corporation had also stated that while it was making every effort to study the proposals it would not be in a position to send a representative to engage in negotiations before November."

Mr. Grimes, delegate of Liberia to the Assembly of the League of Nations, and also Liberia's ranking representative on the League's Committee of the Council on Liberia being himself Secretary of State of Liberia, evidently foresaw the desire of the Firestone Company to deal with Liberia without any representative of the League's being present as counsel, for in the minutes of this October 12th meeting this is stated:—

Mr. Grimes noted the following phrase occurred more than once in the provisional draft of the Committee's Report: 'direct negotiations between Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America.' The Liberian delegates had always understood that direct negotiations would be entered into between the Liberian Government and the representatives of the Finance Corporation, together with Mr. Ligthart, the expert and the representative of the Financial Section of the League. He asked if the committee had any intention to exclude this third party, i.e., the expert and the Financial Representative, from these negotiations."

Mr. Reber replied that he had never understood that there was any intention of excluding Mr. Ligthart and the Representative of the Financial Section (of the League) from assisting in the negotiations. On the contrary, he was personally convinced that the Finance Corporation would welcome their assistance."

In May the Finance Corporation had been notified that the Committee of the Council of the League would expect it to send a representative to Geneva to be there before or during the September meeting of the committee. During those meetings it was again notified and told that because of their non-appearance the committee would be obliged to adjourn, but would meet again on October 12th. Mr. Reber, on September 27th, had been led to believe that the Financial Corporations' negotiations with the Liberian representative in Geneva would begin in "a few days' time," and now, on October 12th the Committee of the Council "on which Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Spain were represented as well as Liberia and the United States was put off again, though the Finance Corporation new delay was both expensive and dangerous. These two quotations from October 12th meeting show the attitude of the members of the committee towards this spirit of non-cooperation on the part of the Financial Corporation.

C/Liberia/P.V. 25 (1).

"Dr. Mackenzie wished o emphasize the danger of delay. He had been present at a meeting of 70 Paramount Chiefs when the Greboes had promised to maintain peace for the period of eight months from August 1932, in order to allow the negotiations between the Liberian Government and the Finance Corporation to be carried out. It was essential that these negotiations should begin as soon as possible."

"The Chairman (Lord Cecil) said that the committee found itself in a difficult position. He would remind Mr. Reber that the League had originally entertained the problem raised by the Liberian Government request for assistance with full approval of the Government of the United States. Last May a provisional agreement had been reached, which was communicated to the United States Government and also to the Financial Corporation in the hope that the Financial Corporation would send a representative to attend the committee's present session. At that time the Finance Corporation did not inform the committee that it would have to wait for the indorsement of the United States Government before taking any move on its own account. To judge by the extracts read by Mr. Reber from the Finance Corporation's reply to the United States Government, it appeared that although the Government had endorsed the general principle of the plan of assistance, *the Finance Corporation* was not satisfied with *the administrative part of the scheme.* This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and a thought that the committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment."

In your telegram to the National Association for the advancement of Coloured People, the "inhumanity of the Liberian Government" is stressed.

A brave Frenchman, the well-known writer Andre Gide, in his book, "Voyage au Congo," had described the inhumanity for which the French concessionnaires are responsible in the French Congo, and the inhumanity as compared to that of the Liberian Government is as that of a steam roller compared to a hand roller.

A brave Britisher, Dr. Norman Leys, has described in his two books "Kenya" and "Kenya," "a Last Chance," the agony of the East Coast native because his land has been taken from him and because of the excessive hut tax, ending in such despair that suicide was the result. The revelation of the agony in Kenya made an even braver Britisher, Mr. Frazer, President of Prince of Wales College, Achimota, in the Gold Coast, say publicly in Geneva in 1931, that he would "rather stand before the bar of heaven guilty of introducing barrels of gin into Africa than to be Lord Delamere "of Kenya" who had taken the natives' land—and with the money bought the British press!!"

Another Britisher who, after being Governor of Jamaica when he was Sir Sidney Oliver wrote—"White Capital and Coloured Labour" and who later, as Lord Oliver, became Colonial Secretary in the first Labour Government, wrote also, "The autonomy of South African Misery," showing that the high mortality rate the misery and degradation of the native was due to their lands being taken from them and the excessive taxation. "The only really happy places in Africa are the few where the concessionnaire has not yet come,—where the taxation is not yet excessive, as Buell shows in his 'The Native Problem in Africa."

For the 50,000 acres the Firestone Company has already taken from the native, driven from his cassadas and rice fields, has received nothing whatsoever. Where is the inhumanity? The natives say they *cannot* pay their taxes unless they pawn their children; and there is the interest which Mr. Mitchell the American Minister himself computed to be 17% on what Liberia had ever received which the Financial Corporation is demanding and when it isn't paid adds it to the principal. Where is the inhumanity?

The Financial Corporation *had said* it would send a representative to Geneva *in* November and Mr. Reber had led the Council's committee to believe that the Financial Corporation's representative would negotiate with the Liberian delegates, welcoming the assistance of Mr. Lighthart and a representative of the Financial Section of the League.

The Afro Wires F. D.

The President of the U.S.,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House, Washington, D.C.

Your appointment of a white person as minister to Liberia, the only diplomatic post available to our people, may satisfy the rubber industry and the Firestone Tire Company, but The Afro-American cannot view it except as a hostile move, the first open one of your administration.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN.

NEW YORK WORLD - Telegram

JUN 6 1933

LIBERIA LOANS ASSAILED

Pecora Asked to Bare Tie-Up of Banks with African Republic.

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 6.—The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has written to Ferdinand Pecora asking that the Senate Bank Committee investigate the alleged "forcing of loans" by the National City Bank and other financial institutions upon the republics of Haiti and Liberia.

The association described the Haitian loan as "one of the most flagrant tie-ups in history between financial powers and government," and demanded that the affair "be entirely aired."

ALL PRECEDENT IS BROKEN BY THE PRESIDENT

Afro-American 6-17-33

Democrats Take Last Diplomatic Post from Negroes.

Baltimore, Md.

FIRESTONE THOT BEHIND MOVE

Rubber Co. I ad Was

in D.C. Recently.

Special to the AFRO

President Roosevelt has advised the Liberian government that he has appointed Ceney Werlich white, one of the attaches of the State Department, to the post of minister resident and consul general at Monrovia, Liberia.

He will take charge of the Liberian legation with a reduced force.

This is the second white man to be named minister to Liberia in its history. The first United States minister was white, but he didn't last very long. All of the others, including a long line of notables, have been colored.

Even Democratic presidents like Woodrow Wilson and hostile Republicans like Taft appointed colored men to the Liberian post which for some years has been the only diplomatic post in the State Department available to colored people.

Major-General Blanton Winship who was sent to Liberia by President Roosevelt February 28, as a special envoy, is now in Geneva.

Relations Strained

U.S.-Liberia diplomatic relations have been strained since Liberia declared a moratorium on its $5,000,000 Firestone loan. White Americans administering the loan collections were fired by Liberia and sent home.

Firestone, seeing his investments in Liberian rubber plantations threatened, is believed to be behind the State Department's negotiations at Geneva and behind the decision to break all precedent for Democrats or Republicans and send a white minister to this all-Negro republic.

Afro-American 6-17-33

LIBERIA—STORY PAGE ONE .....

U.S. MINISTERS TO LIBERIA

J. W. MASON	1866-1870
J. MILTON TURNER	1871-1878
JOHN H. SMITH	1878-1881
HENRY H. GARNET	1881-1882
JOHN H. SMYTH	1882-1885
MOSES A. HOPKINS	1885-1887
CHARLES H. J. TAYLOR	1887-1888
EZEKIEL E. SMITH	1888-1890
ALEXANDER CLARK	1890-1892
WILLIAM H. HEARD	1895-1898
OWEN L. W. SMITH	1898-1902
JOHN R. A. CROSSLAND	1902-1903
ERNEST LYON	1903-1910
WILLIAM D. CRUM	1910-1912
FRED R. MOORE	1913-
GEORGE W. BUCKNER	1913-1915
JAMES L. CURTIS	1915-1917
JOSEPH L. JOHNSON	1918-1921
SOLOMON PORTER HOOD	1921-1926
WILLIAM T. FRANCIS	1927-1929
CHARLES E. MITCHELL	1930-1932

LIBERIAN SITUATION IMPROVES.

Recent happenings at Washington, Monrovia and Geneva forecast the possibility of the resumption of diplomatic relations in the near future between the American and Liberian governments. McCeney Worlich has been temporarily relieved of duty in the State Department and assigned as charge d'affaires of the U. S. Legation at Monrovia. After a two months' stay in Liberia during which some success was made in an effort to straighten out misunderstandings between the two countries, Major Gen. Blanton Winship, Judge Advocate General of the Army, acting as special American representative, and Ellis O. Briggs of the State Department, are now in Geneva attending sessions of the International Liberian Committee.

It is reported that subsequent to conferences by Major General Winship and Mr. Briggs with President Barclay, Liberia sent its Secretary of State to Geneva to participate in the committee's deliberations and to express complete accord with some of the pertinent recommendations advanced by the American representatives while in Monrovia. Whether the chief adviser shall be an American in the event of the little republic's final acceptance of the League of Nation's program, designed to bring about its economic rehabilitation through international assistance, is an important question under consideration.

American friends of Liberia sincerely interested in its preservation and its autonomy, and who are ardently wishful that the traditional bond of friendship between the two nations grow stronger with the years, are encouraged to feel that all differences will soon be ironed out; that the American government will again take Liberia under its protecting wing, and that Washington, in the near future, will be officially represented at Monrovia by an accredited U. S. Minister.

WINSHIP DENIES LIBERIAN CLAIM

Telegraph 10-10-33

American General Declares Charges of Misappropriations Are False

GENEVA, Oct. 9. (AP)—Major General Blanton Winship, the American representative, today described as inaccurate, misleading and without foundation Liberian claims before a committee of the League of Nations that an American Finance corporation loan had been forced on the country and that the funds were misspent by a financial adviser.

(Liberia has defaulted on loans made to that country by the Finance Corporation of America, a Firestone affiliate.)

The Liberian representative, however, reasserted there had been a maladministration of the funds by the American adviser and said an experts' report had confirmed this.

Previously telegrams were read saying 30 natives had been killed in a recent resumption of fighting between Liberian tribes as the committee began study of a league plan for assisting the Liberian government in internal rehabilitation.

Winship Returns Soon

Major General Blanton Winship, a native of Macon, was sent to Liberia last spring by the State department to represent the United States in financial negotiations with that country.

He returned to Washington last July and made a report to the state department and was sent back almost immediately on a second trip to Liberia. He then went to Geneva for the conference now in session.

He is expected to return to this country during this month or early in November, relatives here said. He is judge advocate general of the United States army.

Race Problems - 1933

Liberia

Africa

United States Upheld In Its Dispute With Liberian Republic; Monrovia Must Observe Obligations

Orig 2-28-33

N.Y. Times

WASHINGTON, D. C. —The Intenational Committee at Geneva has sent the Liberian Government a telegram urging it to observe contractural obligations with the Firestone Company the League upholding the position taken by the United States Government and the Finance Corporation of America.

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Liberian Governments have become strained over the precipitate action of Monrovian officials in modifying the loan agreement between the Finance Corporation of America, a subsidiary o the Firestone Company, and the little republic without the consent of both parties, having reduced interest rates, cut salaries of some fiscal advisers and discharged others.

To date the Finance Corporation of America has lent Liberia $2,533,000 and will advance an additional $100,000 or more to promote the League of Nation's program embodying Liberia's economic rehabilitation, improvement of sanitation and the stamping out of slavery.

In announcing the decision of the International Committee, Mr. Reber American representative, issued the following statement:

"The Finance Corporation, not unappreciative of the present fiscal difficulties of Liberia irrespective of their origin, would be prepared (in the event that the legislation of December 17, 1932, and subsequent orders and actions relating thereto have been withdrawn) to recognize the de facto existence of a moratorium for such time, not to exceed two months from the date of the anticipated Liberian withdrawal, as as might be required for the inauguration of their direct negotiations with Liberia at Geneva."

According to the State Department the International Committee has prevailed upon the Liberian Government so far to abandon its present attitude as to make possible for financial negotiations to be forthwith begun at Geneva.

SEND COMMISSION TO LIBERIA!

The New York Age 3-4-33 New York, N.Y.

The American Government is to be commended for the marked interest it has displayed in the Japanese-Chinese controversy and its endorsement of the League of Nation's principles that the present dispute should be settled by peaceful means. But there is another international problem of major importance which commands the sympathetic consideration of the State Department at Washington. We refer to the present crisis in Liberia.

The departure of the United States from its traditional policy of functioning as the little republic's best friend has proved more of a hindrance than a help to Liberian progress. Hitherto, in the darkest hours of the "fosterchild" the American Government has come to its rescue. Prompt and tangible action by the State Department would do much to clarify and ameliorate the existing lamentable situation an dprobably save Liberia from disintegration.

In 1909 Liberia, facing grave financial difficulties, appealed to the United States for counsel and assistance. President Taft appointed a commission composed of three Americans—two white and one colored—which was conveyed to Monrovia on a naval vessel and given wide powers to obtain factual information on economic, political and social questions as they directly affected the Liberian people. The investigation and subsequent recommendations submitted by the commission were productive of gratifying results.

Twenty-four years later an even more serious situation has arisen which necessitates the immediate sending of another commission to Liberia. It, too, should consist of a mixed personnel and should be accorded the proper dignity and respect by being transported to and from Monrovia on a vessel of the United States Navy.

Liberia maintains no official relationships with America, Great Britain or France. It is the duty of our State Department to take the lead in making a conscientious effort to save the country from ruin and disaster and restoring order out of chaos. The fate of the masses in the hinterland, many of whom are said to be living under intolerable and oppressive conditions, should concern the American Government as much as the conflict between Japan and China over Jehol. It is a matter of absorbing interest to many of our citizens.

EDITOR'S NOTE—Since this was written Major Gen. Blanton Winship and Ellis O. Briggs of the State Department have been named members of a commission to go to Liberia.

Liberia Enacts Drastic Sedition Laws; 7 Years In Jail For Talking Disrespectfully Of The President

Orig 2-28-33 New York Times

MONROVIA, Liberia—One of the provisions of Liberia's drastic new sedition act is that anyone who writes or speaks in a disrespectful or defamatory manner of the President of Liberia shall be imprisoned for a period not exceeding seven years and not less than three years and all real and personal property confiscated by the government.

The act also prescribes against anyone who writes or inspires the writing of any document to a foreign government or any official making representation on any matter properly the subject of domestic inquiry and adjustment, and anyone who convenes or promotes the holding of any private or public meeting for the purpose of defying or overthrowing the government.

The act, which was passed by the Senate and House and signed by the President, is said to have been put into force by the Barclay administration "to stamp out the conduct of those who have sown seeds of political discontent and unrest among certain elements of the population by inciting them to insurrection." Frequent uprising of certain tribes are attributed to this "influence," and anyone is adjudged guilty of sedition who communicates by speech or in writing to any tribe, chief of a tribe or others any statement imputing the government's unfairness in the treatment of the native population.

Firestone, U.S. State Dept. Urged $5,000,000 Loan to Liberia Against Its Will

Document, Filed with League of Nations by Liberia, Indicates that U.S. Tire Manufacturer Pushed Loan over Objection of Entire Nation. President King's Solo Trip to Paris Connected with His Change of Attitude. Liberia Surprised to Find Last January that Firestone is Leading Director, if Not Sole Owner, of Company which Loaned Liberia $2,500,000.

[AFRO Foreign Bureau]

GENEVA—Evidence that the U.S. State Department and Harvey S. Firestone of the Firestone Rubber Company urged the Liberian government to enter into an agreement for a $5,000,000 loan in 1925 against the government's will, is contained in a recent memorandum submitted to the League of Nations.

The document takes on added significance in view of Liberia's recent demand for a five-year moratorium on $2,500,000 of the Firestone loan held by the National City Bank of New York and a further demand for a reduction in interest from seven to five per cent and discontinuance of U.S. officials who draw $131,574 a year for managing the country's finances.

As early as April 27, 1925, the document sets forth, the Liberian Secretary of State wrote to W. D. Hines, white, attorney for Mr. Firestone, saying that the "Government in no circumstances will place itself under financial obligation to your company." Subsequently, a letter to the American Minister at Monrovia contained the following statement:

"It is politically inadvisable . . . to place the Republic under financial obligations to any private concern operating in the country under grants from the Government. This is a line of policy from which there can be no departure."

Urged President King

Seeing Liberia's attitude in the matter, Mr. Firestone sent a cable to President C. D. B. King on April 30, 1925, which said in part: "I only want fair and workable arrangements that will enable us to raise capital from the American public for Liberia. This is more important to Liberia than it is to myself, and I again urge you to call special session of Legislature and confirm agreements promptly."

Joining Mr. Firestone in urging the republic to enter into negotiations for the loan was U.S. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellog, who said in part in a letter to the American Minister: "It would seem therefore, most unfortunate should a disagreement as to the exact terms of the loan prevent or delay the conclusion of a contract which, from every standpoint, is of immense advantage to Liberia."

Opposition to such a loan had been previously expressed by President King who, in his inaugural address in January 1924, said that foreign loans carry with them too many political entanglements."

King "Changed Mind"

The loan was eventually accepted in the teeth of strong opposition from both officials of the government as well as from the rank and file of the population, generally. A change in the attitude of President King was noted following a hurried trip by him to Paris and he subsequently insisted strongly upon carrying the loan measure through. It is understood that his trip to Paris was made for the purpose of conferring with De la Rue, American financial adviser.

Liberia repeatedly insisted that no private loan be negotiated. The republic was surprised then, to say the least, to find on January 28, 1932, that the loan had been floated by Mr. Firestone and that none of the bonds upon which the money was raised had been put in the open market. It has since been established, the memorandum points out, that Mr. Firestone is the leading director, if not the sole owner, of the Firestone Company, the Finance Corporation and the U.S. Trading Company (banking department) which replaced the Bank of British West Africa in Liberia.

Economic difficulties in Liberia have caused the salaries of the entire Liberian personnel of the civil establishment to be twice reduced once as much as 50 per cent, with the result that none of the officials from the highest to the lowest, receives a living wage. In order that the government should not default in any of the loan obligations, an attempt was made to secure a moratorium on the amortization payments, arrears of which now total $53,084.

Public Debt $600,000

The estimated revenues for the year 1933 were $485,000; the public debt was $600,000; the amount of interest, $156,590; amortization, $31,542; salaries for foreign fiscal officials, $19,600; rents, allowances and cables, $4,200, plus the rate of exchange, approximately $84,821.78.

Three things are made clear in the memorandum: first, that Liberia, at the time did not desire a loan; second, that the suggestions for a loan came entirely from the Firestone group, and third, that the government of Liberia, depending upon the traditional friendly feelings of the government of the United States and Liberia, reluctantly agreed to take the loan, but, nevertheless, was unwilling in the decision not to Liberia from any source whatever, unless the prior rights of American citizens were met in full or modified on a basis of mutual consent. The message was sent to Minister Mitchell in Monrovia for presentation to President Barclay.

"A reply was received, not from Mr. Barclay, but from his secretary, which, according to the State Department, was 'so discourteous' that it was returned. When Minister Mitchell attempted later to communicate with President Barclay this letter was sent back to him unopened."

On High Horse

Despite the protest of the Liberian attorney-general and chief justice that the Liberian constitution had been violated by such action, such protests were overruled, Mr. West reports, adding that the republic apparently does not fear U.S. intervention or any summary action by the League of Nations. "Liberia," he writes, "is riding its high horse and nobody seems to interfere."

Mr. West further reports that threats of death have been made to any justice of the Liberian Supreme Court who would dare to affirm the attorney-general's opinion that the resolution repudiating the loan agreement is unconstitutional. An organization of young men, calling themselves "cowboys," is said to have gone about Monrovia, shooting in the streets and making threats against President Barclay's opponents.

"Sinister" Advice

The writer expresses the opinion that Liberia, in inviting the antagonism of the United States, "is being unwisely guided to its own destruction by the selfish and sinister advice of some foreign nation." He refers to reports that a Danish syndicate has offered to supply several millions in return for which it would be granted extensive mineral and other concessions, and the right to build a road across the entire extent of Liberian territory from the coast to the French boundary. President Barclay, he reports, has already been authorized to negotiate the proposed concessions.

In refeernce to Great Britain, Mr. West writes:

Britain Rapped

"Great Britain has done many things which seem to indicate a purpose of placing Liberia in such an embarrassing position that British interference would be justified. The Bank of British West Africa, which has branches all along the coast, withdrew from Monrovia on the ostensible plea of unhealthy conditions in 1930, and refused to remain even when guaranteed safety from loss and actual profit by an American corporation."

In summary, the writer says: "The trouble is that when the United States relinquished its interest in Liberia by transferring that interest to the League of Nations—when it abandoned a policy of direct relationship that had existed for more than a century—the future safety of the republic was threatened even if its doom was not sealed. Anyone who has regarded Liberia with a friendly eye and sincerely desires to see its sovereignty preserved, must view the outlook with real anxiety."

LIBERIA SEEN AS THANKLESS CHILD—WEST

U.S. Colonization Society Agent Is Home after Stay in Africa.

SAYS BARCLAY IS ON HIGH HORSE

English Designs on Republic Cited.

[Special to the AFRO]

WASHINGTON.—The Republic of Liberia in its attitude toward the United States is likened to a "thankless child" by Henry L. West, white, president of the American Colonization Society, in a recently published pamphlet, "The Liberian Crisis."

This observation was made by Mr. West following a recent five-week visit to the African republic, during which period he devoted the major portion of his time acquiring first-hand knowledge of conditions. The author is also president and chairman of the board of trustees of the Booker T. Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute of Liberia and a member of the executive committee of the American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia.

Two Acts Cited

Slavery conditions in Liberia and the republic's suspension of payments of interest and principal on the $5,000,000 loan obtained in 1926 from the Finance Corporation of America, are seen by Mr. West as the two principal overt acts leading to strained relations between Liberia and the United States.

Concerning Liberia's attitude toward the repayment of the loan, Mr. West writes: "Liberia was informed that the United States would protest against any financial assistance

TOLEDO, O.
NEWS BEE

JUN 13 1933

Liberty for Liberia

PEACE organizations and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are protesting the state department's reported policy of forcing an American adviser upon the Liberian government. The protests are in order.

The United States government already has enough trouble at home and abroad without embarking on a new venture in imperialism. The Firestone loan and concession should not put the Washington government in the position of asking special privileges in Liberia or of exercising there any kind of dictatorship, open or disguised.

Liberia has asked the league of nations committee, which is now meeting in London with an American representative, to name as chief foreign adviser for Liberia a citizen of some nation which neither has nor seeks Liberian concessions. That is a reasonable request. It should rule out not only the United States but also Great Britain and France and the other imperialistic powers.

Uncle Shylock or Uncle Sam

The United States has raised more of an international row over the default of the $2,235,000 Firestone loan by Liberia than over the default of the French government on the four billion dollar debt owed us.

One reason is that Liberia is a small country and will take a lot of bullying.

Liberia's demand that the rate of interest be decreased from seven per cent to four per cent and that a five-year moratorium be granted sounds entirely reasonable.

Only an avaricious bully would insist that Liberia continue to pay annual interest of $157,710 on the loan and then pay in addition $131,574 every year, in salaries, etc., to Americans in Liberia whose job it is to see that this interest is collected.

Foreign governments at present owe us eleven and one-half billion dollars on war debts. President Hoover voluntarily proposed a moratorium of a year on June 20, 1931. When that expired various countries began to default.

Despite the private nature of Liberia's borrowings, Uncle Sam should have proved as eager to assist Liberia as to help France.

Two years ago Bolivia, South America, suspended interest payments on a $60,000,000 debt. Bolivia's debts, like Liberia's were guaranteed by a foreign debt commission.

Peru next defaulted, and then Chile stopped paying us interest on loans totalling $225,000,000. Brazil, Santo Domingo, Uraguay, and Hungary followed until various countries of the world defaulted on 250 foreign loans.

Considering these facts, the State Department's manifestation of temper over the Liberian default is more characteristic of Uncle Shylock than of Uncle Sam.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa

Liberia

LIBERIA AT THE CROSSROADS

FACED with grave financial and administrative difficulties largely the result of misgovernment, Liberia finds herself confronted with the alternative of either accepting the League of Nations Plan of Assistance or descending into hopeless bankruptcy. It has been informed by the League that it must accept the Plan by September first.

The Plan presented places Liberia firmly under the administrative and financial control of white people, regardless of what nation supplies the financial adviser and the administrative officers stipulated. It compels Liberia to pay off the $2,500,000 loan at a rate of interest reduced from 7 to 5 per cent; and saddles her with the duty of paying the cost of the white administration, which will run to nearly $200,000 annually. At the moment it seems that Liberia will be compelled to accept the Plan if it is to survive at all.

The situation is extremely unfortunate. Every American Negro with a spark of race pride is interested in the progress and development of the black West African republic. None of us wants to see Liberia fail as an experiment in Negro self-government. And yet the League Nations control may prove to be a blessing in disguise. It will compel patriotic Liberians to think as never before and make them resolve, as has Haiti, to put their house in order so that the administration of the country may soon be placed back into the hands of their own people. This can only come through efficiency and a broader sense of duty and responsibility.

After all, the unfortunate Liberian situation is chiefly due to misgovernment and lack of executive ability. There are able men and women in Liberia fully capable of efficiently governing the country, but most of them have never had an opportunity to do so because of the ruthless, conscienceless oligarchy that controls the country. As a result of honest elections and freedom of speech and assembly and press, these capable, patriotic Liberians may be able to assume a larger and larger place in the administration and so pull the country out of the situation in which it finds itself. But the task is going to be a difficult one.

THOMAS JESSE JONES EXPECTED IN LIBERIA

MONROVIA, LIBERIA (Special) —Thomas Jesse Jones and Henry [illegible] West are expected to arrive here August 23, on a mission not yet made public officials of the Liberian Government have learned.

Jones and West, regarded here as agents of the Firestone interests, appeared to the Liberian Committee of the League of Nations last month at London a memorial from the United American Churches, white operating in Liberia, requesting the League to send American high commissioner or chief advisor to Liberia.

The Liberian Government has expressed itself as unalterably opposed to any kind of foreign dictation, especially coming from American sources.

LONDON, THURSDAY.

An attempt will be made in the autumn to raise in Parliament the increasing seriousness of the Liberian misgovernment. Report has followed report on the subject, but nothing has yet been done, while all unknown to the respective Parliaments the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain, France, and Germany have apparently presented official Notes of the strongest character to the Liberian Government. The fact that these Notes are not published leaves their nature open to distortion.

One who has just been reading the last message of the President of the negro Republic says that it is a document of curious contradictions and disclosures, but it contains what purport to be extracts from Notes officially presented by our own and other Governments. Sir John Simon is alleged to have used language reminiscent of Gladstone about the Bulgarian atrocities, and to have demanded "explicit assurances" that the cruelties will be stopped. The French Government demanded an early answer to its charge of "tyrannical activities." The Washington Government asked for early assurances that acts of violence "in an inexcusable degree" would cease. The German Government seems to have charged Liberia with "atrocities"—"positively confirmed by reliable persons."

It has, of course, been customary—at least by our own Government—to publish such dispatches in the form of a White Paper, and Parliament will, it is expected, press for this in the autumn.

Liberian Frontier Force

In this curious message "President" Barclay (the Powers have apparently refused to "recognise" the President) pays a glowing tribute to the efficacy and enthusiasm of the Liberian frontier force, and gives this example of their activities: "The casualties among the dissident tribes total 159 killed (81 men, 49 women, and 29 children). The number of those wounded is not available. A few women and children may have been shot by accident, but evidence showed that the majority were burned to death in huts, it being found dangerous for the soldiers to search these huts to ascertain that they were empty before setting them on fire." For callous inhumanity that passage would be hard to beat.

New Deal Needed In Liberian Diplomacy Says Young Expert

By BEN N. AZIKIWE, M.A., M.Sc.
Instructor in Political Science
Lincoln University, Pa.

SEDITIOUS ACTIVITIES BY ALIENS AND CITIZENS

The relation of the alien and the country in which he temporarily resides is reciprocal. It is based upon protection by the State in return for the allegiance of the alien. Liberian municipal law clearly sets forth this relationship. In Harris vs. Liberia (Liberia Law Reports, vol. 1, 40-41), it was observed that "the subject or citizen of one (state) is bound to obey all the laws of the other as he enters its territory, and the nation into whose territory he enters is bound for his protection. Here the duties of the nations and subjects are reciprocal." This point of view is recognized in International law and an examination of the important decisions and opinions involving rights of aliens (e.g. De Jager vs. Attorney-General of Natal, L. R. 1907. Appeal Cases, 326; Carlos Calvo, Le droit international theoretique et pratique, vol. 1, 5th ed., caption 700) shows that the national courts and authorities of Great Britain and other countries have sustained this point of view.

FOREIGNERS UNDER LIBERIAN JURISDICTION

When now, the Firestone Plantations Company, an American national, established its domicile within the limits of the Republic, it *ipso facto* accepted the jurisdiction of Liberia. It was under obligation to respect Liberian laws and authority in return for the protection of that legal entity. The reports from Monrovia would seem to indicate that instead of its purely commercial mission in Liberia, this company has taken a fling into Liberian internal politics. It would be encouraging to know that the part played by this company is devoid of any concerted effort to deliberately aid in seditious activities against the Republic of Liberia to which it owes definite allegiance. Should the reports be true, then it is a violation of the sacred compact which binds the two parties, namely, the state and the alien, according to the recognized principles of the law of nations.

J. P. Davidson, former manager of the banking branch of the Firestone interests sued that company and indicated in his testimony, according to press dispatches, "that there was a conspiracy between the fiscal officers of Liberia (American citizens) and the Firestone group to overthrow the Barclay Government." This was a case wherein Mr. Davidson sought legal remedy from the company for ousting him due to a quarrel with W. D. Hines, American legal adviser to the Firestone Plantations Company, and which resulted in his dismissal. He thereon demanded $250,000 damages. The plaintiff, on oath, alleged that he heard private conversations between the two groups in regard to the coup. Justice Russell has awarded damages to the extent of forty-five thousand pounds to Mr. Davidson, who is a British subject.

MEDDLING IN LOCAL POLITICS

Further to these may be added the news report that Honorable L. A. Grimes, Liberian Secretary of State, had notified the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that "Firestone openly advocates the return to office of the deposed president (Mr. King) who was responsible for the conditions that brought scandal upon the country, and retains said Mr. King as their private attorney in Monrovia.' It is also stated that certain American nationals, employees of the Firestone Plantations Company, have on several occasions "through bribery....attempted to incite the people to overthrow the Barclay Government."

Writing in the December 1932 issue of The Crisis, Mr. H. O. Oxley, American educational adviser to Liberia, seems to support some of the allegations made heretofore, at least inferentially. He has asserted that "through the leadership of the Firestone Company" the plight of the Republic is being exaggerated in such a way as to "induce the United States Department of State and the League of Nations to co-operate in planning to set up a white dictatorship in Liberia in place of the present republican form of government which has prevailed there since 1847." A dictatorship implies, of course, the demise of republicanism in that country.

Outside of attempts on the part of aliens within its gates to advocate its political evanescence, Liberian citizens have also been carrying on certain ac-

tivities which are detrimental to the existence of the state. In modern international law, it is generally agreed that a state has right of jurisdiction over persons and things in its territory. If a state were competent enough to assume international obligations, its government is also capable of protecting itself from extermination, either by external or internal influences. A state therefore has of right the power to declare any act seditious, if it is derogatory to its existence, and if it is not conducive to the effective imposition of its will upon the entities within its scope of administration. These jurisdictional rights of Liberia have been asserted lately in view of certain acts on the part of its nationals.

TREASONABLE ACTIVITIES NOT PERMISSIBLE

Before citing specific instances of seditious activities, it is significant to note an exemplification of the false-evaluation of political theories and practicies as manifested in contemporary Liberian party politics. It is true that this is consequential to the inability of the controlling True Whigs Party to allow the People's Party a fair share in the participation of governmental administration. But that does not justify the tactics of a minority party to attempt to overthrow the majority party, not only by subversive means, but by activities which, when frankly considered, are treasonable. This is an example of cutting one's nose in order to spite the face. In the end, neither the face nor the individual enjoys any lasting benefits. The face loses its beauty and the individual loses a part of his anatomy.

When applied concretely, it means that while the opposition party satisfies its craving for revenge—and it is a natural instinct—it also will be subjected to consequences which would have a deleterious effect both upon the Republic and the two million five hundred thousand citizens of Liberia, whose interest both parties are apparently protecting. Clearly, a boomerang is not the proper weapon for political controversies, because its reaction is Frankensteinian.

NEWSPAPER OVERSTATED THE FACTS

The Monrovia Bureau of the Afro-American which promptly reported the activities of Colonel Davis in the Kru Coast overstated the facts. The innuendoes in this dispatch were utterly disproved by the report of the Mackenzie Commission of the League of Nations. The news would have the world believe that Liberia punished the aborigines because they voted for the People's Party, which is untrue. It was also intimated that the People's Party was being persecuted and that charges of treason and sedition were being framed up against its members. The arrival of Dr. Mackenzie in a British gunboat was reported to imply that Great Britian was forcing Liberia to end its ruthless activities against the Kru.

This Bureau further interpreted the treatment meted out by the Liberian Government to the Chieftains as a reprisal because they sent a petition to Dr. Thomas J. R. Faulkner, the presidential candidate of the opposition party. Throughout its news dispatches one finds a thread of facts correlating the activities of the Government as wholly detrimental to the interests of Mr. Faulkner, and offering to the world the spectacle that Mr. Faulkner was a martyr and "the exponent of Native rights."

However, both the Liberian Government and the League of Nations have vindicated Colonel Davis' expedition and even charged the opposition with inciting the Kru to rebellion against constituted authority. It was also maintained that the opposition promised the Kru Chiefs that the country was no longer administered by the Barclay Government, and assured them that should the party come into power the Kru tribes in the western section of the Republic would not be taxed for ever (*vide Revue de droit international des sciences diplomatiques et politiques*, Geneva, vol. X, p. 62). Should this be true, it is a clear vindication of my belief that leaders of Liberia, whether friendly or hostile to the present administration, have allowed personal whims to overshadow the noble objectives of the state as a preserver of human rights and liberties.

No political party is justified to incite a state of insurgency or belligerency merely to satisfy its selfish dreams. If these charges are true, and they are officially so, having been endorsed by the League of Nations, these series of acts on the part of aliens, citizens, and private organizations within the state are treasonable and seditious. They tend to annihilate rather than to preserve the corporate existence of the Liberian body politic.

(In the next installment, we shall consider the reaction of the Liberian Government to these seditious activities).

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RACINE, WIS.
JOURNAL-TIMES

JUN 14 1933

LIBERIAN DIFFICULTIES

Liberia, which was founded by the United States prior to the Civil war to be a Negro republic under Negro rule, is not only in financial straits, but also in trouble politically. The government openly declares that it would prefer to be under French protection than American.

Something will have to be done about Liberia. Investigators report that 10,000 educated Negroes compose the ruling class, while the 2,000,000 common people are left in ignorance, and to some extent, are held in slavery.

Liberia never has been a noteworthy success. The altruistic hopes of those who aimed to organize a Negro republic have failed of realization. Whether the United States would care to establish a genuine protectorate over Liberia and assume responsibility for its administration is questionable. Whether we should be willing to transfer our influence to France or any other country is also questionable.

HOUSTON, TEX.
PRESS

JUN 15 1933

LIBERTY FOR LIBERIA

PEACE organizations and the National Association for the Advancement of Negro People are protesting the state department's reported policy of forcing an American adviser upon the Liberian government. The protests are in order.

The United States government already has enough trouble at home and abroad without embarking on a new venture in imperialism. The Firestone loan and concession should not put the Washington government in the position of asking special privileges in Liberia or of exercising there any kind of dictatorship, open or disguised.

Liberia has asked the League of Nations committee, which is now meeting in London with an American representative, to name as chief foreign adviser for Liberia a citizen of some nation which neither has nor seeks Liberian concessions. That is a reasonable request. It should rule out not only the United States, but also Great Britain and France and other imperialistic powers.

AFRICAN CHIEFTAIN TO BE REINSTATED

Times

Britain Reverses Sentence of Tribal Head Who Flogged a White Man.

9-19-33

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Sept. 18.—The British Government decided tonight to reinstate Tshekedi, Bechuanaland chieftain who was suspended recently and banished from the territory of his tribe because he had ordered a white man to be flogged.

In a letter to the government Tshekedi admitted he had exceeded his authority when he allowed a native chief to whip Phineas McIntosh, British settler, charged with offenses against native women. As a result of his admission he will return immediately as ruler of the 35,000 Bamangwato tribesmen, and one of the most remarkable cases in the history of white rule in Africa will come to an end.

Many Opposed Former Ruling.

The decision is expected to cause satisfaction here and in South Africa, where there was a widespread belief that Tshekedi had been treated too harshly. Missionary societies, especially, regard it as a triumph, for they have contended all along that McIntosh deserved his flogging. It is understood that church bodies brought heavy pressure on J. H. Thomas, Dominions Secretary, to reverse the sentence upon one whom they regard as a progressive and intelligent type of native ruler.

Tshekedi in his letter to the government alleged that he had been "compelled in the interests of just administration and for the good of my people to order punishment of McIntosh—a claim which the British Government refused to accept." But, Tshekedi added, "I hereby abandon my rights to deal with a case in which a European is concerned, and I undertake not to deal with any European case in the future."

The letter also contains a pledge not to claim immunity from the regulations of 1891 governing the Bechuanaland protectorate, which provide that natives must not try Europeans under any circumstances.

Regrets the Occurrence.

"No one could regret more than I do what has occurred," the young chief wrote, "and I desire to assure the High Commissioner I would at all times work in harmony and loyal cooperation with the administration."

In some quarters here Tshekedi's reinstatement is interpreted as a rebuke to Vice Admiral E. R. G. R. Evans, Acting High Commissioner, whose spectacular methods of conducting the trial aroused sharp criticism Admiral Evans ordered a force of 200 sailors and marines with a battery of howitzers to Bechuanaland to stand guard during the trial. The hearings were held under a fig tree in the presence of 15,000 natives and the verdict was announced in the atmosphere of a military court-martial.

The government statement tonight contains no word of reproach, however, against Admiral Evans. It is stated that Tshekedi will be formally reinstataed at Serowe, the town where he was sentenced, and Admiral Evvans is expected to attend the ceremony.

LESTER WALTON MAY BE ENVOY TO LIBERIA

Journal

"Big Four" Talks With Postmaster Farley About Patronage

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Lester A. Walton, well-known New-Yorker, who was director of Democratic Party publicity among Negroes during the 1932 Presidential campaign, may be the next Minister to Liberia.

The Associated Negro Press learned on good authority that he can secure the appointment if he desires it. No minister has been appointed to Liberia to succeed Chas. E. Mitchell, resigned Republican appointee of former President Hoover.

Hoover sent two white men to Liberia, after Mr. Mitchell returned to this country last fall to assist in the campaign, with authority to seek a settlement of the difficulties between the United States and the African republic. The appointment of this special delegation was said officially to have the approval then of Mr. Roosevelt.

Rumors persist that Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh publisher, has been offered the post of special assistant to the attorney general.

Confer With Chairman Farley

The much heralded coming of the "Big Four" to Washington occurred Wednesday, May 3, when Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Julian D. Rainey, Dr. William J. Thompkins, and Robert L. Vann, in response to an invitation by Postmaster James A. Farley, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, came to the capital for a conference and suggestions as to both policy and patronage at the hands of the Democratic Party.

Details of the conference were not disclosed. Those close to the administration declared that it was the most significant conference ever held on political matters touching the Negro group since Roosevelt came into power. It is thought that Mr. Farley gave the "Big Four" authority to investigate the status of deserving Negro Democrats and make recommendations for both Federal and state positions.

The "Big Four" spent three days conferring and laying plans which it is hoped will mean immediate action throughout the country.

Race Problem - 1933

Africa.

Liberia

League Of Nations Liberian Plan Made Public; African Republic Has Until January To Accept

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND — The Liberian Government's request for assistance from the League of Nations by the establishment of reforms in the administration and finances of the republic has resulted in the drafting of a protocol by a Committee appointed by the Council and experts which is intended to ensure the political independence of Liberia and to avoid infringing in any way its territorial integrity or the exercise by its government of its sovereign rights.

The League Plan, which the Liberian Legislature is given to January to ratify, proposes that for administrative purposes the territory of the republic be divided, as it is already, into three provinces, each province to be administered by a Provincial Commissioner, assisted by a Deputy Commissioner. The Provincial Commissioner will be responsible to the Chief Adviser, and as representative of the executive power, to the President, through the intermediary of the Secretary of the Interior. It shall be the duty of the Provincial Commissioner to see that laws and regulations are carried out, and he shall be responsible for public peace and order.

To ensure public order, the Commissioners will have under their direct orders a corps of messengers, the number of which will be settled by the Liberian Government in consultation with Chief Adviser. The Liberian Government shall decide, on recommendation of Chief Adviser, whether messengers are to be armed. Neither the Frontier Force nor any other military organization of Liberia may intervene in the province, except at request of the Provincial Commissioner.

3 Commissioners.

Only the three Provincial Commissioners will be appointed immediately, the deputies later. With the approval of the Chief Adviser the deputies may be Liberians. The foreign specialists who act as Provincial Commissioners will undertake the administrative training of the Liberian officials, whom they will be succeeded on the expiration of their contracts if the Chief Adviser considers Liberians to be able to perform their duties satisfactorily.

Two whole-time medical officers for hospital and health work are to be engaged by Liberian government. They will be designated by the Council of the League of Nations and responsible to Chief Adviser and president.

It shall be the duty of the Financial Adviser and his collaborators to ensure the efficient organization and functioning of the Liberian fiscal services and also the regular payment of the service of the loan advanced by the Finance Corporation of America. The Financial adviser shall have the right of supervision over all questions within the financial sphere. All revenues and receipts, including import and export duties, poll tax, taxes and receipts of the Liberian Government, shall be collected under his supervision. Any disagreement between the Liberian government or any official thereof with Financial Adviser shall be submitted to the Chief Adviser.

The Chief Adviser shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations with the acceptance of the President of Liberia. He shall be responsible to and removable by the Council of the League of Nations, and shall be attached to the Central Government in order to give it the benefit of his advice, to advise the execution of the plan of Assistance and to co-ordinate work of foreign experts.

League To Be Arbiter.

The Liberian Government may refer any question to the Council of the League of Nations, including any question upon which there is any disagreement between Liberian Government and Chief Adviser. Financial experts of the League placed the sum of $150,000 a year needed to carry out Plan of Assistance, which would include salaries and traveling expenses to Europe, $78,000, and the balance to be expanded for roads, bridges, public health, etc.

The Finance Corporation of America, representing the Firestone interests, has agreed to reduce the interest on its loan to the Liberian Government from 7 per cent to 5 per cent, making the future interest $125,000 per annum instead of $175,000. Relative to the unpaid interest on the loan, which amounted to $133,000 on January 1, 1933, the Financial Corporation has agreed to take up this amount in additional bonds.

The American Finance Corporation has agreed to an additional $25,000 to be provided specifically for educational purposes, making $325,000 as the proposed budget for the Government's ordinary operating expenses during the first year. No interest payments are to be made to the American Finance Corporation until $527,000 first has been utilized by the Liberian Government.

The Plan of Assistance is for five years.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
RECORD

OCT 16 1933

Liberia and the New Deal.

The Roosevelt administration strikes a blow at dollar diplomacy, or what appears as financial overlordship, over the little negro republic of Liberia. To the demand of the backward country that an American shall not act as chief adviser to carry out the league of nation's reconstruction work, the United States offers no objection. Its only stipulation is that the head of the international body be competent to fill the position.

* * *

Thus the principle obstacle is removed from the path of the long delayed clean-up of the little African republic. Though the United States had not definitely demanded that an American advisor be named, it was generally understood that this was its position during the Hoover administration. The Finance Corporation of America, an affiliate of the Firestone Rubber company, which operates an extensive rubber plantation in Liberia, had made considerable loans to the negro government. When the government defaulted in its payments, American recognition was removed. Since then American pressure has been brought to bear upon the Liberians to straighten out their financial social and sanitary conditions which were attracting the attention of the world.

* * *

Some three years ago the league of nations after a thorough investigation revealed that Liberia was not only a plague spot where smallpox and yellow fever were unchecked but one of the few places in the world where slavery was practiced on a large scale. With the aid of the United States it sought to work out a rehabilitation plan, or rather start a clean-up movement, which would rectify the financial, social and sanitary conditions. But Liberia protested against the United States holding the purse-strings of the government or acting in the capacity of financial overlord directing the international commission.

* * *

The Roosevelt administration has no desire to act in this capacity, as former administrations have acted in the Caribbean countries. It demonstrates an unselfish interest in Liberia's welfare rather than an interest chiefly in American investments. The new deal is thus extended across the ocean and the policy of the friendly neighbor is shown toward the American-negro republic. — Louisville Courier-Journal.

AFRO'S Jones in W. Africa Finds Whoopee Revelation to Staid U. S. Traveler

Afro-American
12-2-33
Baltimore, Md.

LAS PALMAS, Canary Islands—If ever any great number of Americans learn the whoopee possibilities on the West African coast between Madeira and Accra on the Gold Coast, this section of the country, including Liberia, will become one of the most popular tourist centers in the world.

Already, and for a long time, of course, Madeira, off Spain, Teneriffe and Las Palmas, on the Canary Isles, have become famous winter resorts for Europeans and the interest being taken in ports on the West African Coast is bound to make them see the possibilities in tourist traffic.

Each day down this coast you are more and more conscious of its less-stilted character of civilization and a changing spirit of people seemingly determined not to let any kind of a complex manner of living take their joy out of life as is done in English and American cities. Even the question of color commences to lose its significance and before you know it the live and Indian tints of the Spanish mixtures so dilute the pure Nordic that even their own attitudes go in complete reverse.

For instance, when we boarded a boat train for Southampton there was in the same compartment a young white woman whose attitude at once made one guess that she was not only from the United States, but from the South. It turned out that she was a North Carolina girl doing missionary work at Mount Hope, Liberia.

Later when on board the boat she learned that I was on my way to Liberia, she rushed up enthusiastically to tell me with evident pride that she knew former Minister and Mrs. Mitchell and had been at one time their house guest.

Much Whoopee

But to the person who is going for the first time to West Africa, the drop off at Madeira, Teneriffe and Las Palmas is a revelation. These towns live principally on tourist trade and everything is done to attract the money spending visitor.

Here you have no tilts with custom officers and a carton of Lucky Strikes or Chesterfield cigarettes can be bought 25 per cent cheaper than it can be bought in England or the United States. Coming on board before the boat com-

Restful Waters

After putting behind you the English Channel and the sometimes turbulent Bay of Biscay, you come to the restful waters of the Spanish and African coasts. Your West African passenger and trade boat, heavily loaded with goods for the coast towns, move lazily down almost lake-like waters where literally hundreds of thousands of flying fish rise from the surface in droves and where paupus lifts its head for your entertainment.

mences to discharge its cargo are agents for hotels, restaurants, cabarets and night clubs seeking patronage. Included are also agents for senoritas and senoirs, the latter evidently of the gigolo type, who will render services as pleasing hostesses and hosts for visitors while they are in the cities.

They say that some of these "agents," who get the privilege of the boot about as our American red caps get the privilege of the railway stations, can almost look into your face and judge the kind of entertainment a man would most likely enjoy. They can easily distinguish between the missionary-bound traveler and the traveling salesman and tired business man type, and they offer their wares accordingly.

At Teneriffe

Perhaps the most colorful and attractive night life resorts are at Teneriffe where something close to 100,000 people live. Here is the typical Spanish city of the movie type. There are public squares where families come to drink in the balmy breezes which flow through beautiful background of palm and other tropical trees.

Flanking these generally is the street restaurant or beer garden where groups sit around tables and live and are happy as only people of their disposition can. In the night club there are colorful senoritas with flashing eyes who dance to Spanish tunes. Your host or hostess, or perhaps it will be safer to call them guides back home, will carry you throug the fiery steps of the tango or they are as fully prepared to do the "slow drag" of a Harlem night club or the "bumb-the-bump."

Entertainment with them is an art and they do it in about the same spirit that an actress does her song or dance on the stage. Then there are the curio shops selling anything from cheap trinkets imported from Europe to fine and colorful wearing apparel and tropical souvenirs.

Tourist Possibilities

Tourist trade at Las Palmas and Teneriffe indicates what could be done at Monrovia. Hundreds of vessels ply these waters. On the way down we met at least 20 vessels and several ships were unloading at Teneriffe when the Wadai, the vessel upon which I was riding, unloaded there. Some idea of the commerce done in these towns on the coast can be gleamed from the fact that it took the Wadai from 9:30 Wednesday evening until 11:30 the following day to unload its cargo. It carried foodstuffs, including Idaho white potatoes, Armour packing products, American tobaccos, tractors and automobiles.

Captain Brown

Some day, perhaps, an American cruising and trading fleet, headed by some man like Captain George Brown, for instance, will be carrying tourists, and what is more important, some of the surplus food products of the States, to Monrovia and other West African towns. Such a vessel would need engineers, electricians, mariners, chefs, waiters, stewards, and financiers. This is one reason why American colored citizens should be interested in what is taking place in Liberia today.

Liberian Legislature Puts Future Up To U. S.

Declines to Vote on League Plan. Colored Advisers Asked. Legislature on Three Special Sessions.

(By WILLIAM N. JONES, Managing Editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN on board Steamship Wadai, North German Lloyd liner, en route home from Liberia.)

OFF THE COAST OF WEST AFRICA—(Press Radio via R.C.A.—S.S Wadai N. Chatham)—

The legislature put the future of Liberia up to America Thursday.

Instead of the white dictators urged by the League of Nations, the legislature voted for a plan calling for colored advisors, an open door to immigration from the U.S.A., co-operative trade relations, and assistance for internal development.

No vote was taken on the League's plan.

The AFRO's representative was called into three special sessions of the legislature. Liberians hope that colored Americans will rally to the aid of the West African republic. The U.S. State Department is exerting full pressure for the plan of the League of Nations.

Everywhere throughout the interior, last week, native chiefs welcomed the AFRO's editor as a messenger and delegate of good will.

NEWFOUNDLAND AND LIBERIA

UNDER sweeping emergency measures submitted to the House of Commons in London, Newfoundland, Great Britain's oldest self-governing dominion, reverts to the status of a crown colony and will henceforth be ruled direct from London by a British Governor and a commission of three Britons and three Newfoundlanders.

This drastic step, unprecedented in English history, is due to the fact that political and financial conditions in Newfoundland have become so desperate that the islanders are facing utter ruin. The report of the Commission of Inquiry in Newfoundland affairs is said to constitute a scathing indictment of financial mismanagement and political corruption ever since the war. The dominion has been living hopelessly beyond its means, its scattered fishing communities have been demoralized by a vicious credit system and the inhabitants have become virtual serfs of the merchants at St. John's.

Substitute the name "Liberia" for "Newfoundland" and you have an exact picture of conditions in the West African republic. In Liberia the exploited masses are black, while in Newfoundland they are white. The League of Nations, having been asked for assistance by Liberia, after the report of the International Committee of Inquiry disclosed desperate political, financial and social conditions there, recently worked out a plan of assistance calling for management of the affairs of Liberia by a foreign advisory staff, assisted by Liberians. This plan President Barclay would reject on the ground that it impairs Liberian sovereignty, regardless of how much benefit the Liberian masses might derive from it.

Newfoundland, a white self-governing country, on the other hand, willingly relinquishes self-governmment and accepts a British dictator as a last resort to save itself. It is a wise bankrupt who knows when it is time to accept a receiver. It is noteworthy that no one is contending that the situation in Newfoundland is evidence of the incapacity of the white race to successfully practice self-government. Nor do Liberia's difficulties reflect in any way upon the Negro race.

Race Problem - 1933

Asia

What Will Negro Do If Japanese Attack America?

By RAS HAMMURABI

The next gigantic clash will be in the Pacific. Over two-thirds of the world's population are in Japan, China, India and Russia. These lands are overcrowded. The people are meagerly fed. The white man has taught them in modern times to expand and to exploit others. Japan leads the way. America, Australia and Africa offer vast acres of sparsely populated lands. What must these hordes do? What has man always done in the past when he got hungry? Read the story of the Tartars as they invaded Asia and Europe, the Sichs from Northern India, the Zulus who entered South Africa, the Phoenicians, Norsemen, Englishmen and Indians have all at one time or another left home to eat, pillage and maraude. Even Moses, Joshua and David did the same.

JAPANESE AND NEGRO

About all the American Negro knows about the Japanese is that they are rather silent and often take jobs from them as butlers and chauffers especially on the west coast. In the large cities you see one occasionally around a college, in Harlem and Chicago lower Loop district running Tokio restaurants for those who can only afford 10 or 15 cents for a full meal. In the most exclusive areas they have a number of beautifully equipped novelty curio, silk and antique shops, where only the rich find their way. In California, you will find hundreds of truck farmers and in almost every branch of business. But there are over 70,000,000 Japs across the seas and in America over 120,000 reside. Only a few business men and students may settle for a limited time. The largest percentage of people in Hawaii are Japanese.

BEHIND THE LITTLE GIANTS

Behind these little people almost forced to open their doors by Commodore Perry of the United States is a proud nation whose aim is as Alexander Hamilton: "My son, never aim at the second best. It is not worthy of you. Your powers are in harmony with the everlasting principle of the universe."

Japan is neither like the Orient or the Occident. She has some of the attributes of both. She revamped her military machine on western lines and now stands as the third greatest military power of the world. In 1892 she defied Russia essentially led by white men and defeated her. This is the first time a colored group had done it successfully for centuries aside from Abyssinia. Soon afterwards she defeated China a nation of over 300,000,000 unorganized folk. She took Korea, got more territory in the World's War, now has Manchuria and is about to organize North China as a great industrial reservoir and military center. Recently she has defied the League of Nations and U. S. A. by not leaving Manchuria. She still remembers the American insult of California in the Anti-Alien Bill keeping Japanese from coming to America to settle. She insists before the whole world on complete equality. She promises to get it or fight. Japanese are increasing rapidly in Hawaii, Philippines, a number in Canada and a few students and merchants in Europe.

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE

Remember Japan is isolated from the mainland. Shintoism, not Christianity, Confucism, Buddism or Hinduism is her religion. She has more schools and finer schools than any nation in Europe and erected more in 30 years than any nation in the world and less illiteracy. They have a beautiful country but the more populated areas are always threatened by volcanoes. Instead of being warlike country they have a tradition for almost a 1,000 years of being very peaceful and content with their exotic cherry blossoms, simple gardens, magnificent mountains and sees all around them have dominated their islands only.

GREAT CHARACTERS

The land has an abundance of shrines but the American jingo press merely presents warlike Japan. In a land tempered by warm currents of the Pacific many great characters have arisen, men and women. The latter is not as the western woman tall and robust in body and figure, sprightly in manner and straightforward in language but her honour lies in becoming a virtuous wife and good mother. She is fit to be the queen of her household and not the queen of society.

She does not shun her duty to sacrifice herself for her parents, husband and children, is not frightened by adversity, does not bewail her misfortunes and always looks after her household comforts and nurses so that the head of the family will not be distracted from business.

Empress Jingo was courageous, Yamaoh, home consort of Emperor Suijiu, was a real support in every crisis. Lady Wage was a humanitarian. Lady Masako Taira was an astute politicin, scholar, painter and writer.

Some of the famous men of today and yesterday in Japan are such as Count Shizenabu Akuma, a former minister and one of the greatest liberals of his time to insist on representative government; Baron S. Gota, a scholar and former head of Imperial Railway Board; Baron Ei-ichi Shibusawa, former president of the first Band of the Imperial Theatre Company and Bankers Association; Soichiro Asano, old head of the Oriental Steamship Company; Kikusaburo Fuku, managing director of Mitsui Products Company. But these names aren't so important as Kyokutie Bakin, who wrote one of the greatest romances Hakkenden, who may be compared favorably to Goethe, Hugo or Shakespeare. Many Shoguns or rulers were famous. Fukuzawa issued a moral code in latter part of the 19th century that serves as a most profound guide to adults, children and teachers.

It is not to be denied that Confucism, Bushido and Chinto combined have produced types of men of whom Japan is rightly proud. Statesmen like Akubo and Ito, who devoted themselves to the progress of Japan and sacrificed their lives for it; soldiers like General Nogi, the hero of Port Arthur whose tragic death the nation still mourns, sailors like Admiral Togo, and hundreds of other less famed in science and particularly Dr. Nagualu who went to Africa and suffered the bite of the tsetse fly in order to free aborignes.

HOW YOU MAY LEARN OF JAPAN

The Japanese aren't interested in the Negro as such. Their interests are universal. They are America's best customer and more and more is she taking British trade from the Orient. Meet Japanese students, invite one occasionally to a club, send a student to Japan, get an exchange professor from their country to go to Howard, Fisk or Atlanta. Read and read about a most harmony loving people. Learn why the Chinese and Japanese oppose each other. In short get interested in the Orient. The center of world drama is focusing in the Pacific.

JAPAN THROUGH FIGURES

Today Japan is a grand mixture of things Japanese, much from Europe and America. You will notice her navy has much in common with England, her department stores, railroad centers are patterned after America, German strategy has been invoked with the army and many projects owned and controlled by municipal control such as gas, electric, lighting and waterworks. The first subway line was opened in 1927, extending between Asakusa and Ueno.

IMPORTS

Her two largest cities are Cesake, 2,330,800 people, and Tokio, 2,218,400 with four others 500,000 to 900,000 people.

Most of the people live in densely populated villages. She is dependent upon outside world for imports in wool, hemp, great quantities of cotton, rubber, wheat, ores, coal machinery, timber, auto parts, sugar, beans and large amounts of oil, cake, even rice and petroleum oil.

EXPORTS

She exports large batches of raw silk, cotton tissue, silk tissue and rayon as well as much smaller quantities of refined sugar, porcelain, earthenware, timber machinery, coal, paper, cotton yarn, marine products, toy, iron manufacurers, some tea and rice in the above orders of importance.

The number of applications for patents in the country was 14,207 in 1929 and 2,969 of these were by foreigners, a striking number.

MURDERS AND SUICIDES

In 1928 there were 9,256 suicides and suicide acts, juvenile cases, 13,498 and only 1,005 were girls. The total number of arrests were 1,520, 548 with robbery, fraud and blackmailing the greatest causes of crime and 668 abortions, with 160 prisons, 37,493 convicts, most incarcerated for theft, 21,334 for murder and sex obscenity 473. Public hospitals play an important part with the nation's 47,548 practioners.

JAPAN TODAY AND YESTERDAY

These yellow people have gone in for the movies with four leading cinema companies producing more than they import. Gobana, chess and card playing are major intellectual games in Japan. As played indoors the first two came from old China.

Music in Japan exists in two distinct forms, one of them Japanese music handed down from old ancestors and other imported from Europe and America after the restoration of Merji. The students usually go in for the minor harmony.

The use of gramaphones or as the Americans say, graphaphones and records have attained a marked development with the Victor and Columbia companies producing in the country. There are still the sacred dances performed at famous shrines of Nikko, the Samuri are the warrior class between masses and nobility. Formerly ballad dancing and singing plus professional story tellers were popular. The Japs are coming with an army of over 250,000 over 100,000 in navy and 8,000 in air.

Black People Found In China!

SHANGHAI, China, Dec. 7.—Carrying with him the manuscript of what will be published as a three-volume book on the little known Nakhi tribe of far South China, Dr. Joseph F. Rock is now in Shanghai awaiting a steamer bound for Europe. Dr. Rock, who is a Vienna born explorer and author of international note, is an American citizen.

He first penetrated into the Nakhi territory, in northern Yunnan Province near the border of Tibet, about twelve years ago when he was making a trip of exploration as a botanical representative of the American Department of Agriculture. The Nakhis, or "Black People," Dr. Rock describes as one of the most extraordinary races or tribes surviving in the worl today. They number about 200,000, and have kept alive a culture at least 2,000 years old today.

JAPAN

Not Like Negroes

Since 1889 when Japan adopted a constitution based on the Imperial Prussian bureaucracy, Japanese have thought Prussians the flower of the Occident. The Japanese Army, Japanese nationalism, have been an anxious imitation of the old Prussian model. For a time they watched with admiration the new Prussianism of Adolf Hitler. When Germany last fortnight flounced out of the League of Nations, as had Japan last February, observers felt that Germany had kept at least one potent friend: Japan. They had forgotten that the Nazi discrimination against "inferior races" lumps Jews, Negroes and "other colored races" all together.

Last week a Japanese Foreign Office spokesman said, "The Government and the people of Japan are highly indignant at Germany's branding us inferior. Even in the U. S. Japanese are not subjected to the same treatment as Negroes."

Race Problem—1933

Book Reviews

∴ Book Review ∴

NEW YORK [illegible] WORLD Telegram

FEB 1 1933

GOD'S LITTLE ACRE. By Erskine Caldwell (Viking. $2.50)

Step aside all you halfway realists, Messrs. Hecht, Hemingway, Faulkner, Fowler, Dos Passos and Dreiser, step aside for the toughest baby Georgia ever produced, Erskine Caldwell. Call

Perhaps he can't write like the sort of angel Arnold Bennett was talking about when he said Faulkner could write like an angel. Perhaps he can't write at all. But his realism has the bright, hard, all-revealing quality of clear daylight. And his book—while it is distinctly for adults only—is in a class by itself. 2-17-33

Unfortunately we did not read "Tobacco Road" and therefore have no way of comparing this to his earlier major work. But we do know that "God's Little Acre" is a distinct advance over the shorter things by Caldwell which appeared in the "American Caravan." Kansas City Star

True, there is melodrama and rather unconvincing symbolism in some of the later chapters, and there is a bit too much sex, but none of these flaws keeps the book from achieving a striking picture of Georgia and of a galaxy of swiftly drawn characters who walk right into the book and live on every page.

There are Ty Ty Walden, the Rabelaisian patriarch, who is digging all over his farm for gold which he never finds; Darling Jill, his none too virtuous daughter, who has the sort of vocabulary usually accredited to the marines; Pluto, the fat and comic suitor, a sort of Georgia cracker Falstaff without Falstaff's sense of humor; Griselda, whose beauty upsets the equilibrium for miles around, and Will, the starving cotton weaver, who breaks into the closed cotton mill and turns on the power. Common people but as sculpturesque as Grant Wood's portraits of Iowa farmers.

"God's Little Acre," for which the book is named, is a bit of land set aside for God by Ty Ty Walden. Anything produced upon this acre goes theoretically to the church. But whenever Ty Ty prepares to sink another mine to find the mythical gold he moves the acre to some other part of the farm because he'll be doggoned if he is going to give God the first gold he finds.

Caldwell was born in Georgia in 1903, lived all over the south, has been a reporter, clocker in a cotton-seed-oil mill, stonemason's helper and a laborer turning o screwdriver handles. He is married and has two children.

All Art, Says Grace Lumpkin, Deals Out Propaganda, So She Won't Apologize for Her Novel's Communism

Author of "To Make My Bread" Cites Grudges that Pop Out of Michelangelo's Painting.

By MARGUERITE YOUNG,
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

Grace Lumpkin, whose first novel won both the critics' praise and one of the Revolutionary Writers Federation's three awards for the year's best proletarian novels, bent her head sidewise so her loose hair fell forward over her face as she observed quietly that from Michelangelo to Sinclair Lewis, "propaganda has been the one big thing in the minds of the best artists."

The young author of "To Make My Bread" diluted her coffee with canned milk as she spoke today in her home, a cabinlike house back of a tenement, far east near Ave. C. It was Southern speech. Although she has been mixed up in strikes from Passaic to West Virginia, and has been chambermaid, social service worker in industrial centres, she was born in Georgia and grew up in South Carolina.

Sees Michelangelo Painting His Grudges.

"It's so evident—propaganda," she said. "Take Michelangelo. He had his little personal grudges and painted them into his work, but on the whole he was a propagandist for the ruling religion of his day.

"Surely Tolstoi's 'War and Peace' is recognized as a very great example of propaganda against war. I think one of the swellest pieces of propaganda is Jonathan Swift's 'Gulliver's Travels'—it so exposes the rottenness of the upper classes.

"Sinclair Lewis is a propagandist for reform in his own American middle class. In 'Main Street' he wanted to reform by making the class more intellectual, more cultured. The one thing that made 'Arrowsmith' more interesting was that it was more of a crusade, even though the ideal was only the traditional attack on corruption in science.

And Miss Lumpkin herself won't apologize for the fact that her novel exudes the message of the communism of Marx and Lenin. She won't apologize for writing "with a copy of the Manifesto in my pocket." Her story of a mountain family transformed into struggling, finally striking, cotton mill workers, however, grew, as most first efforts, out of her own experiences.

Tells of Her Family in the Old South.

What of those experiences?

She set her cup on the red-checked tablecloth and drew one foot up in her chair, under the bright calico apron that covered her dark flannel skirt. She has a rounded body, too young for the gray in her soft, straight hair. She was one of eleven children. Her father, she said, "believed in the Old South, prided himself on the fact that, along with prayers, the children learned Confederate history." He was in revolt against the industrialization of the South.

Bachrach Photo.
Grace Lumpkin.

Nevertheless, economic conditions made the family one of workers. Grace Lumpkin went to work when she was 17, after a year of home economics in a college prep school.

Wrote When Unemployed.

Seizing an opportunity to work in the West Virginia mining area, she later became industrial secretary for a religious and social welfare organization. She resigned, she said, because pressure was brought to bear on her "to betray the workers."

About ten years ago Miss Lumpkin came to New York and started to write, chiefly when she was unemployed. She was a chambermaid in a summer health camp—and struck to make up fifty instead of eighty beds a day. It was early in this period she concluded that Communism "is the only way in which we can all have the good things of life, and the time in which to enjoy them." She sold several short stories, finally, and then wrote the book which was accepted immediately.

Several years ago she was married—to a worker. He has had, standing in the fur industry section waiting for the bosses to come for labor, ten weeks' work in a year. Today Miss Lumpkin was going to two meetings—one on behalf of the Scottsboro Negroes, and the other on behalf of Angelo Herndon, the Negro whom Georgia gave a penitentiary sentence for activities less revolutionary, perhaps, than Miss Lumpkin's writing.

BOOK REVIEW

ROSANNE D. CHARLTON

THE PROTESTANT by E. H. Miller — Christopher Publishing House, Boston $1.5

In "The Protestant" Miller, a avowed iconoclast, exposes in uthless manner the indiscreet act of so-called Christian ministers who try to hide their transgressions behind the cloak of Christian ity. Common

In the introduction to the book (the most interestingly written part of the book, by the way) we are told that on a day in June representatives from various Protestant groups gathered on the S. S. France in order to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In describing a few of the groups represented, the author has drawn amusing word pictures. The Episcopalians were there with more outward form than inward grace. The Baptists were there, but inwardly harboring a dislike for religious bodies other than their own. The Methodists were there in shouting array. Representatives of the Disciples of Christ with long solemn faces were there. 2-25-33 Pittsburgh Pr

The black brethren were not without a representative; Lawrence Harris represented them. It was apparent that he was inordinately proud to mingle with so many distinguished white brethren, for he strutted about on deck in a most conspicuous way.

Instead of developing the adventures of the voyagers on the great pilgrimage, as one is led by the introduction to expect, the author leaves his Pilgrims en route to Europe, as it were, and plunges (I can think of no better word to describe the difference between the treatment of the subject matter in the introduction and the treatment of that in the body of the story) into a series of sensational incidents concerning various "Elmer Gantrys" who are said to be guilty of every form of misconduct from seducing of young girls to the selling of intoxicating liquors.

In depicting the result of the relations between a Captain Straus-bury, white, of the Salvation Army and Dora Dennis, a beautiful brown girl of easy virtue, Miller gives us a dose of the usual black-white propaganda. Mr. Miller says: 'There had been clandestine relations between black and white but this could only be in a sinful way and not Christian. God made the white man with a purpose and he did the same with the black man and only in sin can they be united

Any uniting of two different races is against the will of God and only sin and death can follow." He closes the passage with the same moth-eaten fragment: "While East is East and West is West, never the twain shall meet."

Mr. Miller had excellent material with which to write a book, but seemingly he lacked the ability to fashion his material into a convincing story. His style shows signs of immaturity; he often tries the patience of the reader by changing abruptly from the third person to the first person singular. One would naturally expect more finished writing from an author who is privileged to write after his name the degrees A. M., A. B., B. S.

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NEW YORK CITY SUN
MARCH 29, 1933

Revolts Against Forced Labor Unite Negro and White

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THE workers in the prisons of this country, on their own initiative, have waged some bitter struggles against the conditions that have described. In some cases these prison revolts have been aided by workers on the outside who were acting in solidarity with their imprisoned and victimized fellow-workers.

In the period from 1861 to 1900, for example, there are 22 recorded strikes against convict labor in coal mines. Perhaps the most significant of all such revolts was the Coal Creek Rebellion in 1891-1892 in the coal mines of East Tennessee. Following a combination lockout and strike convict strike-breakers were brought in by the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Co. (now a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Corp.), which leased an average of 1,500 to 1,600 convicts from the state.

The miners, Negro and white, aided by the farmers of East Tennessee, drove out the guards, burned the prison stockades and released the convicts, who escaped. Governor Buchanan sent in the militia to subdue the workers. After a pitched battle the entire force of soldiers was captured and driven out after being disarmed and after promising never to return to the mining section. The struggle had begun in earnest. It lasted from July 14 1891 (Bastille day), to November, 1892 with a few skirmishes as late as 1893.

1,000 Prisoners Freed.

Before the struggle was over nearly a dozen prisons were burned to the ground and over 1,000 convicts given their freedom, food and clothing.

Three commanding officers, a general, a colonel and a captain were captured, as well as several hundred soldiers, including whole train loads at a time. Even the United States War Department was forced to admit that most of the people of Tennessee, "including the militia," were in sympathy with the miners.

Negroes and whites, men who fought for the North and men who fought for the South in the Civil War, farmers and miners, convicts and "free" men, stuck together in the face of the entire armed forces of Tennessee. Approximately 10,000 soldiers and members of business men's posses were used to crush the revolt. Workers and convicts stormed forts and cannons and died together. But they died with the knowledge that they had killed a great many more of the common enemy than the enemy killed of them.

Revolts and strikes have broken out in prisons all over the United States during 1931 and 1932. Many of them were not reported, or if reported were "played down" or called "riots." There were strikes in at least three reformatories for girls in the South and the institutions were wrecked or burned.

The most important chain gang strike in 1931 occurred in Loudon County, Tenn. The Negro and white convicts there asked for an 8-hour day and better food. Two guards quit in sympathy. In July, 1932, seventy convicts on the Sunbeam prison chain gang in Florida went on strike against brutal conditions and won a transfer. In October, 1932, a strike took place in the State Road camp at Indiantown, Florida. The strike was led by several political prisoners, the militants of the Tampa tobacco workers' case.

The workers and farmers held in peonage have likewise waged militant battles against their conditions. In many of these struggles Negroes and whites fought shoulder to shoulder. One of the early efforts to organize tenant farmers on a large scale in the South was the attempt to form a Colored Farmers' Alliance of the U. S. with headquarters in Houston, Texas, in 1891. Their strike was defeated by the white wealthy farmers and business men. There was also the brutal suppression of the Negro farmers' union at Elaine, Ark., in 1919. Though the union was a conservative one, it was bitterly opposed and in an attack, in which the Negroes resisted bravely, killing a number of their white attackers, nearly 200 of the former were slaughtered.

Industrial workers have also struggled against actual peonage. On November 22, 1919, in Bogalusa, La., three white men were shot dead, and a number severely wounded in such a struggle. The white men were killed because they had dared walk down the main street of the city controlled by the Great Southern Lumber Co., with guns on their hips, protecting the life of a Negro organizer.

Camp Hill.

In the summer of 1931, to cite another and even more significant case, white and Negro tenants in and around Camp Hill, Ala., were organized by the Trade Union Unity League into a militant union. The main purpose of this avowedly militant union is in one respect no different from that of the tenants' union in Arkansas in 1919, namely—to fight peonage. Alabama planters, emulating their ruling class brothers in Arkansas, also attacked a union meeting which was being held in a church near Camp Hill. The church was burned to the ground, one man was murdered on the spot in cold blood and four others were sent to "cut stove wood," a euphemistic term for lynching. Some 35 were rounded up and arrested.

The Camp Hill union, in co-operation with the International Labor Defense, was able to win the freedom of all the 35 arrested members. And for the first time in the long history of the struggles against peonage, this Camp Hill union was able to beat back the attacks of the employers and win certain demands.

Similar conditions surrounded the armed attack on Dec. 19, 1932, on share-croppers at Notasulga, Tallapoosa County, Ala., a few miles from Camp Hill. In the fighting, in which the croppers defended themselves heroically, several of them were wounded and 13 arrested. Two of those wounded, including Cliff James, organizer of the Share Croppers' Union, subsequently died.

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A sympathetic soldier helped the rebels break into the storeroom where arms and ammunition were kept. After they were thus armed, they took over the city of 15,000 inhabitants and held it for several days. All deeds and records of mortgages were burned. The movement was entirely spontaneous. The immediate cause of the Tayug uprising was the decision of the Philippine Supreme Court which legalized the seizure of land, belonging to 1,000 peasants, by the foreign-owned Esperanza estate which already contained 100,000 acres.

There have also been many fights against forced labor and imperialism in Cuba, carried on especially by the agricultural workers on the sugar plantations. Big strikes were waged in 1906, 1920, 1925, 1926, and in more recent years. During the 1925 and 1926 strikes hundreds of workers and peasants were slaughtered.

But in spite of all this repression, the Cuban workers and peasants are now moving in a new revolutionary wave. The bloody battles in Havana streets on December 14, 1928; the political strike of January 10, 1930; the general strike of some 200,000 persons, March 30, 1930, against unemployment and against the persecution of the unions; the demonstrations on May 1; the strike of over 15,000 tobacco workers which was betrayed by the reformist leaders; the strikes of the street car men and sugar workers—most of them led by the National Workers' Federation of Cuba and the Communist Party—these mark a long and persistent struggle against imperialist exploitation with its attendant forced labor.

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Race Problem - 1933

Book Reviews.

NEW YORK CITY HERALD-TRIBUNE
APRIL 30, 1933

Social and Racial Forces Behind Lynching

Out of the South Comes This Excellent Study of Its Tragic Problem

THE TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING.
By Arthur Raper . . . *Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press . . . $2.50.*

Reviewed by
WALTER MILLIS
Of the Editorial Staff of the New York Herald Tribune

WHEN the jury at Decatur, Ala., not only convicted, but decreed a death penalty upon the first of the eight Negroes to stand retrial in the Scottsboro affair, it must have left a sense of helpless shock in every detached mind which had followed the case. The passions and prejudices in which the case had become involved, the dubious and disreputable character of the evidence and the savagery of the penalty alike make it impossible to believe that the verdict represented the correct result of a fair trial. It was apparent that the defendant, regardless of his actual guilt or innocence, had accidentally become the center of baffling, brutal and socially dangerous forces—presenting a violent challenge to the easy assumptions upon which we suppose our social scheme to rest, and apparently uncontrollable

They implied—and it was this which produced the real feeling of dismay—the existence of a tragedy that was wider and deeper, more impersonal but more enduring, than the immediate tragedy in the court room. It is this greater tragedy of human maladjustment, ignorance and limitations, continuous in its effects and victimizing whites and blacks alike, which clearly emerges from Dr. Raper's study of the dark problem of lynching. The book is admirably titled. It is neither an attack nor a defense, but a careful and scientific examination of a subject which at bottom is genuinely tragic, in the old Greek sense. Written by a Southerner and published in the South, it is a fine monument to the South's own determination to meet its problem; it is beyond challenge from Southerners on the score of Northern prejudice, and it is indispensable to Northerners who wish to understand, rather than only to condemn, the bitter forces which have been revealed in the Scottsboro case.

Dr. Raper's method was to select the year 1930, to examine each of the twenty-one cases of lynching which occurred in the United States during that period, and to prepare a careful case history of each one. He supplies not only the best ascertainable facts as to the particular episodes—the alleged crimes, the formation of the mob, the action of peace officers and so on—but a study as well of the historic and economic backgrounds of the counties where the lynchings occurred, the existing racial relations, the attitudes of local leaders, churches and the press. These case histories, with a certain amount of background material and summary, are all the book contains: it is enough, however, to throw a clear and often a new light upon the real nature of the phenomenon, and upon the unhappy social complex of which the actual lynchings are only a final and violent manifestation.

The tragedy of lynching is fundamentally, of course, the tragedy of the Southern people's failure to achieve a sound solution of the racial problem. This is not, of course, entirely the South's fault. It is now generally recognized that the Reconstruction politicians of the North were important architects of the dogma of "white supremacy," by which the solution was attempted; what the South is slower to admit is the fact that the solution inevitably carried its own failure within it. The attempt to keep so important a part of the population in a condition of permanent inferiority and dependence involved a denial to the Negro of economic opportunity, education and social services. This accentuated the "shiftlessness" and ignorance producing the crime which the whites sought to repress by violence; white violence incited the bolder and more energetic colored men to violence in retort; while the basic effort to prolong an already anachronistic slave economy contributed to the economic degradation of the entire community, the whites tending to become more ignorant, brutal and jealous as the colored population was more and more denied the opportunity of growing into a productive and sound element of citizenship.

This is the vicious circle of "white supremacy," and it is at the base of the lynching problem. That there are powerful forces at work to counteract it, however, is shown by the steady decline of lynching through the years, while the problem itself was never a simple one. In 1892 there were 255 lynchings in the United States; 100 of these victims, however, were white men. Twenty of the twenty-one victims in 1930 (and 1930 happened to be an unusually bad year for recent times) were Negroes. Originally lynching was less a racial phenomenon than the primitive mode of justice natural to frontier communities, and in some of Dr. Raper's cases it evidently retained something of this character. In the backward counties of southeast Georgia, for example, where five of the 1930 lynchings occurred, there is much of the frontier "without the frontier's typical virility." Too poverty-stricken to maintain adequate courts and police officers, with only a few tiny towns and with the population scattered over a lonely countryside, which a couple of sheriff's deputies would be unable to protect even with the best of intentions, the posse and its concomitants of mob law would perhaps be inevitable even without a racial problem.

At least two of Dr. Raper's cases were hardly lynchings at all, but were more in the nature of gang murders, secretly carried out without the general approval of the community, and reflecting simply a general inadequacy of legal institutions and policing. They are important, however, for the light which they throw upon the way in which "white supremacy" has worked to produce and prolong this inadequacy. The truth is that it is because of the South's failure to solve the racial problem—admittedly a task of the greatest difficulty—that lynching, which was once a more or less general American phenomenon, has become largely concentrated in the South and largely survives as a tragic and wretched weapon of oppression by whites over Negroes.

It is where the solution has been most imperfect, and is most clearly crumbling under the economic and social strain of new conditions, that lynching is most active. The twenty lynchings of Negroes in 1930 fall into three general groups. Seven occurred in "Black Belt" counties—areas where the Negro population is more than 50 per cent of the whole, where a plantation economy has sought to survive on the basis of a Negro peonage as near to slavery as possible. Five occurred in the incredibly backward and impoverished counties of southeast Georgia, where a shiftless and decadent white stock, pushed in comparatively recent times off the richer plantation lands of the state, have "always been in competition with Negroes and antagonistic towards them." It was in one of these lynchings that the mob displayed an indescribably sadistic cruelty in the dispatch of the victim (who, however, was probably guilty of the brutal crime al-

leged against him). In nearly all the other cases studied the murder was at least carried out swiftly and without deliberate torture.

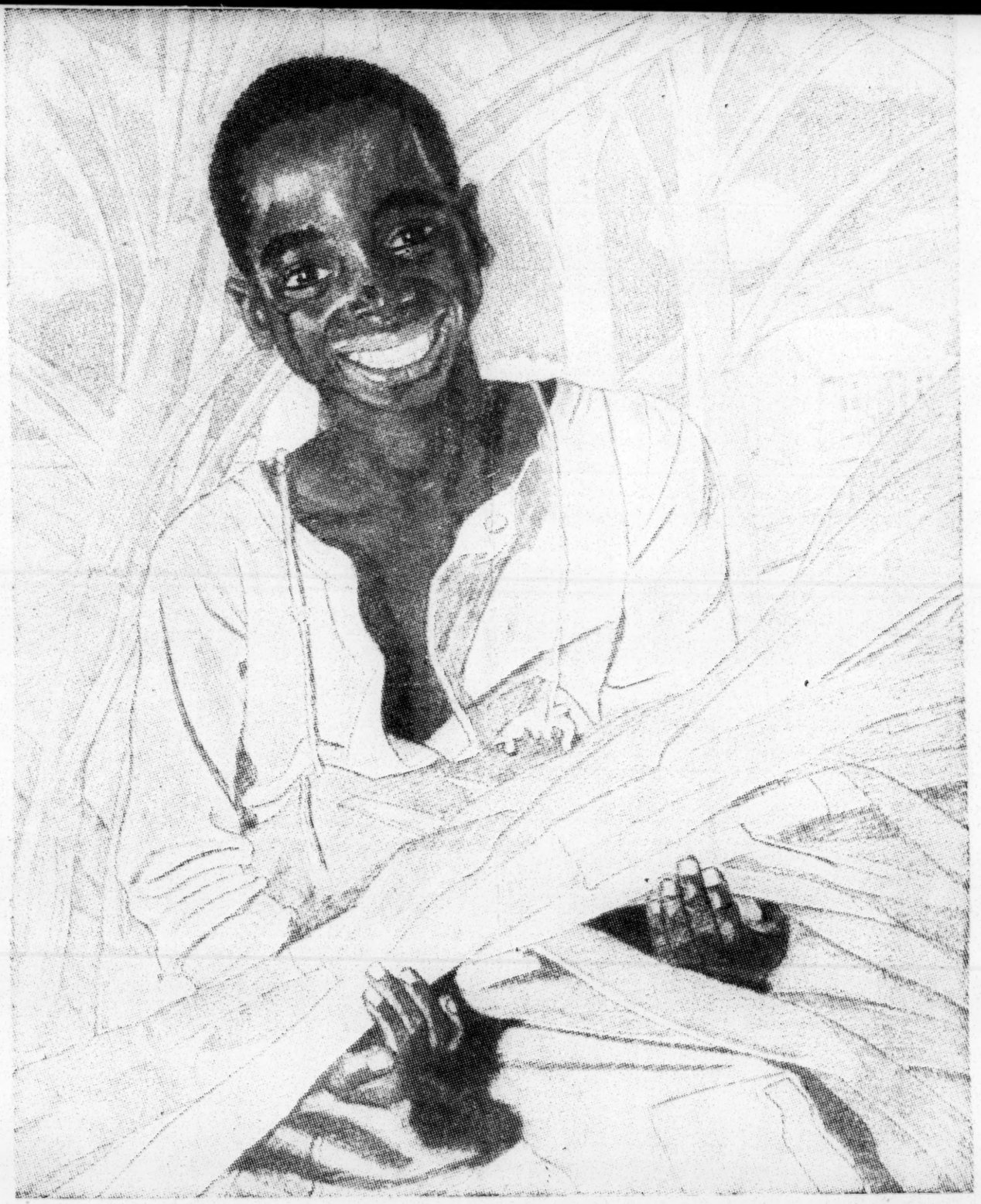
The remaining eight lynchings—in the Piedmont country, in northern Texas and Oklahoma and (the two cases outside the South) in Marion, Indiana—were in territories with a relatively small Negro population and where a changing economy drove the poorer and more ignorant class of whites to utilize "white supremacy" in an economic war against the Negro. A statistical analysis shows that the Negro death rate from mob violence, in proportion to the Negro population, is actually highest in the Southern counties where the colored population is the lowest, and lowest in the "Black Belt" counties where there are the greatest number of Negroes. The difference is not very large, however; and a more significant analysis might probably be based upon the relative economic levels of the areas concerned. The idea that lynching is the result of a special propensity of the Negro for sexual crime, sufficiently exploded already, falls completely before this study. In only eight of the twenty cases was a sexual crime even alleged; and there is reason to believe that the whites' excessive emphasis upon this subject in their attitude toward the Negro is itself an important cause of what crimes are committed against white women.

One cannot help being struck, in these studies, with the extent to which the whole question is at bottom an economic one. Every one of the lynching counties was below the economic level (even Grant County, Indiana, far above the level of the Southern counties studied, was below that of the rest of the state). The wealthier, more enlightened, more urbanized areas of the South are seeing lynching disappear; it is where poverty makes ordinary legal and police instrumentalities impossible, where a backward economy increases poverty and at the same time compels the white man to an anachronistic solution of the race question, or where a changing economy drives the poorer white to salve his sense of inferiority and oppression by asserting "white supremacy," that lynching continues and the lynching mentality tends to aggravate the causes upon which it grows.

The general development of the South, the gradual approach by the generality of its more advanced and enlightened communities to a sounder solution for the basic problem of race relationships—an approach of which this book is itself a signal indication—is tending to confine the lynching problem to the backwaters of the section. No one can doubt that these forces ultimately will conquer and the problem disappear. Yet the Scottsboro affair is a reminder of the power of the vicious circle, operating in the opposite direction, against which the struggle must be made. An ominous element in the study is the light it throws upon the prevention of lynchings. Some states have made vigorous positive efforts not only to prevent lynchings but to assure justice to the accused; in other states, and often even in these, the lynching too often is "prevented" by a legal lynching of the prisoner. He is taken from the mob on the promise—frequently a specific promise—that the courts will guarantee his execution; and even when the law officers themselves make no such promise, the juries will see that the execution is carried out.

This, apparently, is the situation ruling in northern Alabama, where the Scottsboro cases are being tried. It is possible only because the generality of the South, in spite of its abhorrence of lynching, in spite of its earnest efforts toward a better race relationship, still tacitly clings, when the matter is brought to a challenge, to the now useless motion of "white supremacy"—an anachronistic dogma no longer related to the true economic or social needs of the section, but the source of untold injustice brutality, poverty and debasement.

This is the tragedy of lynching—the tragedy of the South, and also, all Northerners must recognize, the tragedy of those communities which have found themselves confronted by a similar racial problem. The abandonment of "white supremacy," be it said, does not mean that racial division must be abandoned or that the white people of the South must lose their identity in a mulatto deluge. It simply means laying aside an emotional concept no longer adequate to meet the problems which evoked it. In the larger Southern cities it is already dying out in favor of a different and more workable conception of the proper relationship between the races. Sooner or later it will die out generally, but progress will be slow until Southern opinion understands the extent to which the dogma itself creates the problems which it is supposed to solve.



Anthony, Just Out of the Sugar Cane Patch

From a drawing by Winold Reiss

Race Problem-1933

Book Reviews.

"ON THE CHAIN GANG"

A little pamphlet has come to the Editor's desk which bares the above title, "On the Chain Gang," written by John L. Spivak. The first thing that engaged our attention on the cover page was the picture of men wearing prison stripes. There was nothing extraordinary about this picture because in most states prisoners may be seen wearing stripes. But a little further examination of this pamphlet reveals other pictures which are not so pleasant to the eye.

It showed a picture of a Negro in the language of the slave driver, "bucked" in a manner that he was drawn almost double by tying his arms and legs together, typical of a custom used in the days of slavery in meating out extreme punishment. The sight of the pictures, depicting actual everyday scenes in Georgia prisons, has the effect of injecting poison into one's system. One wonders if there are yet in this country men who possess such a cruel nature as to treat a human being in such a barbaric way.

We cannot command language to describe people who call themselves civilized who do such things to their fellowmen. Should we attempt to use the word, "savage," we don't know where in all the savage tribes such cruelty could be found Should we call it barbaric, the barbarians would feel as if they were slandered because no such inhuman treatment was practiced by them. Therefore there is no language left for us to describe the people who tolerate such practice except "Georgians."

Because of this and other conditions in Georgia, people of other states will look upon them with scorn and contempt. Gorgia is already being branded with this stigma by governors of other states who have refused to honor requisitions issued by the Georgia governor to return fugitives to that state.

It has been recently stated that an official investigation will be made of the conduct of prison camps by the legislature of that state. This is a mighty challenge to the good people of Georgia (and there are many). This is a mighty opportunity for the good people to purge that state of the stigma of cruelty of the worst sort to their fellowmen.

If the reported conditions have been an error or the descriptions of cruelty and brutality have been overdrawn by writers then it is meat and proper for this legislative investigation to show it to the world. At the same time, however, should there be an official investigation let there be no "white wash" because such an investigation will not serve the purpose and will do the state of Georgia little good. The proposed investigation should be thorough with corrective purpose.

And while it is true that the guns of public opinion are turned toward Georgia, yet we do not believe that there will be anything amiss to include Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas. We think that sometime the white people of the South who believe in and tolerate such things should be pitied because it is reasonable to assume that they are acting according to their intelligence and are guided by their conscience of right and wrong. Therefore if they are acting in the light of their intelligence, then surely they are to be pitied. All of this brutality (and some of it is practiced on whites) disfranchisement, lynching and burning of human beings, is the by-product of slavery, and the smallness of their minds is the friut of the spirit of an overseer.

Surely, seventy years after slavery it is time for these people to wake up. Surely, it is time for them to change their thoughts. We doubt very seriously as cruel as it is that the oppressed are hurt worst then the oppressor; for the victim may have a soul, but there is great doubt concerning the soul of the people who will inflict such cruelty upon their fellowmen.

BOOK REVIEW

ROSANNE D. CHARLTON

"Negrito" by J. Mason Brewer-Naylor Printing Company—$1.50.

Negrito is the name given to this one hundred page book of poems of Negro life in the Southwest. The term when used by Mexicans in speaking of Negroes means "the little black." Considering the fact that the poems are mostly about the life of the simple uneducated Negro of the deep South, the title is quite applicable.

The book is divided into four parts, the first of which contains short, pithy, sometimes humorous character sketches in epigram; the second section consists of poems portraying country life; the third part depicts town life, and the last fourth of the book giving Negro proverbs in epigram is similar to that of the first. There is a certain amount of laughter-provoking humor and not a little homely wisdom in the epigrammatic sayings, but the longer poems are commonplace and rather thin in context. Then, too, the so-called Negro dialect in which the poems are written is trying to the reader who finds this kind of language difficult to read. One requirement of good poetry is the interpretation of life through the imagination in beautiful as well as metrical language. I find anything but beauty in exaggerated Negro dialect which is less beautiful to the mental eye than to the ear, and as a result more boring to read than to hear recited. In all fairness, however, be it said that in this particular volume there is a lilt in the rhythm of many of The poems that catches the ear of the reader.

In his preface to the book, L. W. Payne, Jr., tells us that J. Mason Brewer, the author and a native Texan, incidentally, is in charge of the Romance Language Department in the Samuel Huston College for Negroes at Austin, Tex.; that he saw service abroad in the World War, and that his knowledge of French, Spanish and Italian led to his being raised to the rank of corporal and to the duties of Company Clerk. I believe that Mr. Brewer can write poems more worthy of his talents. His motives in writing this volume about Negroes were probably sincere, but I hope he understands that the Negro is gradually getting away from the stage of:

"Clownin' fer de public
Laffin at hisse'f
Singin' way his trubbuls,
Takin' what am lef'."

Race Problem – 1933

Book Reviews.

Shaw Writes a Parable on Mankind's Quest for God

The Satire of His Fable Is Directed Both at the Fundamentalist and the Scientist

THE ADVENTURES OF THE BLACK GIRL IN HER SEARCH FOR GOD. By George Bernard Shaw. 75 pp. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.

By PERCY HUTCHISON

WHILE one may lament that Mr. Shaw did not hold to his original intention of writing another play, this parable, which, as he tells us, insinuated itself in the play's place, is a compact and biting satire calculated to provoke as much furious discussion as any dramatic work from his nimble pen. There is matter in it certain to provoke the ire of both the cocksure Fundamentalist and the cocksure scientist; if Shaw will not accept the former's use of the Bible, neither will he deny the validity of a search for God.

As is always the case with Shaw, there is genuine seriousness behind the buffoonery, of which there is not a little in the account of his black girl's adventures. In an essay which he appends to the tale itself (a reversal of his usual procedure) Shaw tells us that since completing the story he himself has been speculating on its meaning. The people of all the ages, and of whatever part of the globe, have searched after God, any god, perhaps, and in many instances have not been content with one. The black girl in Shaw's fabrication, having been converted by a missionary, of whose approach to her mission we are given a needlessly malicious account, sets forth into the jungle, with her Bible as guidebook, to conduct her own search, buoyed by the promise that they who seek shall find. Before arriving at the end of her quest she meets many who either purport to be God or who arrogate to themselves the part of adviser. But before starting out, the black girl arms herself also with a knobkerry, and more than once the stout stick stands her in good stead.

Her first encounter, to which she is led by a mamba snake, brings her before "a well-built, aristocratic-looking white man with handsome regular features and imposing beard and luxuriant wavy hair." He held in his hand a staff with which he immediately killed the mamba, "who was approaching him humbly and adoringly." The girl he commands to kneel down and worship him at the dread of his wrath, "and when you next come before me, bring me your favorite child and slay it here before men as a sacrifice; for I love the smell of newly spilled blood." But the black girl declines to believe in "such wicked nonsense," and, bounding up the rocks, she flourishes her knobkerry. When she reaches the top, there is nothing there. The God of the early books of Scripture has vanished.

Next she comes upon an oldish gentleman, with a silvery beard, who informs her that he is not cruel and that he loves to argue. The black girl asks him if he created the world and, on receiving an affirmative reply, she asks why he made it so badly and permitted so much evil in it.

The dialogue which ensues would have been delectable as stage fare, especially in its upshot. The oldish gentleman had once opposed a mighty arguer, namely, Job, worsting him in their debate. But the black girl is of tougher fiber. "If I choose to amuse myself, who are you to dictate to me how I shall make things?" he asks, confident there can be no answer. But the black girl, although in good Shavian fashion she is probably begging the question, retorts that she is tired of her interlocutor.

> "You always come back to the same bad manners [she cries]. I don't believe you ever made anything. Job must have been very stupid not to find you out. There are too many old men pretending to be gods in this forest."

Whereupon, as before, she brandishes her stick; but the old man, like his predecessor, has disappeared.

In her next encounter Shaw gives us, not another old man, but a handsome young fellow, in a Greek tunic, who turns out to be Koheleth, known as Ecclesiastes the Preacher. Now, if the modern note is pessimism, or, perhaps, and more agreeably, a pessimism which is not without an admixture of stoicism, then it may be said that it is in the Book of Ecclesiastes that something like the modern note is for the first time struck. Koheleth, in spite of his dictum that all is vanity, nevertheless strengthens the black girl in her determination not to relinquish her search; for his words confirm her own conviction that to know God one must strive to be like God; therefore she will search until she finds a god worthy of emulation.

Her first real word of stimulation and hope is, however, received from Micah the Prophet, into whose presence she has been led by a lion.

The teachings of Micah, as laid down in the very short book bearing the prophet's name, are well known. He it is who turns from the anthropomorphic conception of God to a spiritual conception. Says Micah to the black girl:

> "Can you see yourself coming before the high God with burnt calves a year old? * * * God has shown that your soul is good; and your soul has told you that He speaks the truth."

Turning to the essay, it becomes apparent, then, that Shaw's fundamental quarrel is not with the Bible (although of this he may be accused on superficial reading); his quarrel is with not reading the Bible aright. Asserting that Micah, by his fiercely contemptuous denunciations and by his inspiring demands, "raises the conception of God to the highest point it has ever attained," Shaw continues,

> And yet our children are taught, not to exult in this great triumph of spiritual insight over mere animal terror of the Bogy Man, but to believe that Micah's God and Noah's God [whom also the black girl encounters] and Job's God are one and the same.

We cannot follow the black girl at every step of her quest. She meets several men (Peter and others) bearing churches on their shoulders, and wonders at their heavy load, but the churches turn out to be made of paper. She meets a Roman legionaire; a conjurer, and an Arab who is a stout exhorter for Allah. But when the Arab extols polygamy, and the black girl asks if the women also are to know many men, he cries out against her blasphemy. And she meets more besides.

It is, however, not with religion only that Shaw has to deal; and several of his most devastating pages are devoted to the man of science whom the black girl interrogates. The scientist, who is a short-sighted elderly man, is found by the black girl complacently sitting on what he assumes to be a log. Informed by her that it is a crocodile he is sitting on, the myop, with a yell, climbs the nearest tree. But it is not a crocodile. "You ought to know," she tells the scientist, "that crocodiles are to be found only near rivers." It was an experiment she had tried, he having been boasting of the experiments he had performed on dogs. Of course she asks if he has found God.

> "God is an unnecessary and discarded hypothesis" [he replies]. "The universe is only a gigantic system of reflexes produced by shocks. If I give you a clip on the knee you will wag your ankle."
>
> "I also will give you a clip with my knobkerry; so don't do it," said the black girl.

The point of the quip is apparent; Shaw has no patience with either the Fundamentalists or the scientists in so far as each group arrogates to itself the exclusive custody of truth.

> At present [he writes in the essay] we are at a crisis in which one party is keeping the Bible in the clouds in the name of religion, and another is trying to get rid of it altogether in the name of science. * * * Why not simply bring it down from the clouds and take it for what it really is?

But Mr. Shaw's conception of what the Bible really is will hardly satisfy those who have found in it profounder values than he is ready to perceive. He can, on occasion, stoop to a cheap flippancy, as when he writes that "I neither regret nor resent my own Bible education, especially as my mind soon grew strong enough to take it at its real value. At worst the Bible gives a child a better start in life than the gutter."

It is in the concluding episode of the black girl's search that the buffoonery reaches its highest pitch, and, at the same time, that Shaw assumes his most serious and sincerest attitude. The black girl comes upon an old man in a garden, and he bears, in the amusing wood engravings with which John Farleigh has decorated the volume, an extraordinary resemblance to Voltaire. From him too, the black girl receives counsel, and he tells her not to waste time in further search: "God is at your elbow, and He has been there all the time; but in His divine mercy He has not revealed Himself to you lest too full a knowledge of Him should drive you mad. Make a little garden for yourself: dig and plant and weed and prune; and be content if he jogs your elbow when you are gardening unskillfully, and blesses you when you are gardening well."

We shall never be able to bear His full presence, he continues, for to do that we should have to fulfill all His purposes and become gods ourselves.

> "But as His purposes are infinite, and we are most briefly finite, we shall never, thank God, be able to catch up with His purposes. So much the better for us. If our work were done we should be of no further use: that would be the end of us; for He would hardly keep us alive for the pleasure of looking at us, ugly and ephemeral insects as we are. Therefore come in and help to cultivate this garden to His glory. The rest you had better leave to Him."

In the back garden, where they grew the vegetables, the black girl found an Irishman digging potatoes. (He looks exceedingly like Mr. Shaw). No, he did not come in to search for God.

"Sure God can search for me if He wants me. My own belief is that He's not all that he sets up to be. He's not properly made and finished yet. There's somethin in us that's dhrivin at Him, and somethin out of us that's dhrivin at Him: that's certain, and the only other thing that's certain is that the somethin makes plenty of mistakes in thryin to get there."

Nothing would ever persuade him "that God was anything more solid and satisfactory than an eternal but as yet unfulfilled purpose, or that it could ever be fulfilled if the fulfillment were not made reasonably easy and hopeful by socialism."

The black girl stays on in the garden and settles down to a domestic life with the Irishman. And she was so busy caring for the piccaninnies and in performing her other duties that she no longer went forth in search of God. As Shaw remarks in his essay, she comes to the realization that "it is wiser to take Voltaire's advice by cultivating her garden and bringing up her piccaninnies than to spend her life imagining that she can find a complete explanation of the universe by laying about her with a knobkerry."

The Illustrations on This Page Are From Wood Engravings by John Farleigh for "The Adventures of the Black Girl."

Not For 'Detached Minds'

A review of "The Tragedy of Lynching" by Arthur Raper, published by the University of North Carolina Press, at Chapel Hill, in The Herald-Tribune of New York, opens with the following paragraph:

"When the jury at Decatur, Ala., not only convicted, but decreed a death penalty upon the first of the eight Negroes to stand trial in the Scottsboro affair, it must have left a sense of helpless shock in every detached mind which had followed the case. The passions and prejudices in which the case had become involved, the dubious and disreputable character of the evidence and the savagery of the penalty alike make it impossible to believe that the verdict represented the correct result of a fair trial. It was apparent that the defendant, regardless of his actual guilt or innocence, had accidentally become the center of baffling, brutal and socially dangerous forces —presenting a violent challenge to the easy assumptions upon which we suppose our social scheme to rest, and apparently uncontrollable."

Therein is contained a curious but common want of understanding of criminal jurisprudence in the United States, a jurisprudence brought to this continent from England. It was never contemplated that criminals should be tried by "detached minds." Directly to the contrary is the theory of the English common law. That law provides for the trial of criminals by the freemen of the neighborhood of the "shire", the county, persons familiar with the scene, the setting, the circumstances, the atmosphere. If trials were not so had, our laws would be radically changed, revolutionized, and it would be easy in the conditions of the Twentieth century.

For example, the Scottsboro negroes would have been carried for trial to Oshkosh in Wisconsin and a Wall Street millionaire involved in a conspiracy to steal millions would be carried to Decatur, Ala. In these times of quick and cheap transportation change of venue not only from county to county but from state to state would entail little expense and not much inconvenience. Probably "detached minds" of rural Kentucky are much better prepared to deal judicially with Chicago gangsters or New York rum runners than are the jurors empaneled in those cities.

When Mr. Walter Millis, the reviewer, speaks of "baffling, brutal and socially dangerous forces," he presents a violent challenge to the "easy assumptions upon which we suppose our social scheme to rest." He naively says that "the social scheme" of Alabama and of the whole United States is one and his, a unitary social scheme, oblivious of state lines, utterly forgetful that the country he dwells in is the creation of states and that states are no contrivance of this republic.

It may be that the earlier and original vision of "the social scheme" is out of date, one confesses to the presence of signs so pointing, but with all that it may be that Mr. Millis is anticipating. It may be that the perpetuation of this republic is dependent upon a return to that earlier vision, that if the republic is to live at all the "detached minds" outside of Alabama must content themselves with criticism in the hope that they may influence opinion in Alabama as they would that in Germany or Japan.

One can write, one can storm, one can tear scheme" by force and arms. That has been passions to tatters, about atrocities in the Caucasus, in Peru or Cathay, yet one in America can do nothing about it and would not so advise. Not even Mr. Millis would so advise. Besides, if Mr. Millis were in Russia, Peru or Cathay, atrocities might lose their complexion, and that is possible if he lived in Alabama.

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One can write, one can storm, one can tear scheme" by force and arms. That has been passions to tatters, about atrocities in the Caucasus, in Peru or Cathay, yet one in America tried once and it has failed. Another trial can do nothing about it and would not so advise. Not even Mr. Millis would so advise. Besides, if Mr. Millis were in Russia, Peru or might not fail, but what would be left of the "Union" would be a wreck.

There are those who would have the Union Cathay, atrocities might lose their complexion, and that is possible if he lived in Alabama.

In any event, Alabama must work out its own problems or the task will rest upon "detached minds" to assimilate it to "our social domain.—Charleston News and Courier.

Race Problem – 1933

Canada
NEWS
Nelson - B.C.
FEB 20 1933

Canada's Colored Population

An official statement from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics shows that by the 1931 census there were 19,456 negros in Canada. We may have our share of problems in Canada, but the colored question, which is such a vexed question in the United States, is not one of them. In the past Ontario has always had the majority of our colored citizens, but in recent years they have been decreasing in numbers in Ontario, but curiously have been increasing in Nova Scotia. By the 1931 census Nova Scotia had 7,316 negroes and Ontario only 6,886. Ten years ago Ontario had 7,220, while Nova Scotia had only 6,175. The increase in Nova Scotia has been due to a migration, even if on a small scale, from the British West Indies.

Ontario's colored population was originally due to slaves who had escaped by the underground railway to this province. London's pioneer colored settlers were nearly all escaped slaves. At Lucan there was at one time a considerable colored settlement. Windsor, Chatham and Kent County have always had large numbers of colored people, dating back to before Civil War days. In recent years the lure of the big American cities has drawn the young people across the line, so that these settlements are all smaller than several decades ago.

It is interesting to note that of the four Western provinces, Alberta has the largest colored population. A number of years ago a colony was settled in the Peace River District. Delegates to the Conservative convention in Winnipeg which selected Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett as leader of the party will recall an amusing incident which arose out of the presence on the platform of a colored delegate from the Peace River. There was great tension after the first ballot for leader had taken place. The delegates were on edge. To fill in the period waiting for the count of the vote, General A. D. McRae, organizer of the convention, was presenting some formal resolution of thanks. The colored delegate on the platform quietly slipped over to the chairman, Hon. E. N. Rhodes, to ask some question. A wag on the platform saw an opportunity, rushed to the front, grabbed the delegate and turning to the audience said: "Gentlemen we have at last found our dark horse." The delegates, tense with excitement, went into hysterics of laughter and cheered the colored delegate to the echo. General McRae had to postpone the moving of his resolution.

Race Problem – 1933

Central America and Mexico.

Little Republic Holds Out Hand of Welcome to All Mankind

People Here Know Nothing About Color Lines

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.
4
35

By LEROY N. HODGSON

Several centuries ago, a German pirate, Bluefield, seeking a place of safety, found an opening in the land-locked harbor of the town which bears his name. Thus was the town of Bluefields first settled. Bluefields was the capital of what was known 40 years ago as the "Miskito Reserve," incorrectly called Mosquito Coast. The tribe of Indians after which this territory was named called itself "Miskito" or "Miskuto."

When the coast was incorporated under the Nicaraguan government in the year 1895, it was called, "Departamento de Bluefields." This reall; is the riches, section of Nicaragua. It abound; richly in natural resources, valu-, able woods, medicinal herbs, gold, rubber, bananas, mahogany and mineral yet untapped The soil is very fertile. Its fine waterways would be excellent for running mills. The forest abounds with game and the rivers and lagoons are plentifully stored with foods.

Gen. N. Connor (Chief of Police, Bluefields, Nic.)

Years gone by operations and productions were in fulll swing. Gold, mahogany, pine, rubber and bananas made Bluefields a booming center. Now owing to exploitation and revolutions the output has decreased. Bananas and lumber are its chief exports, the mines almost laying idle. With capital and good management, it will take on the atmostphere of its past glories.

Bluefields holds a prominent position in Nicaraguan history, as the two greatest struggles the republic has experienced for its betterment, began in Bluefields.

INDIANS WERE HIGHLY CIVILIZED

The original inhabitants were Indians of a high state of civilization as their potteries show. They were no doubt the "Mayas." They were succeeded by an inferior race. Time passed and they seemed to have mixed with the pirates who then frequented the port. Later freed Negroes from Jamaica and white traders entered, and from then the Creole element developed.

Owing to British protection of the Miskito reserve, English became the official language under the Miskito kings and later, chiefs. With the incorporation of the Nicaraguans and the incoming of the Mestizos and Sambos from the west, who speak Spanish, the country is tri-lingual. Public Spanish schools have been established which makes the language popular among many, even some of he various tribes have adopted its use along with their dialect and English.

The Moravian mission has played an important part in the development and education along the coast and taking in most of the rivers up great distances where the Indians dwell. The Moravians entered the field just at the time development was most needed. In Bluefields they established a very large church in the center and smaller churches at other points of the city. They also established schools which were in the early days, tutored by teachers from the West Indian Islands and who were capable and have today left quite a foundation and from which have sprung up a high school which the country can be proud of.

The Anglician mission came in many years later and they too have welded some educational foundation among the followers of their teachings. They also erected churches and schools.

PROFESSIONAL MEN FROM U. S. SCHOOLS

Bluefields then is not very far behind in her educational system. She has several prominent and successful professional men who have graduated from various schools in the United States and Europe, and who received their beginning from the influence of the two missions.

The town is one of the most interesting in natural sights. The harbor is landlocked and one of the safest to be found anywhere. The entrance which is known as "El Bluff" is a hill about 250 feet high and affords quite a beautiful sight seaward. Here also is found the customs. From here to the town, gas launches await the visitor to convey him to the town, seven miles inward. On your way your eyes catch the waves dashing in toward the north end of "Deer Cay" and before you, lies the Bluefield lagoon which is about 12 miles long and 7 to 8 miles wide. Along this are dotted cays which gives the impression of a minature sea studded with tiny islands.

MOONLIGHT ON THE LAGOON

In half an hour at leisure you arrive at the town. Its location is especially beautiful when the sun is setting. It nestles on the west shore of the lagoon, with gentle hills undulating in the background covered with perpetual green and enveloped in a pale blue haze. The newcome sees a sight not so soon forgotten, and is a fitting study for an artist's brush.

As the heat of the day cools, the gentle sea breeze begins to stir, quickly the shades of night fall as only is customery in the tropics and in the east appears the moon, large and golden, lighting the evening skies and pouring a flood of liquid gold around. The reflection on the waters of the lagoon is soul stirring, and looks as if a mighty giant is scattering powdered gold on its calm bosom and often on such nigths one hears the music from mandolins and the soft strumming of guitars borne on the air as a picnic party glides over the still lagoon on their way to the Bluff beach. Truly a study for a musician's rhapsody.

Nature has blessed this land with perpetual summer and sea breezes.

By THOMAS P. MOFFAT

[In The Nation]

The republic of Nicaragua, in area about the same as the state of New York, lying between the republics of Honduras and Costa Rica, with long coast lines on both the Caribbean sea and the Pacific ocean, has not been correctly pictured to the American public during recent years.

Many of our citizens in the United States have been vizualizing Nicaragua as a country infested by bandits, and consequently one finds them speaking of existing conditions in Nicaragua as exceedingly dangerous to both life and property. Such a mental attitude directly caused by misinformation not only alienates our neighbors in Nicaragua, but will also cause other Lain-American republics to fear that there exists a similar opinion as to their stability, unless this erroneous impression is corrected concerning Nicaragua. Obviously much of the information regarding the political and economic conditions in Nicaragua has been part of an insidious propaganda by our administration in Washington in order to sustain its policy.

The truth of the matter is that the foreigner, even though he be unfamiliar with the Spanish language, can travel freely and safely over the entire country without a particle of fear for his well-being, for he will neither be molested nor interfered with by anyone. Especially is this so if he comes for the purpose of investing capital and thus to assist in the development of the vast and scarcely exploited resources to be found within its territory.

FINE OPPORTUNITY FOR INVESTORS

The eastern, or Caribbean [illegible] fers a fruitful and unlimited opportunity for the investor to profitably develop the timber, mining and fruit growing resources of Nicaragua. The interior presents a promising field for engaging in cattle raising and the cultivation of coffee, cocoa, sugar and cotton. Lands suitable for these pursuits can be purchased from the government for remarkably reasonable prices. The manufacture of articles required for domestic use and consumption is at present inconsequential, as practically all manufactured goods are imported. This should attract the enterprising manufacturer.

Under the present administration of Gen. Jose Marie Moncada, the government of Nicaragua has been highly progressive and sufficiently effective to guarantee full and ample protection to both native and foreign investors. President Moncada has accomplished much in the upbuilding of the republic to a position of financial and commercial stability. Notwithstanding some adverse conditions he has had to contend with the republic has shown steady progress and growth. Even with the world-wide depression Nicaragua has continued to meet its debt and interest payments—the currency basis being gold —on both its external and internal loans.

General Moncada, who spent several years of his life in the United States, is possessed of high ideals of government and has devoted the four years of his administration, which is to terminate Dec. 31, to the material advancement of his country.

In the presidential election, which was held Nov. 6, Dr. Juan B. Sacasa was the successful candidate. Dr. Sacasa has lived for many years in the United States, rendering signal service to his country as envoy at

Washington during the administration of President Moncada. He is well equipped by experience and training to advance the welfare of his beloved patria. May I be permitted to state that from my personal knowledge of Nicaraguan affairs and its people that there are many of her sons capable of wisely and efficiently administering the office of president. Since January, 1911, Presidents Estrada, Diaz, Chamorro, Martinez and Salorzano have each during their incumbency been constantly endeavoring to advance the welfare of their country.

During the administration of President Wilson, the United States government acquired the right to construct a canal across Nicaragua, paying therefore the sum of three million dollars. These rights were secured under the terms of the Bryan—Chamorro convention." The construction and operation of this waterway will undoubtedly prove to be of inmense defensive and commercial value to both the United States and Nicaragua. It is to be hoped that when the time arrives to exercise the option and undertake its construction, that it will be recognized in the United States that the payment made to Nicaragua for the right to construct the canal has not been an adequate one for the valuable rights secured under this treaty.

A few months after President Estrada assumed office on Jan. 1, 1911, due to an uncalled for interference on the part of the American minister to Nicaragua, he was virtually forced from the office to which he had but shortly before been elected, and the power turned over to Vice President Diaz, who served for the rest of the term. This interference, whether one of official meddling or upon suggestion from Washington, made conditions difficult to control, and temporarily retarted the economic and financial rehabilitation which was already under way.

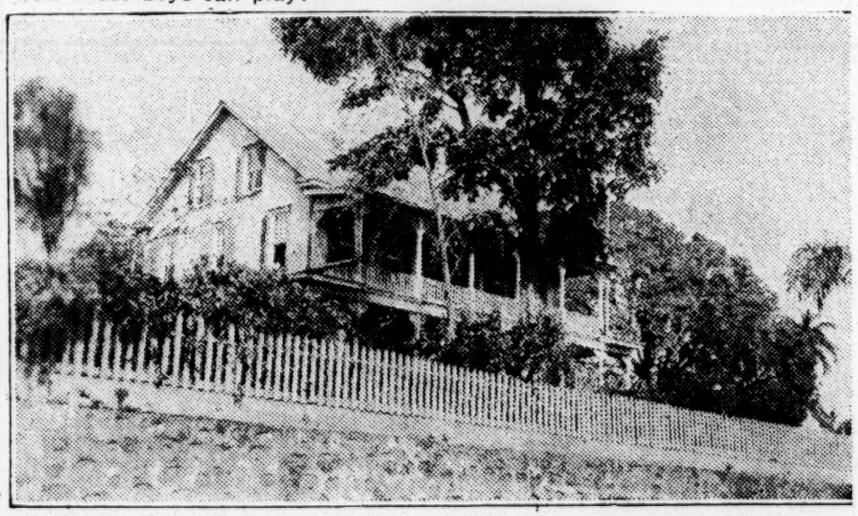
THE RESULTS OF "DOLLAR DIPLOMACY"

Although our "dollar diplomacy" has gradually been relinquishing its grip on Nicaraguan affairs, the harm done by our "money brokers" in their attemept to interfere in the internal affairs of Nicaragua is now a matter of record. Just what has been the exact cost through the dictation and handling of the finances of Nicaragua by these so called bankers in recent years will never be properly estimated.

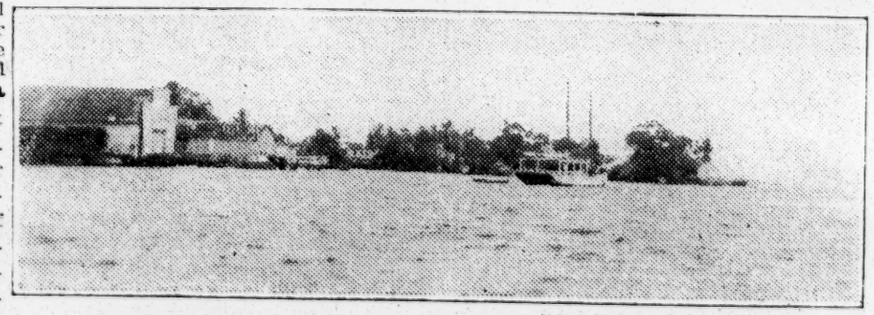
We ever desire to help our sister republics, and a diplomacy subservient to the greed and intrigues of these "money brokers" does not properly represent the wishes of our citizens, many of whom are but imperfectly informed as to existing conditions.

Now that President Franklyn D. Roosevelt is in office, it is to be hopefully expected that his administration will adopt a policy of conciliation and friendship toward Latin-America, one free from meddling in the autonomous affairs of our neighboring republics south of the Rio Grande.

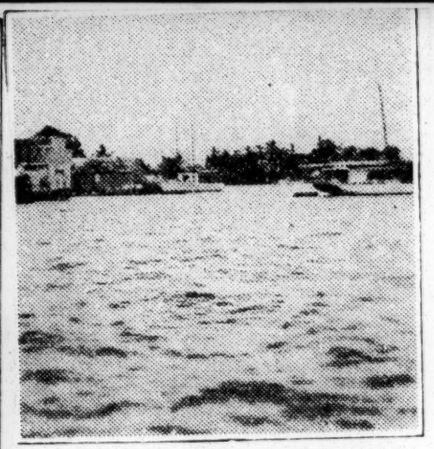
THE NAVY JAZZ Orchestra of Bluefields is composed of youngsters, but how those boys can play!



MORAVIAN MISSION and Junior High School, Bluefields, Nicaragua.



ENTERING THE Town of Bluefields from the Waterfront.



ANOTHER VIEW of Bluefields Waterfront.

Race Problem - 1933

Europe

Most Famous Men of Europe Were what we Call Negroes

Afro-American 1-14-33

J. A. Rogers's New Book on the Negro in Europe Proves Colored Parentage of Murat, King of Naples, Gustave Adolphus and Bernadotte, Kings of Sweden and Beethoven, the World Famous German Composer.

PARIS, France.—J. A. Rogers celebrated author, is returning to the United States soon with his new book ready for publication.

It includes a long list of famous personages, who are commonly regarded as white, but who, in reality have as much or more colored blood than [illegible] persons whom the United States terms Negroes.

Some of the characters found to be of mixed Negro and white blood are Beethoven, Bernadotte, King of Sweden and founder of the present royal family; Gustavus IV; Adolphus, King of Sweden; and Murat, King of Naples, Napoleon's brother-in-law and the greatest figure that came out of the French Revolution after Napoleon.

General Maglorie Peloge, who commanded a French division during the Napoleonic wars and fought against the English army commanded by the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Rogers finds, was a native of Guardeloupe and had seven-eighths Negro blood.

Mr. Rogers's book will cite the Negro blood in the early Greek Messiah, Harpocrates, Memnon, celebrated King of Troy, and Eschylus, greatest of Greek poets.

The title of the book will be "The 100 Great Negroes." In his researches through the great libraries and museums of Europe, he actually discovered 130 historical figures who were "Negroes" by their own admission or that of their biographers. His hardest job in recent months has been to select the most interesting 100 from this number.

The love affairs of one of the most noted European princesses of royal blood and an African consort are so graphic, when translated from the French, that Mr. Rogers declares the discussion of them will be toned down before publication in English.

One of the 100 will be Portugal's greatest man of science, a black doctor who died recently, whose statue, 30 feet high, stands in Lisbon.

Mr. Rogers declares that he has also dug out the full story of the origin of the Black Virgin Mary and her being a Negro. A few weeks ago the Paris papers were filled with the story of a black Virgin that had appeared to some children in Belgium.

ADOLF HITLER AND THE JEWS

Adolph Hitler reminds us of some of our whilom 100 per cent Americans, in that he relies upon prejudice against a minority to give him favor with the majority.

Possibly 1 per cent of the voters of Alabama are Roman Catholics. Had they constituted 40 or 50 per cent of the voters politicians would never have sought to attain power by appealing to prejudice against them.

Had they constituted 60 per cent of the voters those Alabama politicians who once baited them so lustily would have been loudest in their praise of Roman Catholics.

This is an elemental fact in the psychology of politicians who seek to profit themselves by teaching group hatred. Everybody knows it is true.

In his instructive address under the auspices of the Montgomery Lecture Course Monday night, Mr. Emil Lengyel, distinguished Hungarian journalist and author, now a resident of this country, said that the Jews constitute about 1 per cent of the population of Germany.

Hence, one of the articles of the shoddy Hitler's faith is that Jews are responsible for many of the woes of the other 99 per cent of the German population. The reader will see, from a graphic article elsewhere on this page, the measures which Hitler is taking to enforce his faith.

In this connection an interesting light is thrown upon the intellectual calibre of Hitler by the statement of Mr. Lengyel that Hitler regards William Randolph Hearst as the most sinister of American Jews! Hitler also thinks Owen D. Young and Charles G. Dawes are Jews—or pretends to think they are.

The Birmingham Age-Herald draws a neat contrast of the attitude of the United States government toward Jewish citizens and the attitude of the Hitler government in Germany. Says The Age-Herald:

> James Warburg becomes an assistant to Mr. Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury, while persecution and hostility has become the lot of the Jews of Germany. Jesse Straus is appointed ambassador to France, while Jewish teachers and doctors are being harried under Chancellor Hitler. Yet the forbears of these distinguished young Americans came from Germany. One must conclude that German Jews have suffered a lamentable sea-change, or that they are transformed by residence in this country. One must conclude that, on the assumption that Nazi anti-Semitism is warranted. But that is a thought abhorrent to enlightened minds. The truth is that the more Jew-baiting becomes the rule in Germany, the heavier is the onus which rests on the Fascist regime to prove that it has not reverted to utter medievalism.
>
> Continuing, The Age-Herald says: "But this should be happening in a land which prides itself on its culture, a culture which Jews have helped to shape and enrich to an extraordinary extent, is the aspect of the situation which thoughtful persons cannot understand. Whether in music or in literature, German Jews have shone creatively. Nor is that true today. Yet Lion Feuchtwanger has to find refuge in Switzerland while his home is rifled by Nazi ruffians, and a great conductor is forbidden to lead his orchestra because he is a Jew. And this is taking place in a country the Jews of which have been conspicuously zealous in identifying themselves with their setting. What injustice! What a tragedy!"
>
> Hitler, the extreme Nationalist, is acting in the manner expected of the 100 per cent German. But his father was an Italian, his mother, a Bohemian, and he was born in Austria.

GERMANY AND THE JEWS

Germany, a nation that has been pleading with the world for mercy and a chance, now permits its dominant political party to begin a new oppression of the Jews. We are reminded of the debtor of Holy Writ who to meet his own obligation oppressed those who owed him. He was justly rebuked for not treating others as he himself wished to be treated.

Oppression of the Jews, or of any other people for that matter, is really a confession of unwillingness to compete on equal terms. The whites of the United States in their treatment of the Negro, the Gentiles in their pogroms for Jews, the Europeans with their tyranny over Asiatics and Africans, are actuated by an unwillingness to give across the dividing line what they admit is fair and right within the group.

Jews' loyalty as citizens is conceded. German, French, English or American, they vie with any nationals in support of the laws. Christians say aloud that a man's religion is his own affair, and then use the Jews' faith as an excuse to mistreat them. Gentiles pay Jews this tribute of envy and hate for being mighty men of commerce.

Negroes—like Jews—are loyal to the flag under which they live. Where Jews differ in race and religion, we differ in race and color. No man choses his parents. We are put on the rack for looking different as Jews are for thinking different.

The truth is Jews—and Negroes—are objects of ostracism because a dominant majority want to get rid of competition. In the case of the Jew it is their money sense that marks them. In our case it is our industrial competence.

Germany should be given a chance at economic revival because the betterment of world conditions depends upon the soundness of living within every nation. But by its oppression of the Jews, Germany proves it has a long way to go before it can be a good neighbor. What if the typical German thinks himself a better man than the typical Jew! If Christianity stresses one lesson more than any other, it is that the stronger man is obligated to help the weaker. Germany proves how little Christian it is despite its claims, by oppressing non-Christians.

Majorities have the power to fix the relations they have with minorities, but they are not God to make their thinking the truth.

Fascism and Ku Klux Klan Unite in Germany

This photo, which was just received from Berlin, shows the induction of a candidate for membership in the German fascists. The picture strikingly illustrates the unity of the German Nazi terrorists who carry out pogroms on the Jewish People, with the forerunners of American fascism, the K.K.K., who lead similar acts against the Negro People here. Jews, Negroes, workers and others are expected to jam Madison Square Garden this Wednesday evening to protest German fascism.

JEWISH POGROMS IN GERMANY

JEALOUS of the financial, mercantile, artistic and scientific achievements of its 600,000 Jews, Hitler's Germany has launched a campaign of terrorism against them, driving them from their jobs, beating them and killing them. One of the supposedly most enlightened countries of the world, Germany has suddenly descended to the murderous level of reactionary Poland and Roumania in its persecution of the Chosen People.

What is to be learned from this regrettable spectacle? In the first place, the fact is brought home to us that no matter how literate and well schooled the people of a country may be, the mob psychology can be whipped up by conscienceless and ambitious propagandists. The masses can be easily inflamed against a minority group anywhere whenever unscrupulous leaders will it. American Negroes need always to keep this in mind and not lapse into any false sense of security.

We must be eternally vigilant. We must keep our defense well organized and prepared to go into action on all fronts where our citizenship rights are threatened. Right now we are virtually unprepared. We do not adequately support the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, our one efficient defense organization. Even during times of crisis we contribute only grudgingly to it.

It is interesting to note how efficient, smoothly-running defense machines enable the Jews to bring pressure on the Hitler government. Last week three resolutions were introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives protesting against the German anti-Semitic pogroms. Congressmen vied with each other to serve the Jewish people in their hour of adversity. Why? Because the Jews are powerful. And they are powerful because they are organized. Four million American Jews have more influence on Congress than twelve million Negroes, not just because they have votes and know how to use them, but because they are able to bring financial and commercial pressure to bear on those who oppose them. Already they have caused German commercial firms to lose millions of dollars of business at a time when it is badly needed ,and by their control of newspapers and magazines they are moulding public opinion against Germany. In the end the Nazis will back down, just as Henry Ford backed down. The Jews have the kind of organization that is hard to beat. Negroes can learn much by watching the methods of the Jews and emulating them.

HOW HITLERISM AFFECTS US.

By his policy of Anti-Semitism Adolf Hitler will doubtless do the American Negro a good turn. In raining his guns on Jewry Hitler has affronted the most financially powerful group of people in the United States. These, of course, have connections with the rest of Germany. The fact is that Jews the world over are related by blood ,and where one is hurt on account of his race all are hurt and all resent the injury. The power of the Jew is shown by the myriad meetings of protest that have been held throughout the Christian World on account of Hitler's announced determination to expel large numbers of Jews from Germany.

The first part of this week Paramount News shown at the Carolina Theatre showed a meeting of protest held at Madison Square Garden, New York City attended by more than twenty-thousand people. This meeting was addressed by Bishop William Manning, for the protestants; Rabbi Stephen Wise, for the Jews; and Alfred Emanuel Smith, layman. for the Catholics.

Each of these speakers expressed the consensus that racial and religious bigotry and intolerance are outmoded anachronisms, and must be relegated to the dark days whence they came. By choosing such a powerful people as the Jew for his proscriptions Hitler has served the end of proving to the world that racial prejudice doesn't pay. This certainly is an advantage to the American Negro.

Why are We Silent?

While the daily press is greatly stirred over the news that the Jews in Germany are being tortured and killed—or, according to late dispatches merely menaced—little is said about the status of colored people there.

A few dispatches have referred to the barring of Negro orchestras from certain theatres and the suppression of the broadcasting of jazz, but the matter seems to reach much deeper than these disbarments.

A release sent out by the Crusader News Agency says:

> It is reported by an American correspondent in Germany (who was forced to send news by way of Switzerland) that the Fascist Government, present rulers of Germany, have revised the criminal code for a direct attack on Negro musicians, actors, and others in that country. A new law enacted by the Fascists declares:
>
> "Whoever undertakes to submit German folk and culture origins to influences of alien races, shall be found guilty of 'culture treachery' and sentenced to the penitentiary."
>
> Further:
>
> "Whoever ministers or tries to minister to the debasement or disturbance of German blood purity by adopting union with members of the Jewish or colored races, shall be found guilty of 'race treachery' and sentenced to jail."

It appears probable that the enactments referred are not statutory "laws" but are declarations of policy formulated by officials of the Fascist party. However, the effect is practically the same, whether they are now or may hereafter be adopted as laws by the party which at present controls Germany absolutely.

As Dean Miller points out in his release this week, the occurrences in Germany serve to show that the Nazis (Fascists) have inaugurated a policy paralleling American Ku Kluxism. The Jews and their friends in the United States, and in England and certain European countries have stirred their governments to action in their behalf. So far, our leaders have merely looked on.

Race Problem- 1933
Europe.

MAR 24 1933

Persecution of Jews In Germany

AMPLE precedent exists for representations from the United States government to the Hitler government of Germany against persecution of Jews in that country. Various Jewish organizations in this country and more than one Christian body has taken action requesting President Roosevelt that such representations be made.

Both the legislative and the executive branches of the government have acted in the past on the persecution of Jews in Europe, particularly in Russia. Congressional action has usually taken the form of resolutions of protest. In his annual message to congress in 1882, President Arthur said, "our "long established friendliness with Russia" had prompted him "to proffer the earnest councils of this government that meas-"ures be adopted for suppressing the proscription which the "Hebrew race in that country has lately suffered." The message said that no American citizen had been subjected to arrest or injury in Russia, "but that the American remonstrance had been "courteously received." President Harrison in 1891 explained in a message to congress that a protest had been sent the Russian government against "the revival of anti-Se-"mitic laws long in abeyance" which was driving great numbers of Russian Jews to emigrate to the United States. President Harrison said: "The sudden transfer of such a multi-"tude under conditions that tend to strop them of their small "accumulations and to depress their energies and courage is "neither good for them nor for us."

In his annual message in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt said it was natural that the American people should "de-"sire eagerly to give expression to its horror on an occasion "like that of a massacre of the Jews in Kishinev (Russia)." It was during Theodore Roosevelt's administration that Russia prohibited the entry of American citizens of Jewish faith. In 1911, President Taft told congress in his annual message that the United States had been endeavoring for some years to induce the government of the tsar to change its regulations regarding Jews. Shortly afterward, the house of representatives by a vote of 300 to one adopted a resolution requesting the President to abrogate the general treaty of friendship and commerce with Russia dating from 1832, on the ground that the treaty guaranteed equal rights to all citizens of both countries. This resolution went to the senate and was referred to the foriegn relations committee of that body, which prepared a substitute. Before the substitute was presented to the senate President Taft announced that the American ambassador at St. Petersburg had given the Russian government the required one year's notice of the intention of the United States to abrograte the treasury. The senate unanimously adopted the resolution indorsing the President's action and the house accepted the senate resolution. The abrogated treaty was not replaced by another.

The following is from "Taft and Roosevelt, The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Military Aide":

> A number of Jews came to the White House . . . and practically told the President that unless he abrogated the treaty or secured some amendment to it . . . the entire Jewish people of this country would not only oppose his renomination but would support the Democratic candidate. The President (said in reply) that if he had to purchase the next election with his honor or sacrificing what he believed was the national honor, then they must look elsewhere for a candidate to support . . .
>
> The Russian government sent word through Bakhmeteff (the Russian ambassador), that if the Senate passed the resolution as it passed the House, his government would consider it a hostile act and withdraw its representative. It was to save this situation that the President thought it best to abrogate the treaty himself in less hostile language.

The outbreak of anti-Jewish feeling in Germany since the advent of Hitler to power is amazing to English-speaking people. The United States has had its Ku Klux Klan, which made Jews, Catholics and Negroes the nominal objects of its proscriptive endeavors, but in the last analysis the Klan was not taken seriously: In fact, it was regarded as a joke by intelligent Catholics and Jews and this view was more or less general amongst Negroes. Germany still boasts of its *kultur* and asserts its superiority over that of other peoples', but it is inconceivable that this anti-Semitic sentiment could exist in Great Britain or the United States.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.
TIMES HERALD

MAR 29 1933

GERMAN TURMOIL

HITLERITE operations against the Steel Helmet organization of German war veterans, the arrest of Christian political opponents and seizure of paraphernalia and headquarters of antagonistic factions constitute evidence that the policy of the fantastic dictator of the old Teutonic empire is not one animated chiefly by hatred of Jews or based on racial or religious animosities. We still decline to take any stock in reports of organized brutalities or atrocities, and feel that they are products of a piece of extraordinary propagandist folly which may have disastrous effects.

Germany is in process or reorganization. The situation of the country is in some degree analogous to that of the South during the reconstruction period. There were occurrences in our own country then — there are occasional occurrences now, for that matter — which might as easily and with equal justice have been made the occasion for Madison Square protest assemblies. Suppose that the Negroes of the Carpetbag and succeeding periods had been Jews?

In all countries in all periods of political turmoil and readjustment there is violence, sometimes organized, sometimes sporadic. There is always bloodshed. Assault is by no means uncommon in political campaigns and elections in this country at this very day. Young radicals, many of them Jewish, were driven (in some instances after having been beaten) from certain mining regions in Kentucky. Was that an occasion for justifiable protest from Soviet Russia, or from any other alien group? Or was it an occasion to fear the organization of a pogrom?

That ludricous manifestation of human defects, the Ku Klux Klan, occasioned some international comment a few years ago. KOONS, KIKES and KATLIKS! We have not forgotten how that sounded in some states. Yet would we not have been surprised and pained and filled with indignation if the dignitaries, ecclesiastical and secular, of some other nation had in the course of formal protest indicted our government and all our people for the faults and violences of a fanatical few?

Yet this is what we are doing in reference to Germany. The German nation is suffering from a temporary abberation. HITLER is merely a symptom, as NAPOLEON III and the commune of GAMBETTA were symptoms of feverish French progress from the First Empire to the Third Republic. It is a physical and mental illness that has serious aspects, but is not necessarily fatal.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF MOBBISM

GULES SAUERWEIN, noted French journalist, in discussing the rise of mob rule and race hatred in Germany under the Hitler regime, declares that the background of this latest terrorist wave is economic. It is not so much that the Nazis hate the Jews, but that they want the jobs and property the Jews have.

There are only 600,000 Jews in Germany, out of a population far exceeding 100 times their number. If they were poor, ignorant, indigent and stupid, the inflamed German masses would not think of molesting them. But the Jews, chiefly concentrated in the cities, are intelligent, thrifty, shrewd and ambitious. They own a large number of large department stores, banks, factories and newspapers. They are high in all of the arts and professions. They occupy an important place in the field of science. With a great deal of unemployment in Germany, it is only natural that the Nazis should be jealous of the Jews and wish to appropriate to themselves the jobs and property the Chosen People have accumulated.

Negroes in America understand this thoroughly. They, too, get "in trouble," are mobbed and persecuted whenever their accomplishments arouse the jealousy of inflamed white Americans. Practically every race riot in the United States has had this economic background.

Thus, Negroes can sympathize with the Jews persecuted in Germany. But they are also hoping that their disabilities, sufferings and persecution in many parts of this country will in the future arouse the sympathy and aid of a larger number of Jews. In commenting on the German war on the Jews, the New York Times, a Jewish-owned newspaper, notes with alarm that in the Reich "the doors of opportunity are to be slammed in the faces of ambitious and talented youth."

It is singular that this newspaper has heretofore been somewhat indifferent to the doors of opportunity being slammed in the faces of ambitious and talented Negro youth in the United States. This same attitude has been characteristic of almost all of the white Americans who are viewing the German pogroms with alarm. They are ready to denounce the discrimination practiced against Jews in Germany, but seldom have anything to say about the discrimination practiced against Negroes in America. Jewish merchants, bankers and hotel proprietors are not noted for any unusual liberality and helpfulness toward ambitious and talented young Negroes emerging from colleges with scholastic honors but no jobs.

Mobbism similar to that rampant in Germany now is likely to take place at any time in the United States, as it has in the past. If Jews and white Liberals generally will begin to practice on a larger scale in this country the tolerance toward Negroes in industry and the professions which they expect the Germans to have toward Jews in Germany, there will be a lessened possibility of mobbism here.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Times
May 20, 1933

RACE PERSECUTION

IN HIS NATIONALISTIC frenzy Hitler has caused the Jews to be persecuted and harassed because he says they are too nationalistic. They are to be murdered, abused, robbed and exiled for the same qualities which he so admires in his Nazis. Although the Jews have no country they can call their own and are scattered over the four quarters of the globe they have developed the spirit of nationalism to a much higher degree than any other nation.

And why have they? Because since the Children of Israel were made subjects of Egypt in the Land of Goshen, they have been exploited, persecuted, murdered, robbed, segregated and exiled, instead of encouraged in the process of assimilation by their adopted countries. They have never been given a chance to become assimilated, but have been driven farther and farther into the shell of race consciousness.

Josef Kastein, in his scholarly and exhaustive one-volume "History and Destiny of the Jews," just published by the Viking Press, goes deeply into this subject, covering the subject from 3000 B. C. to the present. He writes in this connection:

"To the people with such a fate of what use was reason, philosophy and the rationalistic demonstration of their faith? Could all the reason in the world have delivered them from the paralyzing feeling of impotence, with which they were left to face the manifold evils of their environment? Had they ever been allowed to feel a breath of freedom or joie de vivre? Reason could never establish any connection between their fate and the meaning of their fate. But as their will to live was, by some miracle, still intact, they could only continue living if they surrendered themselves without question, without thought, without doubt, and unsupported by the crutches of reason, to the world of their faith. If their fate was to have any meaning at all, it must perforce lie enclosed wholly in their past, wholly in God and His laws."

As a race they will be stronger when Hitler finishes exploiting them for political reasons, just as every pogrom, inquisition and crusade, all of which were inspired by politics or greed, made them stronger.

Jim Crow Americans Hooted In Montparnasse Cafe, Paris

PARIS. —(AFRO Bureau)—Those Negroes who believe that the white race's contempt is limited with color prejudice will find little consolation in the following incident that happened recently on the terrace of a Montparnasse cafe. It is an international cafe, and one may find there Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Egyptians, etc., and French, of course.

Among those seated there sipping their coffee or liqueurs was a very dark African with his companion, a white girl. As it happened, one of the few vacant tables was beside this couple, and when an American and his feminine companion arrived the waiter escorted them thither.

At the sight of the Negro, the American not only refused to sit, but said, angrily: "I'll be damned if I'll sit beside a black N——," while the woman said: "The idea of bringing us here. Let him find us another table."

The African, who understood English, at once exploded in excellent French, telling the American that he must remember that he was not in New York now, but in a civilized land. As soon as those at the adjoining table understood what it was all about, they joined with the African in hooting the color-prejudiced American. One white woman shouted: "You can't come to Paris and lynch Negroes as you do at Scottsboro." Other tables took up the hooting and the whistling against the pair, and kept it up until the two disappeared in the crowd on the sidewalk.

This writer told of a similar incident that happened some three years ago when a white merchant from Oklahoma City, with a Jewish name, left his seat and came on the dance floor to stop Benglia, the famous Senegalese dancer, dancing with a white Russian movie-star, in Benglia's own cabaret. On this occasion, the Oklahoma City merchant was also razzed by the other dancers, nearly all of whom were white.

Europe

Reuben Young, Home From Abyssinia and Soviet Union, Sees the Black Man's Destiny Bound With the Workers

Young Harlem Doctor Spent Whole Year on African Soil

By T. R. POSTON.

REUBEN S. YOUNG has peered into the twilight of a Black Man's Empire and has witnessed the dawn of a Workers' Republic. And Dr. Young, the successful Harlem physician whose two-year Odyssey carried him to Abyssinia, the Soviet Union and a half dozen other countries, has decided to cast his lot with the proletariat.

The physician, who returned to Harlem last month, is not a Communist. Unlike the parlor liberals and soap box orators who attach themselves to the outer fringe of that party, he admits that he doesn't know enough about the fundamentals of the doctrine to declare himself. But Dr. Young, after spending twelve months in Abyssinia, traveling through Europe and Africa and pausing in Egypt, is convinced that the black man's destiny is inescapably bound with that of the proletariat.

Those two years have done something to Reuben Young. Maybe it was Abyssinia. Maybe it was the Soviet Union. Or, maybe it was just Harlem. But surely this quietly intense young man, whose consuming interest in international politics is evidenced in even casual conversation, is quite different from the successful Harlem physician who electrified his friends in 1931 by deserting a most lucrative practice and sailing for Abyssinia.

* * *

IN 1931 AMERICA was in the second year of its great depression. At least, it was commonly accepted as a "depression." But Reuben Young regarded it more fundamentally. He knew that the crisis was not just temporary. He knew that conditions would become steadily worse. Under the white man's system of competition, such a course was inevitable. So Reuben Young pulled up his stakes and sailed for Africa. If eventually he had to work for nothing, he probably reasoned, it would be better if he aided in the building of the Black Man's Empire than in the bolstering of a crumbling civilization.

The physician arrived in Abyssinia on August 15, 1931. He visited the capital, Addis Abeba. For three months he studied conditions there. What he observed he kept to himself. Then he journeyed back toward the coast to Dire Dawa, where he joined the staff of a government hospital and maintained his own private clinic for nine months. At the end of that time Reuben Young left Abyssinia.

It is impossible to say what the practitioner expected to find when he sailed for Abyssinia. But surely he was woefully disappointed in what he did find. He found one of the oldest empires in the world disgracefully exploited by whites, the natives doubly oppressed by their local rulers and outsiders, and the government, even under a beloved emperor, Haile Selassie, completely under the control of the intriguing French.

* * *

HE FOUND ADDIS ABEBA, the capital, with its estimated population of 100,000 souls, including 5,000 Europeans, Arabs and Hindus, to be an ill-kept sprawling village, stiuated on a hill 7,500 feet above sea level. He saw that the city had only one real street and that no effort was being made to improve the conditions of the thousands of natives who lived in their pitiable thatched huts and mud cabins, with the temperature varying 60 degrees during the hot days and cold nights.

Reuben Young discovered that there was no organized attempt at education. Ten years before a group of Abyssinian youths had been sent to the Continent and elsewhere to study in the colleges, but when they returned and expressed disapproval of the foreign exploitation of their native land, they were branded as "radicals" by the French and the educational projects were abandoned.

He found that the poor natives who supported themselves by conducting small farms on the city suburbs were forced to give one-tenth of their annual crops and flocks to the local chief, one-tenth to the Federal Government and a third percentage to the white foreign agents, who exported their produce to other countries. The Abyssinians are not allowed to export their own products, the physician said.

* * *

REUBEN YOUNG saw the few factories constructed in the short

Impressed by Short Visit to Russia—Plans Return

reign of the progressive Lidjyassu, son of Menelik, crumbling in ruins, and Lidjyassu himeslf, offspring of the famous warrior who routed the Italians in 1896, languishing in prison where he had been placed through the intrigues of the French. He was in the country when the prince, considered by many natives as their rightful ruler, escaped his prison only to be recaptured. Ras Hailu, richest and most powerful of the chieftains, was tried, sentenced to death and finally exiled to an island for his alleged part in this escape. His fortune, said to be $40,000,000, and his warehouses, so huge that it would take more than a year to complete an inventory of their contents, were confiscated.

The practitioner witnessed the unending intrigues of the French and Italian governments for the eventual control of the country. He saw the neutral Swiss being used by the scheming French to cement their gains. He heard the natives tell of how Col. Hubert Julian, aviator, had been intrigued out of favor with the emperor when he protested against the treatment of the people and it seemed that he was going to replace one of the two overpaid French fliers who served on the imperial staff. He saw enough to convince him that the division of Africa and Abyssinia by the Great Powers may play an important part in the furthering of another World War. So on August 15, 1932, Reuben Young left and continued his Odyssey—disillusioned.

He visited Egypt. He spent a month in France. He stopped in Germany while Adolph Hitler was driving toward his goal. He studied medicine for five months in Vienna while the Dollfuss government vehemently opposed the Nazification of Austria. He witnessed the same fight in belligerent little Poland. He was in England for two months more of study when plans were being made for the Economic Conference. He bent the eyes of a trained observer on all Europe, but most significant, in his belief, was his two months' visit in the Soviet Union.

* * *

AS A FOREIGNER, Reuben Young was only able to see so much of the Great Russian Experiment. One observer has said that "to be an expert on the Soviet Union, one must spend either ten days or ten years in the country." Reuben Young spent more than ten days and considerably less than ten years there, but apparently he saw enough to convince him that:

"Only through the dictatorship of the proletariat will the black races come into their own."

Reuben Young is back in Harlem, but he intends to return to the Soviet Union.

'Racial Cards' To Decide Marriages for Germans

BERLIN, Aug. 27.—(AP)—Every German soon will have a "racial card" in addition to the multifarious legitimatien papers which he may be obliged to produce at a moment's notice.

"Purification of the race" is in full swing. In many leading German cities, "racial departments," as part of the municipal administration, are hard at work. Card indices have been started at schools giving particulars as to the race of children's parents, and these will form the basis for an official permit to marry when the time comes.

The ministry of defense has issued orders to the reichswehr that a soldier's bride must be of unmixed Aryan blood. Moreover, the bride's family must be proved to be "honorable persons, who support the present nazi regime." In cases of doubt, the minister decides.

THE MAIN STREET OF ADDIS ABEBA and some typical native dwellings in the Abyssinian capital (lower left) are contrasted with a May Day Celebration on Moscow's Red Square (upper right), and a typical Tashkent mud house in the Soviet Union (lower right). Dr. Young is shown in the inset.

Black Drummer of Potsdam Guards in Germany Dead

Members of Seventh and Eighth Rhenish Chasseur Regiments, the Steel Helmets, and Young Hitlerites Give Him Military Funeral

(From K. C. Presse)

BERLIN, Germany.—Many have known the black drummer, William Sambo, who, dressed in a red uniform, rode out proudly in front of the Pottsdam Guards, his silver kettle drums on each side of his white horse as was the custom during the last century.

Born in Kamerun in 1885, the little Negro came to Germany, soon saw military duty in the first mobile regiment, and then became a drummer. He accompanied his regiment in battle to France and Palestine, was wounded many times, and received the iron cross and many other decorations, and the rank of sergeant major.

After the war he was for some time with the Fourth cavalry and then setled in Cologne in a comfortable little home. Here people used to see him on Rose Monday in the procession. Now at the age of 48 years he is dead.

The Potsdam Guards, the uniform divisions of the Seventh and Eighth Rhenish Chasseurs, members of the Stahlhelm (Steel Helmets) and Young Hitlerites accompanied his body to his grave. Superintendent Klingenburg spoke of the loyalty of the Negro drummer, and of his colonial orgin. The former Kaiser, through Engineer Dahlereen, had a wreath laid on his grave.

Black "Mother Emma"

Moscow's oldest American resident, black "Mother Emma" Harris, is planning to revisit the land of her birth, and some fairly romantic stories should reward the gangplank reporter when she arrives.

Her parents were Georgia slaves. After studying music in Boston, the girl went abroad, touring Europe as the "Black Nightingale." In Russia she wrote the scenario for "Satan's Woman," a film in which she starred. During the civil war in Russia she worked for more than a year as a Red Cross nurse for the Bolsheviks in armored train No. 1041.

Just now her circumstances are less picturesque. As I. D. W. Talmadge tells us in *Opportunity*, "Mother Emma" is chief correspondent for the Stankoimport, state trust for the importation of machinery, and "her room in the heart of Moscow resembles those in upper Harlem. Her English is somewhat halting, out of practise; she frequently mixes in Russian words, which she pronounces with an accent not quite Muscovite."

Race Problem-1933
Europe

NEW YORK
WORLD —
Telegram
MAY 6 1933

It Seems to Me

by

HEYWOOD BROUN

THE Steuben Society thinks that it is wrong for Americans to protest against the Nazi regime in Germany.

The argument of the organization covers the usual phases, such as the assertion that stories in the newspapers have been greatly exaggerated, that anti-Semitism exists in America and that some of the Jews expelled from professorships and other public posts were removed for their own good.

But I think I catch a note of even more familiar protest. It is the old cry of, "Why don't you mind your own business?" I have never been impressed by this complaint, although I have met it with a fair degree of frequency.

It is held, as I understand it, that an "outsider" has no right to voice an opinion, because the people on the ground know how to handle things so much better. This is very often the attitude of the Southern press toward any Northern writer who ventures to criticise the handling of any case involving the Negro question.

The View from a High Hill.

BUT it seems to me that the people who are close to a problem are very often the least qualified to discuss it with any clarity or detachment. No man in the middle of a rumpus has any accurate conception of what is going on. A spectator 'way out in the right field bleachers is likely to see the situation in its entirety.

I venture to say that there must be at least a dozen newspaper correspondents in Germany who understand Hitlerism a great deal better than Herr Hitler does.

Adolf is that unfortunate thing which we call an orator. Judging from the newsreels, most of his waking hours during the last few years have been spent in addressing huge meetings. And, worst of all, he is a facile and effective orator. Now, an orator never can learn very much about the conditions with which he deals in his speeches. In the first place, he is generally called upon to speak to his own followers. And, no matter what he says, his own crowd will shout, "Hoch!" and throw their hats in the air.

An orator soon learns that audiences are much more quickly moved by generalized slogans than by calm argument or the recital of facts. And so the constant speaker moves further and further away from reality into a dream world of his own, where assertion is taken as the equivalent of accomplishment.

More Than Four Per Cent by Volume.

ACCORDING to some of the recent biographies of the Nazi chief, Herr Hitler is strongly opposed to alcohol. That is natural enough. He is stimulated by a far more heady wine. Like all effective charlatans, he is by no means pure charlatan. That takes a very finely organized intellect. A complete faker has to be an extremely clever man.

As a rule, the leader of the Hitler type develops the habit of intoxicating himself with his own words. The usual technique is to start calmly and then increase the tempo and the volume of the sound. The words come rushing out. The speaker begins to grow red in the face. He waves his arms in the air. The cries from the multitude spur him on. Finally the frenzy of actor and of audience reaches a point where it makes no difference whatsoever as to the sense of the address. Any word will do if it is shouted loud enough and carries infectious vehemence.

Every habitual orator is a fit and interesting subject for a psychiatrist. He must, of course, be a person with a hideous feeling of inferiority. That is why the Hitlers of the world take up such cruel and punishing policies against whatever minority is most convenient. By directing scorn, anger and penalties at some group in the community the little men with the loud voices make themselves seem more important. They fight to forget their own insufficiency.

Conducting a Losing Fight.

YET they never can. No achievement, no amount of applause or public attention can insulate a Hitler against the inner realization that he is actually a meagre and distorted person. Accordingly, this type of leader will move rather rapidly from minor persecutions to cruelty on a much larger scale. The appetite for power is insatiable. There is the need of constant reassurance.

The whole Nazi movement is palpably neurotic. It is a form of retrogression. These men would retreat from the realities which they face into a world of fantasy which they choose to call "the old Germany." The fact that the prejudices which they stir up and foster never had any place in the best traditions of the land which they pretend to honor makes no difference to them. It is a nightmare kingdom which they are creating.

Somebody really should sneak up on Adolf unaware and shout to him, suddenly, "If you don't stop this tantrum I'm going to send you to bed without your supper."

TO BANISH NEGROES DISAPROVED BY MAYOR

New York, N.Y., August 11-The mayor of Strassburg, Germany, does not agree with the German Hitlerites to awaken prejudice against the darker races and other foreigners. The following letter to William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N.A.A.c.P., contains some interesting information and some serious charges against the Nazi. Translating from the German, it reads as follows:

"Mr. William Picken

"Dear Friend:

"We were very much pleased to get the information from America that you have joined our American committee. You are particularly well known in Germany through your work, nor has your activity in behalf of the Negro in America remained unknown in Germany.

"You are surely aware of the fact that with the establishment of the 3rd Reich in Germany ther has arisen a paradoxical situation: Today honest anti-Fascist fighters and workers are treated by the Brown Shirt bands in Germany as the Negro is treated by the American bourgeoisie in your country.

"Just as in America the Negro is denied his rightful equality on the basis of stupid and scientifically absurd racial theories, so do the Nazis attempt to crush all other races and the oppressed working class by means of their Wotan cult and pan-Germanism and to condemn them to a position of complete lack of rights.

"You are surely aware of what the new ruler in Germany, Hitler, thinks of the black race and only a few days ago in the Rhineland a Negro was brutally murdered by the Brown Bands

"We would therefore be very glad if ther could be established close collaboration and solidarity between your organization and ours. We will send you the material on the Fascist terror against the Negroes. We transmit to you the appeal of the hard pressed German workers, who have often taken up the cause of the oppressed Negroes, for moral and financial help.

With best greetings,

"Foreign Committee of the IHV
Charles Hueber
"Mayor af the City of Strassburg"

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS LOVE TAUGHT BY NAZIS

German Christian Church Sets Down Doctrine.

BITTER AGAINST JEWS

"Not of Our Race," Pastor Declares in Outlining Beliefs of State Body Under Control of Hitlerites.

BY QUENTIN REYNOLDS
International News Service Staff Correspondent.

BERLIN, July 22.—"As Christians we must regret the persecution of any section of humanity. As God-made . . . well, the Jews are not of our race and it is against God's will for the races of the earth to mix together."

Pastor Gustav Heidenreich, one of the leaders of the German Christian church, official Nazi religious body, thus in one sentence placed the responsibility for the anti-Jewish movement in Germany directly upon the word of God as divulged in the Bible.

To his right was a huge Bible—to his left a huge framed picture of Hitler. It was symbolic of the union of Protestant church and state now taking place in Germany.

"We are a part," he continued, "of the new Germany and as such are at one with the state. Our children shall be taught both a love of race and a love of religion. We shall teach them to be conscious of their Teutonic origin and we shall teach them to keep their race uncontaminated. We shall eradicate such dangerous elements as pacifism, internationalism and Free Masonry."

Scholarly in Manner.

Pastor Heidenreich, bespectacled, scholarly looking, peered out of eyes that burned with religious fervor, tempered with Nazi zeal. He went on discussing the aims of his church which is under the head of the Hitler-appointed Pastor Joachim Hosenfelder. In doing so he merely quoted from the official creed of the church the 10 articles which are called "What We German Christians Fight For."

The German Christian church plans to consolidate all Protestant churches under one head, the idea being to combine the teachings of Christ with the teachings of Hitler and the tenets of the National Socialist party. This is not a deduction but is the avowed official aim of the consolidation.

"We wish among other things," Pastor Heidenreich said, "to make Jesus Christ king of the political and economic as well as of the spiritual world. Ours is not a new faith. We shall merely inject new life into the old Protestant faiths of Germany, bringing them together under one God and one flag."

Denied by Pastor.

It had been suggested a few weeks ago that the German Christians might cut out the Old Testament entirely because it was regarded as Jewish, a state of affairs quite displeasing to any good Nazi organization. However, Pastor Heidenreich denied that this was being contemplated.

That the church is frankly and avowedly anti-Jewish he admitted, and pointed out Article 7 of their creed which forbids the marriage of any Protestant clergyman to a Jewess. The thing which Americans find difficult to grasp is the fact that in Germany Jews are regarded as a different race from Germans, even though they are naturalized Germans or have lived here for generations.

A Jew to a Nazi is a foreigner, and they justify all anti-Jewish activities by saying that Germany must be for Germans alone and that any introduction into German blood of another race will contaminate the Teuton strain.

Can't Understand U. S.

Germans cannot understand that in America a man may be a Jew and an American, just as he may be a Catholic or a Baptist and an American.

"A Jew is a Jew, just as a Frenchman is a Frenchman or a Spaniard a Spaniard. There is no such thing as the Jewish religion—it is the Jewish race," this is Pastor Heidenreich's explanation.

They act in accordance with this belief and thus when one suggests that they are persecuting the Jews, they are honestly puzzled at such an attitude and insist that they are merely keeping the racial strain uncontaminated.

The Nazi scheme of having one centralized church is all in accordance with these tenets. There is a slight inconsistency and ironic touch in all this—for the man in the brown shirt who is directing this ecclesiastical scheme is a devout and practicing Roman Catholic.

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"Thus we shall become harder in order to fulfill our mission, namely, to be the pioneers in the battle of the white man against advancing Africa and attacking Asia. Thus we shall lay the foundation for the next thousand years. That is the mission of the new Germany."

Birmingham Ala. News
October 4, 1933

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Britisher Attacks Position Of Germany Before League

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The Briton declared:

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And the thing which makes our blood run cold is that our Jewish brothers who have felt the heel of the oppressor on their necks refuse to help Negroes out of a similar situation. It all depends upon whose ox is being gored. But Germany will not be safe for the Jew, nor America for the Negro, until all races and all nations learn to respect the rights of other people.

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Race Problem – 1933

Europe.

HITLERISM AND KUKLUXISM.

A few weeks ago in discussing the anti-Jewish policy of the Nazi government dominated by Adolph Hitler, the present ruler of Germany, we pointed out a striking resemblance to the propaganda used by the Ku Klux Klan, when that sheeted order was revived by Colonel William J. Simmons, a few years ago. It is not singular that this resemblance has been noted by Americans abroad in their discussion of Hitlerism. J. A. Rogers, the wellknown European correspondent, writing to the Baltimore Afro-American from Paris, called attention to a controversey on the German Jew, which has been raging in the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune, into which the American Negro has been interjected.

One writer, under the name of Charles Schultz, declared that the Jew in Germany is treated worse than the Negro in the United States. This was disputed by Vera Kohl, writing from Frankfort-am-Main, who thinks that Mr. Kohl must have been dreaming. She added: "No Jews have been chased through the streets by mobs and when caught lynched or riddled with bullets as in the Southern states of the U. S. A. When a Jew or a Christian commits a crime here he is tried by due process of the law and not by mob violence." As between the German Jew and the Southern Negro, this writer, who claimed to be an American, said that the Jew has decidedly the best of it.

Nevertheless, the racial dogmas of Chancellor Hitler were found to smack strongly of American origin, but in his practical application of them he was pronounced but a poor imitator of Southern methods. Admitting that the Nazi treatment of the Jew is brutal and unjustified, this correspondent insisted that most of the reports about it should be regarded as propagnda, since the Jews control to a great extent the international press. Against this, however, is to be placed the testimony of American newspaper correspondents in Berlin, especially after they had been obliged to leave Germany and could write without the menace of censorship.

Mr. Rogers is of the opinion that the ills of the German Jew are not primarily racial, as quite often he is not distinguishable from a so-called Aryan German. But the Jews constitute a large part of the international thinking element and are leaders in the radical economic movement, which is sufficient to antagonize Hitler's narrow nationalism and antiquated racial theories. The strength of the six hundred thousand Jews in Germany led to Hitler's attack upon them as a formidable element against his domination, whereas the American treatment of the Negro is attributed to the fact that the race is poor, disunited and weak. Again, other German groups besides the Jews were included in the proscription by the Hitler government.

Mr. Rogers concludes that the injustices suffered by the Jews in Germany are insignificant when compared with those inflicted on the Aframerican, yet they seem greater to the Jews because they feel that their self-respect and dignity have been trampled upon. They therefore present a united front to the world, except for those still in Germany, and make a protest which the outside world has to recognize and support.

Not Like Negroes

Japan was peeved last week when it discovered that Hitler's race superiority program meant discrimination against Jews Negroes, and other colored races including the Japanese.

The Japanese Foreign Office, in a bulletin declared: "The government and the people of Japan are highly indignant at Germany's holding us inferior. Even in the United States, Japanese are not subjected to the same treatment as Negroes."

And that, to the shame of America, is true.

Not only Japanese, but Chinese, Greeks Arabs, Portuguese, East Indians, Filipinos Egyptians, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Haitians and foreigners of any caste or color may boast that in the United States they receive better treatment than Negroes who are citizens.

Here are words that patriotic colored people may well ponder. First, we must seek and migrate to countries more friendly to Negro citizens, and second, we must remember in times of national stress and danger to see to it that more favored citizens shall bear all the burden of national defense. No nation which gives little has a right to demand much.

MANY LONDON HOTELS SNUB NEGRO EDITOR

Y.M.C.A. Refuses Him a Room; Segregated Place For Darker Races

By WILLIAM N. JONES
(Managing Editor, Afro-American)

LONDON, England (By Mail). — Although British people refer scathingly to the barbarous practice of lynching in the United States, one cannot remain here long without finding in the center of a sugar-coated treatment the bitter little pill of racial discrimination.

There are large numbers of hotels, restaurants, and especially the London Corner Houses and chain restaurants of the Childs type in the United States, in which there is no discrimination of any kind, but the stranger in this big city is bound to bump into Old Man Prejudice, here and there.

Try Out Hotels

Following a conversation with a white couple coming to London on the same boat, and who, as Londoners, hooted the idea that any London hotel would not receive a colored guest, it was decided to try out a number of leading hostelries.

Under the plan, I was to walk up to the registration desk and ask for a single room, to be followed immediately by the white Londoner, who would make the same request.

In each case the clerk said, with impressive expression of regret, "I am sorry, sir, but all rooms are filled." In neither case were they filled as my friend, who followed immediately found.

At the Savoy hotel on the Strand, a hotel at which Josephine Baker is staying during her theatrical engagement here, your correspondent was offered accommodations. This hotel is patronized by wealthy Indians and the theatrical profession, I am told. Paul Robeson, I was also told, was once given the cold shoulder at this hostelry.

$3.50 for Hair Cut

Selecting one of the larger gentlemen's hair dressing places, as barber shops are known here, I went in for a hair cut.

Following a little confusion, I was offered a chair and the courteously smiling hair dresser asked me what I would have.

"Hair cut," I said.

"The price is 14 shillings," he said. That amounts to about $3.50 in United States money.

Suffice it to say I did not remain for the hair cut as the same service was rendered in the Waldorf hotel, where I was staying, for two shillings six-pence, or about 60 cents U. S. money.

In an interview with Douglass I. Papafio, a brilliant young Gold Coast native, living here, I learned that the Colonial office is adopting a benevolent Jim Crow policy towards Colonials here in London. East Indian students here, for instance, have been "donated" a Y. M.C.A. building of their own. Only recently the government has purchased a house and turned it over to the League of Colored People.

These places are to serve as centers and stopping places for visitors of color, the

Turned Down at "Y"

The first place visited was Central Y.M.C.A. With smiling British courtesy the clerk, after consulting his register, apologetically told your correspondent that he was very sorry but every room was filled. In less than one minute my white associate walked up to the desk and was offered a single room by the same clerk.

Then calling me back, my associate faced the Y. M. C. A. clerk as follows:

"As an honest Londoner, I am surprised that an American colored man should come to the city and find not only color prejudice, but a white Britisher who was dishonest enough to prevaricate about it."

"Most of all," he said, "I would not expect this kind of thing in a Y.M.C.A. Why don't you put up a color bar sign?"

In response the Y.M.C.A. secretary flushed and stood silently until we walked out.

I learn, however, that numerous colored guests have stopped at the Y.M.C.A. and that its facilities are open to interracial affairs.

At the Piccadilly hotel, the Metropole and the Strand-Palace, we went through the same procedure with the same results.

Love As Well As Heroism Played Its Part In Life of Colored Soldiers In World War

Helped Save the Day At The Battle Of The Marne

By J. A. ROGERS

Most military writers agree that it was the Negro soldiers, rushed in taxis to the Battle of the Marne, that were the decisive factor in saving the day for France and for civilization such as it is. But for these black men, all Europe and perhaps even the United States, might now be suffering from just such a type of a government as Hitler is imposing on Germany.

Again in 1917 before the entry of the United States when France was bled white, 100,000 of these black soldiers, recruited in West Africa by former Cabinet Minister Diagne, a Senegalese, saved the Allies, until the arrival of the Americans.

All through the war these black men fought gallantly and later were stationed on the Rhine where a severe propaganda was waged against them, led by the wife of an American congressman. Like our own Negro soldiers in France, they were accused as rapists, a charge that later even the U. S. official reports strongly denied.

An Interesting Story

Since these men had been away from their native land for five years, and there were no black women in Europe, it was inevitable that they should form unions with the women about them, as soldiers from the earliest times have done. There are, today, tens of thousands of the offspring of these unions in France and the Rhineland.

Since there is no color line in Europe no study was ever made of this situation, therefore the following story by Pierre Mille, noted French writer on colonial topics, serves to throw an intimate light on one of these unions which might have been typical of many others. It was published in Le Journal of Paris, and is a free translation:

"Mhamady N'Diaye, Deserter"

Deserters are very rare among the Senegalese sharpshooters, who incidentally are not recruited in Senegal alone but in all of our black African colonies. These brave soldiers know only "duty" and "orders," and have never failed to obey either. Yet some years ago I met an ex-sergeant of Senegalese sharpshooters, named Mahmady n'Diaye, dressed in a magnificent livery, who was the valet at the famous hotel Adlon in Berlin. But that he was a deserter was not entirely his fault, as you'll see.

In 1920 his battalion occupied the city of Mainz in the Rhineland. The commandant of this battalion was named Desgrieux....One morning as Desgrieux was signing papers his orderly, who was naturally also a Senegalese, entered, saluted, and said.

"Major, there is a white lady who wishes to speak with you."

"Who is she, and what does she want?"

"I do not know, sir. She is German. I don't understand that kind of monkey talk. She doesn't speak French. She talks like a savage."

Woman Troubles Major

A German woman. The major, disturbed in his daily routine, was troubled. What did she want? Was she going to complain of one of those cases of "rape" of which the German papers were speaking so vociferously, although up to now not a single one had been proved. If it were so, good God, what trouble it was going to cause. And in his own battalion, too. If the man was guilty he was going to have him shot. To the orderly he snapped: "Show her in."

The woman entered. She bore a child in her arms and from its color it was evident, alas, what had taken place between her and one of our brave defenders from the banks of the Niger and the Volta. Looking at the woman the major noted that she was not only good-looking but was well-dressed.

"You have a complaint to make?" he demanded.

"Sir," she replied in that tone of profound respect with which officers of superior rank are addressed in Germany. "I came for permission.."

"What do you say? What permission?"

"Permission for my marriage with Sergeant Mahmady n'Diaye, the father of my child. My father strongly wishes it, my mother strongly wishes it, and I desire it also."

Wanted To Marry

"Very good." Then the major said to himself: "It is clear then that it is this animal of a Mahmady who doesn't wish it. Good soldier. Excellent sergeant. Twelve years of service, about to obtain French naturalization even at the price of giving up his own personal status, and in consequence renouncing his Mohammedan faith. But in spite of all this if he doesn't marry this girl I am going to give him fifteen days in prison and have the general increase it to two months."

To the orderly he said: "Bring Mahmady here at once."

"So," said the major when Mahmady arrived, "You do not wish to marry this girl. You're a bad soldier and a bad father. What sort of man are you? Have you no affection for your son?"

"Me?" demanded Mahmady in surprise. "You say, sir, that I do not wish to marry her. Why I want to right away. I am French, and I want her to be French, and my son, too. He is a little black, it is true, but that won't matter."

All Were Agreed

To the major it was clear that all were agreed on the marriage. "Well," said he, "why do you come to bother me. Get out all of you, and get married whenever you will." Then he suddenly remembered that permission for such a marriage must come from headquarters. So this explained why this couple, hoping to have a rapid and favorable response, had appealed to him.

And he was not mistaken. Eight days later he received the following reply from headquarters: "Because of the circumstances and the propaganda being waged in Germany as well as in other lands against the black troops in the Rhineland with regard to the feminine population—although this propaganda has no foundation whatever—it is necessary to exercise the greatest care in giving a permission to marry. This matter will have to be taken up in Paris. The demand of the sergeant and his fiancee, together with that of their parents, must accompany the application."

It developed that Mahmady had no parents living, and that those of the German woman demanded nothing better than to have this Senegalese as a son-in-law. Major Desgrieux, therefore, sending for the couple told them that he hoped for a happy solution to their problem in a short time.

Raised "Grave Question"

But they waited a long time. Then when the child grew until it could babble both French and German there at last came the following reply:

"The desire expressed by Sergeant Mahmady n'Diaye, medaille militaire (the highest French decoration for valor) and that of Miss X..... of German nationality, raises a grave question of international law. Can a native of one of our colonies marry a German woman? The Minister of War does not wish to accept the advice of his own legal counsels. He has taken up the matter with the League of the Rights of Man, itself so as to have every guarantee of independence and to protect himself. The unanimous opinion of the legal counsels is that a Frenchman has a perfect right to marry a German woman even as a French woman has a perfect right to marry a German as well as a Frenchwoman to marry a Negro. But there is a doubt when it is a question of a native from our colonies who is only a French subject, and is not naturalised, or is not French by virtue of law. It appears therefore, that it is preferable in order not to cause any international dispute, that the request of Sergeant Mahmady and Miss X....be denied."

Major Desgrieux laid the missive on his desk, feeling that Mahmady was going to make an awful fuss. And he did, whilst Miss X.... and her parents added to the flow of the Rhine with their tears. More, Mahmady, this old soldier so faithful to discipline and to the sobriety imposed on him by Islam began to drink abominably, after which he cursed to the seventh generation the children of Mme. Piblique, Queen of France, those of the major, his colonel, his general, and of Marshal Foch himself, relegating them all to that part of his body least worthy of consideration. In consequence he was reduced to corporal and condemned to two months in prison, which he served.

Love Finds a Way

But on the day after he was not at roll-call. Without consulting the Minister of War or the League of the Rights of Man he had simply slipped into that part of Germany not occupied by the French, where without delay he married Miss X....

And this is how I met him at the Hotel Adlon dressed in a uniform more gorgeous than that he would have worn had he continued in the noble corps of Senegalese sharpshooters. He was a naturalised German and was the proud father of three children, dark-skinned, it is true, but very legally Germans.

But with the racial campaign now being waged in Germany I wonder what is happening to Mahmady. Are the Senegalese being treated with more consideration than the Jews?

(In answer to this question it was reported that the Nazis were attacking the Negroes married to German women in Hamburg but that Goebbels, Hitler's chief aide, issued an order that they should not be molested.)

Noted Figure

Blaise Diagne, a former member of the French Cabinet, who figured prominently in the enlistment of Negro troops for France during the World War. He is mentioned in the accompanying story.

Race Problem—1933

Europe.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

OCT 7 1933

Race Mixtures and Race Minorities.

Far broader in its philosophic range than the concrete issue of anti-Semitism in Hitler's Germany is the discussion at Geneva before the "Minorities Committee" of the relation between nations as such, and races as such.

Dr. von Keller for Germany had advanced the Hitler theory that a state having ethnical homogeneity had the right and the duty to concern itself with citizens of other states belonging to its own "ethnical compost." This was in accordance with the Nazi chancellor's utterances claiming that the German People "remains attached to its own ethnical nationality and that it is conscious of intimate bonds attaching it to Germans throughout the world." Which idea, of course, was not wholly new. Under Kaiser Wilhelm a man could be a citizen of the United States or of Brazil and still retain his rights as a German subject. And in the early war days, Berlin circulated maps of this country, dividing the area, like Julius Caesar's Gaul, in three parts, the Negro zone, the Red Indian zone and the German zone.

Von Keller got his first answer from W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, British delegate, wittily noting the mixture of races in the British Empire and even in Great Britain, Danish, Saxon, Celt, English, Scotch and Welsh, dark-haired Welshmen, red-haired Welshmen et al. He ridiculed the German notion of concern for self-exiled "Aryans" thus:

> I tremble to think of the responsibility of my Government, respecting every citizen of the United States who claims descent from those who went on the Mayflower—and there are millions—if this idea were put into operation. We reject absolutely this conception, advanced by the German delegate, regarding the racial homogeneity of political units and states. How could we do otherwise . . . The fundamental and only thing that holds the British Empire together is equality of status and freedom . . . I belong to what is called the Tory party of England. Every 19th of April, Primrose Day, I and others of my party go on a pilgrimage and lay primroses on the statue of Disraeli, a Jew, proud of his racial stock though a loyal British subject and a baptized member of the Church of England.

Taking up the subject the next day, Senator Berenger, speaking for France, emphasized the Ormsby-Gore tribute to Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, by quoting passages from "Endymion." He made the telling point that only discrimination creates race minorities in any country; that there is no Jewish "minority" in France, in Britain or in the United States; nor was there such a minority in Germany in pre-Hitler days.

Woodrow Wilson has been credited with—and criticized for—the origination of the post-war plan of creating several small nations on lines that did not ignore approximate homogeneity in race or religion. It has been truly pointed out that actual complete homogeneity is nonexistent. But Mr. Wilson thought in terms of modern custom as fixed by great nations of which the present Ormsby-Gore doctrine is a fine formulation. And from Czechoslovakia down to the littlest of these created nations the judgment of President Wilson has been vindicated. The race discriminations have been by older powers strengthened by the remapping of Europe. Poland has not been fair to Germans, Rumania has not been fair to Hungarians, Serbia has not been fair to the Croats. Hence "racial minorities" due to discrimination exist in large areas always to the injury of the governments concerned. Ormsby-Gore is right. Liberty and equality are ideals that the world can already insist on. As for fraternity, the third idea of the French triology, that may come in time, but for the present, as the "brotherhood of man" we can see it only as an adumbration.

JEWS HAVE OUR SYMPATHY, BUT—

NEARLY fifteen years after Versailles, Germany has again fallen on evil days. The organs of its government suffer a malady and the head of the whole body politic is clouded and groggy and befuddled by cross currents of tangled finance, a twisted economic system and the empty aspirations of a deposed royalty to again figure in the nation's scheme of things.

Out of any such condition, through the years, there has come suffering on the part of some minority group. In Germany at this time the brunt of this reaction is falling upon the heads of Jews. Newspapers throughout the earth are full of the many and varied persecutions being made the lot of these people as Adolf Hitler swings into power at the head of a legion of swords.

Brothers and sisters of these people in various lands are protesting; and in our own country prominent Jews have secured the promise of the State Department of our Federal Government to investigate what Hitler is doing in the creation of his paradoxical government at Berlin.

In the meantime, twelve million American Negroes look interestingly on. They know what it is to be persecuted, despite ample protection guaranteed by the United States' highest law. They know what it means not only to be denied certain civil rights, the most precious of which is the untrammeled right to vote, but they have stood cowed in the shadows of night to see the bullet-riddled bodies of their loved ones burned for public amusement.

Their sympathy goes out to these Jews in Germany whose plea for more consideration has not been heard, for they know what a stone deaf ear their Government has turned toward them when they asked that the outrages they suffer be stopped. Truly enough, this sympathy is mingled with surprise for it sorely taxes the imagination to conceive the celerity with which the State Department has acted upon the request of the Jews here to do something about a condition thousands of miles away, while citizens under its own flag can get no hearing.

In the final analysis, however, all such conditions have their lessons. When Hitlerism, in all its gruesomeness, has passed like the nightmare that it is, Germany will be wiser--if weaker--in the matter of human relations and the futility of armed force in a peaceful civilization.

It is to be hoped, also, that those same American Jews who are now holding up to scorn those who persecute their people in Germany, will be constrained to sympathize with Negroes in our own country who suffer similar plights, and cease the reckless exploitation of which Jews have been guilty for years.

And in the end it would seem that our benevolent federal government, always anxious to assume responsibility for the rest of the world, would learn that much can be done at home. Negroes are being beaten into harsh labor without pay along the banks of our own Mississippi, lynchings go unheeded and the franchise is denied the majority of a tenth of our population--and yet cries from Berlin reach the Capitol sooner than do theirs. Jews in Berlin have American Negroes' sympathy, yes, but so-called "American love for justice," their scorn!!

Jewish Officials Will Be Ousted

Thousands Are Degraded To Inferior Classes By Hitler's Latest Decree

4-7-33

BERLIN, April 8.—(AP)—The principle that Germany shall be governed and administered only by Aryans, and the definition that any person having one Jewish grandparent is a Jew were formally established in German law today.

This was revealed in the publication of the Hitler cabinet's civil service law, which spells the degradation of the Jew to second class citizenship.

Thousands of officials held over from the previous regime will be ousted as a result of the law, and in the future all Jews will be barred from public office. Certain Jews now serving will be spared.

All civil service officials who obtained office after 1918 on the basis of membership in a political party and without necessary qualifications, will be ousted after receiving three months' pay.

Hitherto retiring officials have had claims to pensions, but in this category of dismissed government employes the claims will not be recognized. Officials who possess necessary technical qualifications but will not support the new regime without reservation also may be dismissed.

In line with the principle that only Aryans may govern Germany, Jews will be ousted—with pensions if qualified officials, without pensions if purely party appointees.

The only exceptions are Jews who already were in the service of the State Aug. 1, 1914, or who served in the World War trenches, or whose fathers or sons fell in battle for Germany. After the death or retirement of these exceptions no Jews will hold office anywhere in the Reich.

The law makes it clear that in determining who should be considered Jewish examination must go back to the grandparents and that if one of the four grandparents is Jewish then so is the grandchild.

It finally provides that officials may be transferred to other jobs and that if these positions are of lower rank, the higher title and salary will continue. This offers the possibility of transferring Jewish judges to purely administrative positions.

As determination of what constitutes appointment on the basis of party affiliation, and what constitutes technical qualification, rests with men of the new order in Germany, it may be taken for granted that the law will be interpreted

vigorously. Thousands of civil servants, even including clerks and manual laborers in Federal, State or municipal service, face peremptory dismissal.

Twenty-five hundred Jewish lawyers in Berlin are waiting to learn which of them will be permitted to continue practice. By Nazi order only 35 Jewish attorneys in the capital will be allowed to continue in their profession. Before the Nazi order there were 3,400 lawyers in Berlin, 900 of them Gentiles. Jewish war veterans and aged men probably will receive preference in the selection of the 35.

An order forbidding Jews to matriculate as medical students in Bavarian universities was issued at Munich and at Leipzig Jews will be barred from the University for 10 semesters.

The conflict over the premiership of Prussia was decided by Chancellor Hitler in favor of Capt. Hermann Goering, Federal minister without portfolio. It was indicated that Vice-Chancellor Franz Von Papen had given up his candidacy for the premiership because of the new law subordinating that post to the governorship, a position held by Chancellor Hitler.

Today's newspapers said that the Chancellor may go to Rome shortly to confer with Premier Mussolini. Capt. Goering and Vice-Chancellor Von Papen will hold discussions with the Italian Premier during the next few days.

Race Problem - 1933

Europe.

GERMANY JOINS DIXIE

The treatment of Jews in Germany, determined upon by the ruling forces there, parallels what has been done to Negroes in the United States. By denying that there is any good in the victims of their hate, the Germans try to give the sanction of right to a ruthless use of might. The boycott about to be undertaken specifically forbids violence—a hypocritical gesture. Since it strikes at the Jews' living as well as at their ambitions, they know their victims will follow the natural impulse and struggle to escape their tormentors, giving an excuse for violent reprisal.

For the moment the Nazis will divert attention from their own incapacity by giving the masses something else to think about. That has ever been the way of tryanny. The more the emperors of Rome declined in administrative ability, the more stupendous the games in the Coliseum and the larger the bounty to the starving masses. More recently in the United States mountebanks sought and won public office in southern states by focusing attention on the Negro, to cover their own ignorance of government. It is always easy to escape responsibility by making a great noise about some one else.

Besides what the Jews mean to it, Germany loses the constructive efforts of the Germans in whatever degree they give their time to this boycott. Booker T. Washington well said the only way to keep a man down in the gutter is to get down in the gutter with him.

The price paid for hate is always high. Men refuse their own logic, and forget their experience, whenever they set out to hurt somebody. In the end retribution overtakes them, they repent in sackcloth and ashes. But for the moment they enjoy it, their expanded ego makes them feel that they are gods who are superior to the laws of God and man. Human slavery in the United States, limited at first became puffed up with a sense of power and would not be content. Northward and westward it advanced until its horrors were displayed under the very eyes of men who had been indifferent when it was far away in the deep south. Then public opinion went into action and slavery was destroyed.

So it will be with Germany.

HITLER BARS MUSICIANS IN RECENT ORDER

Chicagoan Told to Get Out of Germany

Creighton Thompson, native Chicagoan and internationally noted as a musician, who left Chicago more than 16 years ago with a group of musicians for an extensive tour of European capitals and who in recent years has been playing with his orchestra in the leading theaters and cafes of Vienna, Austria, has run afoul of the Hitler regime in Berlin, Germany.

According to a cablgram received in Chicago Monday by his sister, Mrs. Teenie Brown, Thompson has been ordered by the Berlin officials to leave Germany with his orchestra. The cablegram from the former Chicagoan is an indication of the race hatred shown on numerous occasions by the Hitler government and clearly shows that Race people as well as Jews are included in the German ouster program.

Thompson indicated in the message that he might return to his native shores and may soon be in Chicago. Years ago he was altar boy at St. Thomas Episcopal church, located at that time near 30th and Dearborn Sts., and is the son of Father Thompson, first priest of that church.

Thompson is also the brother of Mrs. Hazel Thompson Davis, well-known dancing instructor, and of DeKoven Thompson, noted as the composer of "Dear Lord, Remember Me," and "If I Forget." The latter song was popularized by the operatic prima donna, Mme. Ernestine Shuman-Heink, and became one of the best sellers 20 years ago.

When a Black Man Calls on a Russian Girl

New York Has Its Colors, But Human Tapestries of Moscow Are Richer. The Queer Churches Which Architects Built Out on Sidewalks.

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW—For variety, color, and downright interest, the much ballyhooed sidewalks of New York stand a poor comparison with the teeming sidewalks of Moscow. Whereas there is deadening artificiality, sameness, simulation, and studied sophistication of the sidewalks of the metropolis, on the overflowing sidewalks of ancient Moscow one finds naturalness, variety, and comradely fellowship.

Golden-skinned and black-haired citizens from Georgia (Yes, there is a Georgia in Russia, but nobody is lynched, Jim Crowed, or segregated there), Uzbekistan, Turmenistan, and other republics in the South, wearing their brightly-colored turbans and native costumes; dusky citizens from the Caucasus wearing their high hats, national costumes, and daggers on their hips; voluptuous, loose-garmented, and free-moving citizens from the borders of China; yellow-skinned, white-skinned, and swarthy Russians and Ukrainians, some with black hair, others with yellow—all form a human tapestry not to be even closely approached anywhere in the world, and least of all in New York.

There are also beggars on the sidewalks of Moscow, but a beggar in Russia has a quite different significance from a beggar in the other five-sixths of the world. A beggar in the Soviet Union represents a type of human being who does not wish to work, who cannot rid himself of a long-standing parasitic complex, and consequently prefers to panhandle his way through life. Most beggars in the rest of the world beg on the streets because the crisis of capitalism has forced them to beg for their daily bread.

* * *

She lives in a village near Moscow. The correspondent went to visit her last evening. She met him at the end of the car line. The villagers stared, queried one another, looked on in mild amazement. In America this attitude would have resulted from a Negro coming to visit a white girl; it was due in Russia to the fact that this was most likely the first Negro that this generation had ever seen in their village. (I say "this generation" because an earlier generation must have seen Pushkin's dusky figure in their midst). The fact that I was a Negro and the girl white was entirely out of the equation. There are some civilized people in the world.

* * *

Through the Park of Culture and Rest strolled a Negro. Ah, the correspondent mused, a fellow countryman from Baltimore, Chicago, New York, or Atlanta; here is where I talk about the "Old Country." I greeted him in my most friendly manner; he acknowledged, and we struck up a conversation. But we did not talk about the "Old Country." My dusky acquaintance unleashed such a shower of broad "A's" and cockney English that the correspondent had great difficulty in following what he was saying about anything. He was an English Negro from London.

On another occasion in Odessa, the correspondent approached and attempted to talk with a black man. This sepia comrade merely shrugged his shoulders — he was an Arab and knew not one word of English. Now the correspondent is more cautious, recollects that there are black men, and black men, and black men in ubiquity.

* * *

It is impossible to glance in any direction in Moscow without seeing the bulbous, beet-shaped domes of churches surmounted with gilded crosses. No country in the world was more church-ridden than Russia before the Revolution. If one is not cautious, one will walk head-on against a church protruding across the sidewalk almost to the curb. Whether this location of many churches, so annoying to pedestrians, was due to a touch of insanity on the part of the architect or whether it was done to make the churches more conspicuous, the correspondent has never been able to learn.

Since the Cathedral of the Deedeemer was pulled down, the Cathedral of St. Basil holds the spotlight as the leading religious monument. Upon completion of this bizarre pile almost 400 years ago, the architects, Barma and Postnik, were blinded by Ivan the Terrible. Visiting foreigners often wonder whether the architects were blinded in order to prevent their duplicating an architectural gem or an architectural monstrosity, so chaotic and puzzling, so magnificent and beautiful an impression does this structure at first make upon the beholder.

NEGROES SAILING JAP SHIP

LONDON, Eng., Mar. 16—(ANP)—Are Negroes prepared to embark upon Lothrop Stoddard's famous "Rising Tide of Color?"

Evidence to show that there may be a world-wide sympathy between the colored races was dramatically exhibited at Blyth in Northumberland last Thursday when a ship, purchased by the Japanese from Belgium, set sail for Japan, manned by a Negro crew.

Reports which reached members of the Anti-War Council stated that the Negroes intended to enlist in the Japanese air forces.

This action on the part of the colored men brought quickly to the front the growing prejudice in England which is forcing black men from British dependencies out of work. When representatives of the Anti-War Council sought to discover the motive of the men who were leaving they learned that their principal complaint was a lack of work.

"Give us jobs and we will not go to Japan,' 'the leader of the colored crew stated, adding that his men would desert.

A hurried call was sent out for a meeting of members of the Anti-War Council. At this meeting, the threatened departure of the Negroes was explained and the cause.

"We must have money to hold them until jobs can be found," it was explained.

A British flag was then unfolded and, while four members carried it by the corners up and down the aisles of the meeting place, silver and copper coins were thrown into it until 200 pounds, or about $700, had been collected.

With this money a committee from the group chartered taxicabs and rode all night to Blyth so that they might offer it as an inducement to the colored crew to desert.

However, when the war resisters reached Blyth, the Stanleyville, bearing the Negro crew, was churning the waves, far out upon the North sea. The frantic opponents of war were left "holding the bag."

A decade ago, the American author, Lothrop Stoddard, wrote an epochal book, in which he described the gradual consolidation of the colored races of the world in opposition to the whites. Mr. Stoddard pictured the white races and so-called white civilization as being in great jeopardy if the superior numbers of the colored races were ever united under such aggressive leadership as that of the Japanese. The instance above is the first in which relations between the Nipponese and Negroes have been disclosed.

Prejudice: Germany, Georgia

By KELLY MILLER

LET us let Georgia typify Anglo-Saxon prejudice against the Negro and Germany race prejudice in general. Georgia began as a penal colony, Anglo Saxon in blood and Protestant in religion. The Anglo-Saxon is naturally exclusive and intolerant of other breeds of men. When the two races were brought in contact in this penal colony the situation furnished the needed raw material for race prejudice—easily observable bodily differences and wide apart social and cultural status.

I do not believe that race prejudice is innate on the level with such instincts as hunger, thirst and sex passion, but on the other hand it is in my judgment an acquired animosity easily aroused and sustained by the presence of the material it feeds on. The Teutonic race and its Anglo-Saxon derivative are most easily susceptible to the Protestant religion and to race prejudice than any other racial variety of the human family.

The United States, Canada and Australia exclude by law immigration of all non-white folks not blooded and bodied like themselves. The Boers of South Africa have given us a more ruthless racial regime than even their Anglo-Saxon cousins of Georgia. The Germans are known to be more firmly brutal in their colonial policy than England with her more refined and recondite method of subordination.

Every fresh outbreak of race prejudice shocks us as an outrage against human nature. Murder, lynching and burning of human bodies in Georgia occur with such frequency that each recurrent atrocity makes a feeble impression upon our seered sensibilities. A kindly Providence has made us immune to recurrent shocks, else we could not endure the repeated impact of these human atrocities and horrid happenings.

The Christian minister of the gospel reads of a lynching and burning while at the breakfast table, experiences a momentary feeling of regret, takes a fresh sip of coffee, and turns the conversation to thoughts of a lighter vein. The statesman runs across such account while perusing his morning paper, halts for a moment, takes a fresh puff at his cigar and dismisses the horrors of it from his mind which quickly reverts to the contemplation of the glories of free institutions. Even the Negro, the brunt bearer of it all, is momentarily aroused to a pitch of verbal fury, and forthwith reverts to his accustomed carefree mood.

It is human nature to justify one's self by shaping one's notions to his dealings. Do not the good white Christians of Georgia seek easement of conscience by placing the Negro under the ban of outlawry in that they belong to an inferior social and moral order? There is to be found somewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures the blessed assurance that the Lord's annointed shall be given the heathen for their possession who shall be ruled with a rod of iron and broken to pieces like a potter's vessel.

He that sittieth in the Heaven shall laugh. The justification outdoes the perpetration in compounding outrages against human nature. Why reason with the wolf that he has made the ewe bleat for the lamb, if sheep were made for wolves to devour? Must we forever lay our civilization and our Christianity aside while race prejudice rages in Georgia? Alas, while statesmanship and religion are dumb, we must wait upon Echo for an answer.

But Germany has no such pretext as Georgia. The Jew and the German both belong to the white race. Racial differences are of low visibility. There is no wide apart margin in the levels of culture. The two peoples have been living together for a thousand years. The only difference is one of spiritual cult The Jew may change his religion as he, in large part, is doing in Russia, but the Negro cannot easily change his skin. Germany does not ask the Jew to become German, but to get out. Here we have the greatest evidence that race prejudice is not innate but acquired and stimulated for ulterior ends.

Hitler wanted an issue as a rallying point for the consolidation of the German people. He has an intuitive knowledge of mob psychology. Appeal to pride and prejudice of race never fails to elicit enthusiastic response if presented with passionate frenzy. He is the master Ku Kluxer of Germany. Semitism is a shining mark that any German can easily be made to see and shoot at. Race prejudice is the ever-handy game of the demagogue, Hitler can give Tillman, Vardaman, Heflin and Blease cards and spades and beat them with the game. Both Georgia and Germany are at the mercy of the mob haranguer.

Race prejudice causes the people to lose their logical calmness and balance of judgment. In Georgia, the Negro must be suppressed lest he lower the level of Anglo-Saxon civilization. In Germany the Jew must be suppressed lest he raise the level of culture too high for the German to attain unto. Race prejudice operates against the Negro because he is inferior, and against the Jew because he is superior. The brutal frankness of the Teuton is in glaring contrast to the hypocrisy and guile of his Anglo-Saxon cousin. The German justifies his devilment in the name of practical necessity; the Anglo-Saxon casts his sins on the Lord.

The climax of inconsistency has been reached. Georgia upbraids Germany for manifestation of race prejudice. Hitler has a ready-made answer for the reproach which Senator Robinson, the leader of the Senate, has recently cast into his teeth for prejudice against the Jews. It will be the same as Turkey once rejoined Woodrow Wilson for her Armenian atrocities: "When you stop lynching and burning Negroes, it will be good time to upbraid us for mistreating Armenians."

When the Georgia pot calls the German kettle black, surely the Gods laugh unless they have los their sense of humor.

Race Problem - 1933.
Europe.

Kelly Miller Says

Hitlerism is Essentially Political and Racial Ku Kluxism

4-10-33
Washington Tribune
Washington, D.C.

Appeal to German Patriotism Is Re-enforced by Race Hate; Jews and Negroes the Chief Victims; Both American and African Negroes Fought Against Germany in the World War.

The "furor Teutonicus" has been aroused again and the nations of the earth have taken fright. Hitler, the saber rattler, has made himself master of Germany, with revival of the tocsin: "Das Deutchland eber alles." Appeal to patriotism is re-enforced by the dynamics of hate. The Jew and the Negro form the ready victims of their pent-up racial spleen.

There are six hundred thousand Jews in Germany and six hundred Negroes. The Jews are loyal, patriotic and capable. They contribute disproportionately to the intellectual glory of the Fatherland and recruit the professional and learned callings out of all relation to their numerical strength. One might account for the suppression of the Negro on the ground that the Afro-American soldiers fought against the Fatherland in the World War. But not so with the Jews.

The German racial animosity is more deeply rooted than loyalty, patriotism or culture. Hitler embodies the spirit and temper of his race and nation. His appeal to race hatred would meet with no response unless the German mind was already sensitized to the appeal. He merely applies the match to the magazine.

Hitler wants a pure, unadulterated Nordic race, tall of stature, fair of face and blue of eye. He repudiates the invasion of Asiatic, African, Hebraic, and of non-Nordic white blood. The Jew constitutes only one per cent of the German population, the Negro only one per cent of one per cent, and yet all such homeopathic infusion is placed under the ban.

NORDICS CONDONE ATROCITIES; RUSSIANS PRACTICE BROTHERHOOD

Pograms are about to be proclaimed which will make mankind sick. Christianity stands by impotently while the Nordic heathens rage and perpetrate their racial iniquity. We shut our eyes and shudder as we await the outcome.

While the self-styled chosen people of God are condoning anticipated atrocities, the Russian "bear that looks like a man" is putting into practice the brotherhood of man. Proscription on the score of race or color is expressly forbidden under penalty of dire punishment by the Soviet government. We are not so much impressed with the variant racial attitude of contrasted theories of government as with diverse views of racial stocks. The Jew and the Negro banished from Germany will be welcome in Russia.

The racial policy of the Hitler movement is strikingly similar to that of the neo-Ku Klux Klanism of America. The motive back of the original Ku Klux Klan was primarily political, projected against a racial back-ground.

The revived movement was essentially racial, without any other understandable motive. The one hundred per cent American must be (1) white, (2) gentile, and (3) Protestant. This shuts out at one swoop the black, brown and yellow races, the Jews, and the non-Protestant, that is, the non-Nordic element of the Caucasian race.

HITLERISM SIMILAR TO THE REVIVED KU KLUX KLAN

The Hitler inclusion and the American Klan exclusion were aimed at the same objective, and differed only in local application. The deep-seated intolerance of the Nordic spirit underlies them both.

The neo-American klanism failed for several obvious reasons. It had its origin in the South and was manned and managed by men from that section. By reason of traditional local handicaps the South has fallen far behind any other section of the Nordic race in practical efficiency and power to bring things to pass. The movement failed because it was too exclusive, and threw the Jew, the Catholic, and the Negro in solidified opposition.

In the third place, the movement was destined to fail because of its political involvements. The Southern Protestant constitutes about half the strength of the Democratic party which must needs rely upon its Northern Catholic counterpart for party victory. The rival factions met in Madison Square Garden in 1924 and fought the battle to a draw. The Catholic contingent carried away the party victory in 1928. This sounded the death-knell of the Ku Klux Klan as a political power.

DEMOCRATS REPUDIATED KLAN; REPUBLICANS CODDLED IT

In the meantime the recent order was making inside headway in the Republican party. Men of the highest position and rank in the Grand Old Party were suspected of klan proclivities. Its wake could be easily traced. Spreading from the South, it traversed the middle Western states and swept through Western Pennsylvania, New York and the upper New England states. The path of the movement skillfully avoided the great cities where the Catholic and Hebraic proportion of the population made its invasion inexpedient.

In both of the great political parties, the apparent political possibilities of the movement all but deceived the elite and the elect. But happily a sober second thought asserted itself when it was discovered that our racial, religious balance is too delicately adjusted to serve the politicians' game. And so the dynamic of race hatred was abandoned as a practical political instrument.

Let us also hope that Adolph Hitler's momentary bad eminence based on race prejudice and proscription will crumble under his feet like a pyramid of sand.

In the meantime, this sinister insurgence of race passion exemplified in the Hitler movement should cause submerged minorities in all parts of the globe to indulge in some long distance thinking.

APR 1 1933

We Blame Germany for Same Evil We Commit, He Claims

Editor, The News:

OUR Government the other day protested to Germany because of the alleged persecution of Jews in that country, when the identical condition exists (and has for years) right here within the boundary of the United States.

Twelve million American citizens are continually being persecuted right under the shadow of the American flag. Neither the President nor Congress has seen fit to form anti-lynch laws to curb wholesale murdering of these unfortunates.

The K. K. K. still rides and spreads horror in the Negro communities of the Southern States without any protest from the Government of patriots of the Constitution.

And the majority of the Southern States refuse colored citizens their constitutional right to vote, but force them to pay taxes. If this is not persecution please tell me what is.

Let this Government purge itself of this terrible wrong before it attempts to judge or condemn the actions of other countries.

H. G. E.

THEY FORGET THE NEGRO'S INJUSTICES

A very small, perhaps insignificant attack on Jews in Germany has aroused thousands of Jews in America, who are protesting against the attacks, and have brought force upon the government of this country to the extent that it has communicated with Germany in behalf of the welfare and safety of the Jews.

Much more suffering has been witnessed by Negroes of this country, who have been victims of lynchings, and prejudices of all kinds, yet very little concern is made of these injustices, either at home or abroad; by whites or blacks. It is interesting to note the influence that unity has among a race of people, nothwithstanding the fact that there are only 4,000,000 Jews compared with 12,000,000 Negroes. Why cannot the Negro unite and demand justice as the Jews have done?

Another Klansman

By Chase

Drawn by

N. Y. SUN
MAR 25 1933

REDS HARANGUE GERMAN CONSUL

2500 Demonstrate Here Against Nazi Regime.

LEADERS MEET DR. SCHWARZ

Demand News of Prisoners, but Refuse to Hear Answers.

Bearing placards protesting against the Nazi regime in Germany, nearly 2,500 Communists marched from Whitehall and South streets to the German Consulate at 17 Battery Place today as a part of an "anti-Fascist demonstration."

The placards and banners bore such inscriptions as "Down with Bloody Hitler!" and "Protest Against Nazi Terrorism."

Seventy-five patrolmen and ten mounted policemen were on guard to prevent disorder. The line of march was through Whitehall street and Bowling Green, north on Broadway past the North German Lloyd steamship offices and hence west and south to 17 Battery Place.

Ask About German Reds.

A delegation of twenty-five Communists was admitted to the consulate, escorted by a police inspector, Dr. Paul Schwartz, the Consul-General, said that he would receive ten, whereupon the delegation insisted that all be received under threat of spreading word to their followers that they had been refused an audience. The full delegation was then led inside in single file and Fred Bietenkapp, their spokesman, read a prepared resolution calling on the German authorities to make known what had been done to the Communist candidate for President of Germany, Thaelmann, and the Communist leader in the Reichstag, Torgler. The resolution also called upon the Consul to make known what had happened to the eighty Communist deputies in the Reichstag and to "the thousands of Communist, Socialist, Democratic and Jewish prisoners."

"We demand to know if they are alive, and demand their immediate release if they are in prison, as well as the release of all other political prisoners," the resolution stated.

Won't Listen to Reply.

Dr. Schwarz's attempt to answer was interrupted with more questions, and he presently gave up his effort to satisfy the radicals.

Ruben Salzman, a representative of the needle trades, and another speaker, a Negro, protested against the alleged persecution of Jews in Germany after Bietenkapp had finished.

When Dr. Schwartz tried to ascertain the identity of each speaker, there were cries of "What difference does it make? We represent thousands waiting downstairs!"

Dr. Schwarz t hen undertook again to tell what had happened to the German communists, but he ceased when the delegations interrupted with more questions.

"I'm sorry," he said. "You won't listen to me."

The delegation went downstairs where Bietenkapp reported to the crowd on the audience with the Consul-General.

Dr. Schwarz told the newspaper reporters that, had he not been interrupted, he would have told the committee that Aaron Apfel, one of the communists inquired about was at liberty and under no restrictions after a day or so in jail, that Thaelmann was in prison, and that he knew nothing concerning the whereabouts of some other German communists about whom the delegation had inquired.

Several Drenched.

While the leaders of the delegation were reporting what had happened, several glasses of water were thrown into the gathering from office windows at 17 Battery Place. Several paper bags of water were also hurled from windows in lower Broadway once the parade had got under way again. Two or three dozen of those in the demonstration were drenched.

The paraders changed their plans as to going back to Whitehall and South streets and instead marched north along Broadway to Morris street, where the police turned them west. The paraders, shouting and singing, went to West street and turned north, going as far as Seventeenth street before turning east to Union Square.

After further speechmaking there, the demonstrators dispersed.

Labor-Wages

Race Problems 1933

Europe

(10-2-36)

Soviet Union.

Unions, Strikes, etc.

FRESNO, CAL.
TRIBUNE

JAN 14 1933

NO DANGER SEEN IN RUSSIAN RECOGNITION

Writing direct from Moscow, Louis Fischer, correspondent of the New York Nation, discounts the idea that recognition of Russia would entail any risks from Soviet propaganda.

In the first place, he points out that twenty-four nations of the old world and new now maintain diplomatic relations with Russia, including "Tory England, Fascist Italy and Monarchist Japan."

If the danger from propaganda were real and not imaginary, would any of these governments run the risk of infection?

* * *

Further, he writes:

The Bolsheviks are now concentrated on the task of national building. I do not wish to imply they have rejected the thesis of world revolution. But they will not harm Russia by working for it.

A few months ago preparations for a Soviet cinema on Negro life in America was stopped by the government because of the possible resentment it might cause in America.

Work on other films has been stopped recently for similar reasons. This testifies not only to a new attitude, but to the effectiveness of foreign relations in influencing Bolshevik manners.

In any case, the Soviet government is ready to pledge itself to non-interference in American affairs, provided a similar pledge is given in Washington. What more could be reasonably asked?

* * *

While the present Russian Government has borrowed no money from the United States, this country did make advances to the Kerensky regime, which ruled Russia during six months immediately following the revolution in 1928.

This debt, Fischer reports, the Soviet government is prepared to pay in full

even though the money was spent in large measure for anti-Soviet purposes.

This attitude certainly compares very favorably to that of some other European governments whose diplomats are daily welcomed with open arms at the offices of the state department.

The new administration in Washington should approach this question with an open mind, and not be guided by discredited prejudices and childish fears.

A strong friendship between the two countries may be a factor in the not distant future in preserving the peace of the world.

SAN DIEGO, CAL
TRIBUNE

FEB 15 1933

NEGRO LECTURER TO TALK ON RUSSIA

"How the Soviet Union Solved the Racial Minorities Problem," will be the subject of Loren Miller, negro lecturer and journalist, at a public meeting tonight at 8 o'clock, Woodbine hall, 846 Fifth avenue. Admission is free.

Miller recently returned from a five-months' visit in Russia. He traveled extensively and studied the manner in which Russia is solving her problems.

This is the fourth of a series of lectures sponsored by the "Friends of the Soviet Union" in the study of modern Russia.

SAN DIEGO, CAL.
UNION

FEB 15 1933

Speaker to Discuss Soviet Race Problem

Loren Miller, negro lecturer and journalist, will speak on "How the Soviet Union Solved the Racial Minorities Problem" at a meeting tonight at 8 o'clock in Woodbine hall, 846 Fifth avenue. Miller recently visited Russia. He is a university graduate and assistant editor of the California Eagle.

The lecture will be the fourth of a series sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union. Admission will be free.

HUGE STATE FARMS LAGGING IN RUSSIA

Lack of Attraction for Labor Causes Them to Drop Far Behind in Harvesting.

8-27-33

WEEDS A MAJOR PROBLEM

Some Grow to Such a Size as to Make the Use of the Modern Machinery Impossible.

By WALTER DURANTY.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Aug. 25.—The huge State farms—"Soviet grain factories," as they are termed here—have not justified the expectations and prophecies that accompanied their inauguration four or five years ago.

In the guide book, "Seeing the U. S. S. R.," issued by Intourist, it is stated that one of the attractions of Rostov for foreign visitors is "a trip to the model State farms, which are the greatest in the world." Today, visitors are no longer welcome.

The State farms are in twilight, and almost everywhere, according to the Soviet press, are badly behind on their harvest programs. It would seem that the Soviet followed too readily the counsels of American advisers and to its own desire to 'catch up to and surpass" capitalist America in farm magnitude.

A typical picture of the State farm situation today was given in a recent report in the Industrial Gazette of a visit by a special brigade of its correspondents in an airplane to a farm 160 miles long in the central black earth region.

Though supplied with the latest tractors, combines and other mechanical equipment, the farm is lagging far behind its neighboring collectives in harvesting. Instead of being, as was intended, a centre of instruction and of mechanical help and an example of collectives, the State farm was forced to draw upon the latter for labor.

Labor Is the Problem.

Labor—that is the reef on which the State farm project throughout Russia has run aground. The farms seem to have been unable to attract and keep a permanent working personnel, for the natural reason that these vast areas of steppe land have nothing to offer workers during the Winter months. So it has followed that the State farms each hire several thousand workers at the beginning of the sowing season, mostly untrained and incapable of handling complicated machines. They learn the job more or less well during the Summer months. Then, in early Fall, they are dismissed because they are no longer needed, and the best of them get permanent jobs at tractor stations, or collectives, or in the swiftly growing industry of the Union.

And the next year the teaching process begins again. Moreover, it was found in practice that these great farms, especially in the southern regions, were terribly prone to weeds. There is the giant thistle—which Russians call Canadian thistle and Canada calls Russian thistle—whose stem grows as thick as a man's wrist and puts out of action any harvesting machine that encounters it. There also is a sort of goldenrod, which grows to the size of a thick shrub and is equally destructive of machinery.

Size Is An Obstacle.

With unlimited labor and thoroughly efficient management, weeds would be overcome, but labor is short, and efficient management is still one of the problems the Soviet is only on its way to solving. The scale of these farms is far too great for men with sickles, and when machinery—already poorly handled by an improperly trained personnel, as the Industrial Gazette points out—was routed by the weeds it became necessary to call on the collectives in the midst of the harvest.

An attempt is now being made to remedy the situation by dividing the State farms into sections and by providing better accommodations for workers.

An improved food situation will also help, and the State farms are now beginning truck gardens and the raising of hogs and poultry.

It is not unlikely that many State farms will be reduced in size, if not redivided, in some cases into collectives, which this year for the first time proved successful in the majority of cases.

Placed in Charge of Huge Soviet Plant

Defender 10-28-33
Chicago, Ill.

Writer Says Recognition Comes Quickly to Those Who Know

By HOMER SMITH

MOSCOW.—Within less than 90 days after deserting the restricted opportunities everywhere confronting Negroes in the United States, Richard Williams, formerly of Old Greenwich, Conn., is now chief electrical engineer of the maintenance department of the giant Magnitogorsk metallurgical plant, largest and most modern in Europe.

After two months of conferences and preliminary preparations, Comrade Williams received his appointment from the commissariat of heavy industry of the Soviet union and today left Moscow for Magnitogorsk, which is situated in the Ural mountains, the dividing line between Russia proper and Siberia, in a great ore deposit region.

STUDIED UNDER NOTED ELECTRICIAN

Comrade Williams is a graduate of the department of electrical engineering of Columbia University. During his school days one of his teachers was the famous electrical wizard, Steinmetz of the General Electric laboratories. After leaving Columbia, Comrade Williams was for 10 years chief electrical mechanical engineer for the Schlick Razor company and the Dalton Manufacturing company, both located in Old Greenwich.

A distinction and a responsibility rest upon the shoulders of Comrade Williams. He is the first and only Negro engineer in the Soviet union. His new duties place upon him the heavy obligation of maintaining in proper repair and operation the entire electrical apparatus of a steel plant equipped with the most modern metallurgical equipment in the world. Constructed by great German, American and Russian engineers, the plant is one of the prides of the Russian people. Being situated in a region where in winter extremely low temperatures prevail, a heavy burden is placed upon the entire operating mechanism of the great plant.

Under Comrade Williams' direction are more than 150 highly-skilled electrical technicians and engineers. Aside from these subordinates, he has a private secretary and an interpreter.

MAKES GREAT BUILDING DISCOVERY

While working for the Continental Fire Insurance company in New York city, through a series of apparently minor incidents, Comrade Williams was first to make the important discovery that tall buildings sway in the wind, a fact which was later affirmed by, and has since become the common knowledge of, architects and engineers.

Much annoyance and concern was caused the officials and employees of the insurance company when, during strong winds, the lights in the offices momentarily and periodically flickered and became dim. It was Comrade Williams' business to remedy this trouble or to account for its cause. The officials categorically demanded that he produce results "or else—."

Going on an exceedingly windy day—after complaints galore had reached him about the lights—to the top of the building and lying prone, he noticed that the space of daylight between two nearby skyscrapers momentarily and periodically changed in width and form. In order better to observe and confirm the phenomenon, Comrade Williams secured a small piece of board, bored a hole through it, placed it upright at the edg of the building and—like an astronomer peering through his telescope—he saw that the skyscrapers were actually swaying out of line in the wind from one to two inches.

FOUND CAUSE OF SHORT CIRCUITS

Rushing down to one of the upper floors, he ripped up the flooring and discovered that the insulation had been worn off parallel electric wires. Further observation of the wires disclosed to him that with each sway of the building the insulationless wires contacted, thus causing a short circuit which, in turn, resulted in the flickering and dimming of the lights.

Instrumental in securing his appointment to his present important position were the recommendations of Lovett Fort-Whiteman, teacher of biology in the Moscow public schools, and M. M. Borodin, former political adviser to the Canton (China) government and present editor-in-chief of the Moscow Daily News.

As in all matters under Socialism, color played no part in the selection, as Socialism neither recognizes nor bows to color. What was needed by the commissariat of heavy industry was an electrical engineer for a key position. Comrade Williams applied, presented his credentials and recommendations. He had the required qualifications; he received the appointment. Capitalism as it exists in the U. S. A. does not do things that way. Only under Socialism is the door of opportunity open wide for all races.

Charles Young Jr. Makes Fine Record

By HOMER SMITH

RIGA, Latvia, Oct. 27.—After traveling for five days from the vicinity of Tashkent in the far south of the Soviet Union ten American Race cotton specialists today reached Riga to have their American passports extended by the American consul.

Defender 10-28-33
Chicago, Ill.

Invited two years ago by the Soviet government to come to Russia to help improve the culture of cotton, the group, after two years, has done much for the improvement of cotton culture in the south of Russia. Most of the members of the group came from the American cotton-raising states of Alabama, Virginia, South Carolina and Mississippi.

One Returned to U. S. A.

In the original group were 11 American Race people. One had to return to America, leaving in the Soviet Union 1 of the original group.

Their work in Russia has been divided into two parts, one of which had to do with the mechanization of planting, cultivating and harvesting machinery. The other half was assigned to the central plant-breeding station in Tashkent. Each member of the group was given a definite cotton-culture problem to solve for the betterment of Soviet agriculture.

Included in the group is Charles Young Jr., son of Col. Charles Young. He is doing outstanding and recognized work in the mechanical department.

Four of the group, including Comrade Young, have married Russian citizens.

As a unit the group will not return to the South. Some will be retained in the Moscow district in the capacity of guiding chicken raising and truck gardening.

After questioning several members of the group the correspondent learned from them that they had experienced not one bit of race prejudice such as they left behind in "free" America. In the Soviet Union, under Communism, they have access to all advantages, privileges and opportunities to which any other citizen has access.

Labor-1933

Race Problems - 1933

Soviet.

(10-2-34)

Unions, Strikes, etc.

Chief Engineer in Red Plant is Columbia Grad

Richard Williams, Connecticut Man, Gets Post as Chief Electrical Engineer in Metal Works. Once Found New York's Skyscrapers Swaying.

By HOMER SMITH

MOSCOW.—Within less than 90 days after deserting the restricted opportunities everywhere confronting Negroes in the United States, Richard Williams, formerly of Old Greenwich, Conn., is now chief electrical engineer of the maintenance department of the giant Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Plant, largest and most modern in Europe.

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Graduate of Columbia

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With Continental Fire Co.

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Skyscrapers Sway

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Race Problem - 1933

Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
AUG 24 1933

VOLTAIRE AND PAUL GREEN

From the Raleigh Times.

Paul Green, curious product of Harnett County, the Carolina Playmakers, amateur University organization, and for years the mainstay of the latter, is back in Chapel Hill after a year of scenario writing in Hollywood.

More than that, all signs point to Mr. Green having definitely arrived at fortune. He has completed a sound-screen play dealing with the life of Voltaire, the famous French philosopher, poet, dramatist, and liberator of the mind of man; and George Arliss has done the stuff in the title role. Arliss is by all odds the one true actor now appearing on the screen who brings to the pictures something definite in the way of the old lost art of the theatre. If he takes on a Paul Green vehicle, it means that he thinks it worth while, and that means much. Mr. Green is to return to Hollywood in the fall All the probabilities are that he will be lost to the University and to North Carolina, if the play succeeds—and with Arliss to give it life, that is something to be easily discounted.

Not for a long while has an announcement so bemused the imagination. How is Paul Green writing of Voltaire, who heretofore has long been obsessed with Tar Heel tenant farmers, Negroes, and their dialects? Heretofore the scene of his dramas has been in a corner of the world, presumably Harnett County, and the subject matter the obscure problems of his strictly limited characters Now he deals with Voltaire, who strode across the world in big boots, was the confidant of emperors, created revolutions out of his head, dug into and excited the mind of man as it rarely had been influenced before by one personality.

Cheers, of course, for Mr. Green! But it appears that he has done a stunt we could not have imagined was in his system. One is forced to wonder, however, if the vitriolic and learned Voltaire will under the Green treatment be made to show forth any of the qualities of the now familiar Paul Green hey-rubes and rubesses and the darkies in whose life the great event of the year is the spring baptizing!

Race Problem - 1933

Moving Pictures Relating to.

N. A. A. C. P. WOULD STOP TALKIE OF "BIRTH OF A NATION" FILM

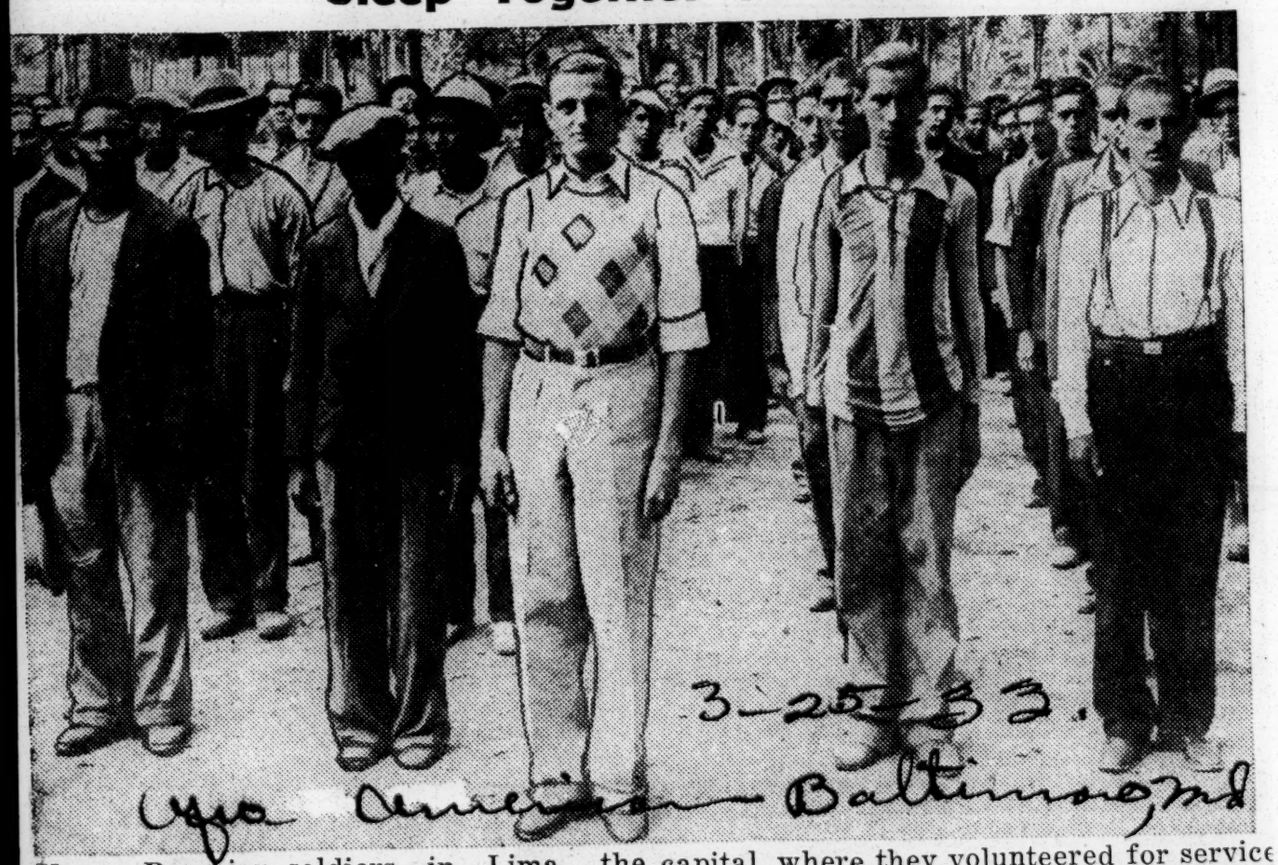
Courier 2-22-33 Pittsburgh Pa.

NEW YORK, Feb. 23.—Announcement in the film gossip column of a New York daily paper that Thomas Dixon, author of "The Clansman," from which the silent picture, "The Birth of a Nation," was made, was seeking to have a talking picture version of the film produced, caused Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., to write the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., urging that no consideration be given such a proposal. The association's letter declared the silent version of the picture depicted Negroes as bestial creatures and that these scenes were presented as historically accurate pictures of the Negro's place in this country's development. It asked that no effort be made to produce a talking picture version because racial strife would be stirred. The producer's association, through Carl E. Milliken, secretary, replied that it had no information indicating interest on the part of any of its companies in a talkng version of "The Birth of a Nation."

Race Problem—1939

South America

Black, White, Red and Mixed Fight, Eat and Sleep Together in Peru



Young Peruvian soldiers in Lima, the capital, where they volunteered for service against Colombia. They are shown at their open-air training camp on the outskirts of the city. Revolt against the Peruvian government broke out recently on the Ecuadorian border. This is one army that knows no color line.

N. Y. SUN

APR 19 1939

Brazil Negroes Ask Schooling.

BAHIA, Brazil (A. P.).—Bahia's Negro political party, the "Frente Negra" (Negro Front), has launched a campaign to combat illiteracy. Torchlight parades indicated popular support of the movement. Brazil is about 75 per cent illiterate.

Race Problem - 1903 I.
United States

The Frontier of the Negro Fight

National Baptist Voice

By Russell Conwell Barbour

Commencement Address Delivered at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, June 6

EDITOR R. C. BARBOUR
Nashville, Tennessee

I am thinking today of the courageous men and women in American history who have been fighting our battles. We do not say enough about them. In all of the history of freedom there is no chapter comparable for a moment to the glorious achievements of these men and women of "oak and rock." Their deeds shine upon the pages of history like stars blazing in the night. They were misunderstood and persecuted by their generation, but they fought on to the goal. Thus the South taught the slaves a lesson. They left their homes, moved over to the frontier and there fought with all of the force they could summon. Many of them lived to see the fruit of their labors; others lived, fought, and passed on. Let us hasten to add that their efforts wrecked cruel institutions and gave liberty and life to slaves. The Negro who does not know something of the early struggle of the slave for freedom, or of the men and women by whose toil and sacrifice it was bought, is living incompletely.

I shall attempt briefly to discuss the Frontier of the Negro Fight. This could easily be a long story, inspiring as it is.

The Negro was not satisfied in slavery. His solution to the slavery issue was insurrection. This feeling found expression in two significant insurrections.

A spontaneous effort for freedom was made in Charleston, S. C., in 1822, under the leadership of a Negro slave, Denmark Vesey. Brought to this country from Santo Domingo, Vesey purchased his freedom in 1800. He felt keenly the exasperating burden of slavery. He, therefore, decided to give his life in the interest of the freedom of his black brothers. He was one of the first Negroes in America to move to the frontier in the long fight of the Negro for justice and freedom. He talked to Negroes in their churches and disturbed their complacency. One day while walking down the street he rebuked a companion for bowing to a person. "We are slaves," he said. "You deserve to be," Vesey replied. He influenced thousands of Negroes in the city of Charleston to join him in his plan of insurrection. In discussing his plans with his lieutenants Vesey made, in my opinion, one of the most significant statements ever uttered by a Negro on American soil. "Take care," said he, "and don't mention the plan to those waiting men who receive presents of old coats, etc., from their masters, for they'll betray us." The "waiting men" betrayed him. His plan was suppressed and 131 Negroes arrested; 35 executed and 43 banished. The courage of these men was reflected in the words of Poyas, who when facing death said to his comrades, "Do not open your lips; die silent as you see me do." 6-17-33 Nashville Tenn. Nine years later Nat Turner was restless in Southampton County, Va. He organized a small group of slaves and on the night of the eclipse of the sun in 1831, they struck a blow for freedom. Three score white people were killed. The leaders of the insurrection were captured and 17 slaves executed, 12 transported, and 53 discharged.

David Walker died in Boston before he realized his plan to strike a blow for his black brothers in the South. The Negro was trying to fight his way out of bondage; choosing death to serfdom. Their blood is on the long frontier of the Negro fight.

In 1829, the American nation was asleep. Oliver Johnson graphically describes that era. "The rumblings of the earthquake that threatened the destruction of the young republic were not heard by millions. The state was morally paralyzed: the pulpit was dumb; the church heeded not the cry of the slave. Commerce, greedy for gain, piled her hoards by the unpaid toil of the bondmen. Judgment was turned away backward; justice stood afar off; truth fell in the street, and equity could not enter. Men talked of slavery with a moral blindness and perverseness.

Then was heard the voice crying in the wilderness, calling people to repentance. William Lloyd Garrison, a youth of 24 years, moved over to the frontier and was ready for the fight. Calhoun, dictator of the South, said slavery was right. Webster, Clay, Everett and many other acknowledged patriots evaded the question. Let it alone! they said. The evil was too great to be removed by war, and could not be destroyed without an infringement on what the South considered its rights.

Urged on by Benjamin Lundy, the Quaker, Garrison alone, proclaimed slavery a sin and should be immediately destroyed. They called him crazy and many other harsh names. He lived on bread and water; suffered imprisonment; fought the church politicians, the colleges, preachers of the Gospel who

> "Torturing the pages of the Hallowed Bible
> To sanction robbery, and crime and blood."

Lowell said it was "the day of small things, when one straightforward conscience was put in pawn to win the world."

Garrison organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society and published the Liberator as its mouthpiece. For 35 years he remained on the frontier undaunted and unafraid. He brought to bear upon the American republic a terrible public opinion.

What shall we say of Lovejoy, Wendel Phillips—the "Plumed Knight," Parker, Whittier, Lydia Child, May, Charles Sumner, Beecher, Har-

riet Beecher Stowe, John Brown, and many others? They stopped the mouths of wolves, turned to flight armies of enemies, tormented because they loved liberty, and for the slaves' sake were slain with the sword. Their memory is a golden cord binding us to eternal principles. Absent, they enrich us as those present cannot.

The Civil War was fought. Finally America caught up. The Liberator was discontinued in 1865 and Garrison said he was leaving what remained to be done to other instrumentalities. He left the frontier. The slave was free.

Then came the Yankee school teacher from the North. These Godfearing men and women left their homes to live in the South with the emancipated slaves. They gave fresh evidence that Christianity was not dead. Backed by the Freedmen's Bureau, The American Missionary Association, The American Baptist Home Mission Society, Freedmen's Aid Society, the Quakers and other organizations, these great men and women spent their lives on the frontier of the Negro fight for intelligence. If you would see their monuments, look about you. The story of this era is told in the work of Cravath at Fisk, Ware at Atlanta University, Armstrong at Hampton, Graves at Morehouse, Tupper at Shaw, Packard and Giles at Spelman College. I would like to hear Dean Adams of Atlanta University tell this story; he could do it better than I. These great men and women suffered social ostracism and intimidation each day of their lives.

Finally America caught up. High schools and colleges sprang up everywhere. Philanthropic agencies and educational boards poured millions into the South for the education of the Negro. The Yankee school-teacher's work was done.

In 1905, twenty-nine Negro leaders organized the Niagara Movement. They moved over on the frontier of the Negro fight under the leadership of Monroe Trotter. They carried on the fight for the full citizenship rights of the Negro. The Niagara Movement died after three or four years. Their principles were incorporated in the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which was organized in 1910. This new organization set out to make 11,000,000 Americans physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement, and socially free from insult.

The Negro colleges of America have sent one Negro to the frontier in the last 45 years. Our benefactors should feel proud of us. We have been quite a decent and respectable group in an era which demanded at least two or three cranks and fanatics.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois left Atlanta University in 1910 to become the Director of Publicity and Research for the N. A. A. C. P. For twenty-three years he has fought on the frontier. He has waged a ceaseless fight under discouraging conditions. To be sure we have had other able leaders who fought behind the lines and contributed much to our advancement.

You remember the story of the great Hebrew, Moses. Down in Egypt he had two choices. He had the ear of the king. He could have remained in Egypt and with the help of the king built colleges, homes, and acted as a pacificator, and perhaps indulged in a little research work while his people toiled on in slavery. He could have served on inter-racial commissions. Or there was the choice of pulling up stakes, leaving the king's palace and battling on the frontier. Moses chose the latter, and for that choice he deserves the greatest praise.

Had Dr. Du Bois kept his mouth closed, remained at Atlanta University, he would today be the most popular Negro in America. He has fought almost alone. A few good white people, and a very few Negroes have helped.

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The Crisis magazine not only fought the battles of the Negro, but especially came to the defense of Negro intellectuals. And they have been the very ones to ignore it. I look in vain for this magazine in the homes of our doctors, lawyers and educated classes. I feel safe in saying that Negro intellectuals have been indifferent to this frontier fight.

Several months ago an S. O. S. call came to us from the Crisis. There was the danger of the militant journal suspending publication because of the lack of funds. In the midst of this crisis the Greek letter fraternity brothers traveled over the country to their annual meeting. As President John W. Davis of West Virginia State College pointed out, "Rome was burning." The orchestra played, "Let's Put Out the Lights and Go to Sleep." For one time a jazz orchestra played to the point. The boys were asleep—asleep to the challenge of the hour; asleep to the possibilities of what education can do for a man.

We could wish that our young men would throw the Greek letter fraternities out of the window. The Negro fraternal order was a sincere effort to keep the Negro from poverty. The members of the order at least sat up with their brothers when they were ill and buried them in death. The Greek letter fraternity buries the young Negro alive—mind, soul and body.

Negro intellectuals have not been to the frontier, and worse still, are not thinking about going. They have stood by with utter indifference. The fact that the eminent leader of the N. A. A. C. P. has moved off the frontier takes nothing away from his distinguished career. After Matthew Arnold had fought the Philistines of his day he came back with broken body and tired mind to Oxford—Oxford spreading her gardens to the moonlight, from whose towers echoed the last enchantments of the 15th century. May the modern leader of the frontier rest beneath the elms of Atlanta University! Revile him not! The tempter hath a snare for us all.

The N. A. A. C. P. is through. The history of this organization could be written today and I dare venture to say no changes would be necessary in the future. The organization is fast becoming sane, decent and respectable. Twenty years ago when the N. A. A. C. P. leaders came around we firmly gripped the benches for we knew some bomb shells would explode. These leaders today speak apologetically as Mr. Walter White did at the Rosenwald Economic Conference in Washington a few weeks ago. For the first time in the history of America the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sisters of the Confederacy, The American Federation of Labor, The American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, the National Urban League, Colleges, Baptist and Methodist preachers, the North, East, South and West, and the N. A. A. C. P. stand together on one issue: Stop the Reds! What a motley crew!

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1. Mr. Walter White says, "If this day of revolution comes, I am awfully afraid that a lot of these whites, who are now clamoring for it, will do the dictating."

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Of course all of these reasons are rationalizations. The fourth reason is more to the point. I asked a friend of mine several days ago whether or not he was a member of the Communist party. To my surprise he said, "No. I am not willing, to make the personal sacrifice to become a Communist. I would have to give up my position and my wife and children would suffer," he concluded. After all, you cannot be too severe on a man for protecting his ham and eggs. This friend was at least frank and honest.

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II

Race Problem - 1933
United States.

Negroes to Communism whether we like it or not. If you were in jail about to be lynched and your respectable friends did nothing to help, would you examine the lapel of a man's coat to see whether or not he was a democrat or a republican, socialist or communist before you accepted his aid? I am sure you would not.

As far as we are concerned our leaders need not be disturbed about us. We will be the last ones to leave the dear old Republican party and the capitalistic society. A young man came by our home a few days ago to say good-bye. He had finished his medical course. With a smile across his face he said: "Good-bye Reverend: I must be going; I am late already; I plan to be rich in ten years." Thus he went forth to exploit his people. I am positive about one thing: There is not a man in this class who entertains the idea of ever becoming president of the United States. I am not so certain that there isn't a man in the class who does not believe in a few years he will be able to make monthly payment on a Packard. The lackeys of a system are always the last ones to leave it. An old refrain comes to mind, and I think expresses the inner thought of our intellectuals;

"Come weal, come woes,
Our status is quo." 6-17-33

A word from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress comes to mind: He that is down needs fear no fall."

We are living today between two worlds. One is dead; the other is in the process of being born. This question comes to mind: What can the college graduate do?

Facing the justified question of the college graduate of 1932 as to what he is to do with his life, Mr. Walter Lippmann advised the graduating class of Columbia University "to detach themselves from the world's preoccupations, refusing to let themselves be absorbed by distractions about which as scholars they can do almost nothing."

Surely there is more to be said than advising the scholar to avert his face from the disturbing world. That advice is too easy. There is one thing that even a minimum of scholarship ought to do for a man. . . make him suspicious of the easiest path in every field of endeavor. It is easy for the scholar in a disenchanted age to become contemptuous of the world's imperfections; but such contempt is no good companion for him in his cloistered hours, and it is not salutary even for his mind.

There is a lot of unfinished business on the table of the world. Here are some things we can do:

1. There are the masses of Negroes waiting for leadership. In the past we have been indifferent to them; more than that, we have hated them. The young Negro intellectual acts as if he were the master of this civilization. There is not the least indication about his life that he has some down and out relatives.

There is in this country a distinguished scholar from Poland. He has been traveling around the world studying minority groups. He came to one of our leading colleges a few weeks ago. A professor gave him access to the life stories of 200 students. After reading them he said to the professor, "I can't believe it, I can't believe it; I have never seen this before." What? the professor inquired. "There is not one line in these life stories," the Polish scholar said, that indicates that these students are members of a minority group.

A friend of mine told me about an experience he had in one of our large cities. There is a high-brow social club there. An invitation is extended to visitors to this club only on two conditions: Someone must die or leave town. Someone left town and he was invited to one of the socials. Yielding to the suggestion of his wife, he decided to attend the monthly meeting in the lobby of one of our leading hotels. Frequently during the evening working men passed through the lobby of the hotel. One of the ladies of the club, with all of the indignation she could summon, remarked with feeling, "Did you see those Negroes looking at us?" Just looking, that's all. I have traveled all over the South; I have felt the sting of prejudice in many sections, but I hardly think I remember anybody objecting to be looked upon. You talk about caste in India, in this case you have a bitterness and a disdain more pronounced than in any other group or country in the world.

In my opinion the future of the Negro lies with the masses. We have spent most of our time with the intellectuals, and what success have we experienced? If our colleges should send twelve men out in the world this year to contact Negroes on Decatur Street in Atlanta, Cedar Street in Nashville, State Street in Chicago, Lenox Avenue in New York as well as other places, great changes for the better would be brought about.

2. We can raise the cultural level of the Negro. Mr. Fred McCuistan of the Rosenwald Fund reminds us that 38. 7 per cent of the Negro teaching force in the South has less than high school training, and 58 per cent have less than two years beyond high school. He also reminds us that "the typical rural Negro teacher of the South is a woman of rural heritage about 27 years of age. She has completed high school and about ten weeks in Summer schools. She teaches 47 children through six grades for a term of six-months, remaining about two years in the same school. Her annual salary is $360.00, or one dollar a day.

3. If you are interested in medicine you need not think of moving to Chicago or New York or Philadelphia where the doctors are eating each other up, so to speak. There are nine hundred Negroes in Texas City, Texas, and not one Negro physician. I could call your attention to many other places like this. Howard University and Meharry Medical College have graduated more than 4,000 men in medicine. You will find a high percentage of them in the large cities.

4. You must remember that the Negro owns his church. If there is any place in America where the Negro has an opportunity for self-expression it certainly is in the Negro pulpit. It is his throne. There are no listening millionaires there whose dollars pay the bills. Even the professors at Columbia and Ohio State Universities must talk in an undertone, not to mention our Negro colleges. In the Negro church you will find five million Negroes waiting for you.

Our leaders of thought agree that we are moving from a competitive to a cooperative society. We must help our people get ready for this new society. The biologist tells us that the amoeba has never developed from the one cell specie. His average size is about .25 m. m. He then splits in the back. Instead of having one large amoeba, there are two. Somewhere in the blood stream of the Negro there entered that spirit of division. He has great capacity to divide, to split up. Look at us now: We are fighting all over the place. Somebody must take the lead in helping us rid ourselves of these divisive elements.

We face issues today which challenge our very existence. These are times which try our souls. We must set our faces like flint.

To be alive in such an age.
To live in it.
To give in it.
Rise, soul, from thy despairing knees,
What if thy lips have drunk the lees?
The passion of a larger claim
Will put thy puny grief to shame.
Fling forth thy sorrow to the wind,
Breathe the world-thought, do the world-deed,
Think highly of thy brother's need.
Give thanks with all thy flaming heart,
Crave but to have in it a part,
Give thanks, and clasp thy heritage—
To be alive in such an age!

'ABE' LINCOLN HYPOCRITE, SAYS J. A. ROGERS

Afro-American
2-19-33

Emancipator Knew of Thomas Jefferson's Mulatto Children.

SOCIAL EQUALITY IRKED LINCOLN

He Said Races Were Incompatible.

Special to the AFRO.

NEW YORK—A Race Relations meeting listening to the usual platitudes concerning Abraham Lincoln at Mother Zion Church, 140 W. 137th Street, Sunday, was severely jolted by J. A. Rogers, author and newspaper correspondent, when he termed the Emancipator a "big hypocrite."

J. A. ROGERS

After several speakers praised Lincoln and added that Christianity was the sole solution of the race problem, Rogers declared that the greatest obstacle to a better understanding was the immense amount of hypocrisy on the part of both races, especially the whites.

Not Honest Enough

"Lincoln," he said, "did very much I admired. He was called 'Honest' Abe, but on the race question he wasn't honest enough for me.

"He must have known, for instance, that Thos. Jefferson, third president of the United States, had a brood of mulatto children, as well as other prominent whites of the period, yet

Lincoln said, "that there was an inherent incompatibility between the races that will ever prevent their living together.'

"In this respect Lincoln was as big a hypocrite as the rest.

Social Equality

What greater proof of social equality could we have wanted than a president of the United States consorting with a black woman?"

Rogers further declared that he thought the race question would never be solved under the present economic order; that the darker races of the world were getting ready to settle their quarrel "with the swish of the sword" and that the American Negro would benefit in consequence.

Rev. Brown Objects

The Rev. J. W. Brown, pastor, and others immediately objected. Twice the Rev. Mr. Brown called upon Mr. Rogers to retract and on each occasion he made matters worse. Finally, the Rev. Mr. Brown asked Mr. Rogers to give some word of hope to the people to which he replied:

Real Hope

"Anything I could say on that would be a waste of time. We are naturally hopeful. The only real hope would be to have the white people lift off the heavy burden they impose on us. That is what is keeping us back."

Rogers also suggested that we should do more to advertise ourselves in a constructive way among the white people and win more friends among them. Only last week ,he said, he met a New York City high school teacher who said he had never heard of a colored newspaper.

Dismissed Teacher Scores Dr. Snavely

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., March 26.—(AP)—Declaring his dismissal as professor of sociology at Birmingham-Southern College, Methodist institution here, was a result of "my too liberal sociological views," Dr. Kenneth E. Barnhart has appealed to the board of trustees to rescind the action.

Dr. Guy E. Snavely, president of the college, said, in notifying Dr. Barnhart his services would not be needed after the close of the present scholastic year, that the Department of Sociology was being discontinued as an economy move.

"Economy is not the real reason," Dr. Barnhart said. "Dr. Snavely disagrees with liberal views I have held. Shortly after I came to the school he made me change the text books because one of the ministerial students objected to a chapter about evolution.

"The question is one of academic freedom rather than budgetary requirement. During the last year I have taught more students than any other professor on the campus, and the tuition they paid for my classes would almost double my salary."

Explaining that liberalism had not been a factor in Dr. Barnhart's dismissal, Dr. Snavely said his case had been resubmitted to the Board, but that it had declined to reconsider the action.

Answering Dr. Barnhart's charge that changes had been made in text books, Dr. Snavely said they had been done so with mutual consent. He added that he regretted economic conditions made it necessary to discharge the professor.

A former member of the faculty of Harris Teachers College at St. Louis, Dr. Barnhart came to the school here in 1928.

SPEAKING FOR THE NEGRO.

Jules Sauerwein, foreign editor of L Paris Soir, who has been on another visit to the United States to further familiarize himself with economic, political and social questions as they directly affect this country, went South. He says it took him a good twenty-four hours in Dixie before he discovered it differs from the rest of America. "It is not because of the blossoming of the cotton; nor on account of the yellow and hideous flood of the Mississippi, but due rather to the elements of the moral order, and especially the collaboration between a white population, for the most part installed on the soil for several generations, and a black population which is truly indigenous here," the French writer explains.

Jules Sauerwein confesses that when he asked a cotton magnate what he thought of "your Negroes," and was told, "we are very fond of them," the simple declaration gave him much food for thought. The cotton magnate should have been importuned to expatiate on the degree of fondness and if it differed materially from that felt for horses, mules and other beasts of burden.

Monsieur Sauerwein relates that one evening he dined with an old family—two sons, daughters and grandchildren, surrounding the venerable grandmother with respectful devotion—in a patriarchal mansion. During a discussion of the race problem he asked to read certain novels dealing wtih the life of whites and blacks on Southern plantations. Instantly the old lady betrayed such indignation that tears came to her eyes. Said she:

"No, do not read those horrors; those books will give you the most false idea; we people of the South do not despise the Negroes and we are not regarded as tyrants by them; they are toilers—not always very ardent, but always devoted when one knows how to take them; they are affectionate servants. As a little girl I have known slaves; they made part of the family; now they are free they ask nothing better than to abide wtth us. If we become too poor to pay them they propose, almost without exception, to continue to serve us in ou dire need."

Such was the word picture of the rural Negro worker given by this sympathetic, well-intentioned octogenarian, who could be nothing other than uncompromisingly pater-nalistic and full of maudlin sentiment. She mirrors the thoughts, traditions and attitudes of another day. Perhaps the most unanswerable answer to what the black field hand personally thinks on the subject are statistics showing that between 1915 and 1920, and between 1920 and 1925, many thousands of Negroes deserted the plantations of the South for industrial centers of the North to improve their lot economically, politically and socially.

It is strange that in seeking information about the Negro many white writers interview and talk with everybody except the Negro, who has a personal knowledge of himself as is, and the ability to intelligently and convincingly give his point of view.

THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNORSHIP

The colored people of the United States were emphatically opposed to but one measure recommended by President Roosevelt to the special session of Congress for enactment—that of conferring him with authority to appoint a non-resident Governor for Hawaii. Thanks to a Republican filibuster shortly before an adjournment was taken, by the Senate sine die. Democratic leaders were forced to drop the proposal which had been passed by the House of Representatives.

One of the reasons assigned for the introduction of the Hawaiian bill in Congress was that the islanders had been unable to agree on a nominee—which is similar to old excuse sometimes given for not appointing a Negro to a responsible position—"Negroes could not get together; therefore, a white man had to be named."

Committee, who urged the bill's passage, let the cat out of the bag during debate when he referred to the Massie trial, saying:

That occurrences with the mixed races that reside in Hawaii, has tended to divide people into two groups. They are not homogeneous. Crime has increased on a very large scale. I am advised by reputable citizens of Hawaii that the reasons for this is that the police force is divided into two groups, and that a policeman of a certain racial derivation will not arrest violators of the law of his own race.

Senator Tydings must be familiar with the history of the Hawaiian Islands and knows that the population at one time was homogeneous and that it is not the fault of the natives that it is not so today. Were he to read the testimony in the notorious Massie case he would learn that U. S service men, who assume they have the right to do as they please when off duty, flagrantly violate the law and do much to arouse racial antagonisms.

Nothing has done so much to put the island in bad repute for lawlessness as the Massie case, in which an officer of the U. S. Navy and enlisted men took the law in their own hands and murdered a Hawaiian. Other natives accused of implication in the Massie case but never found guilty, were assaulted by sailors. If ill feeling exists between the races it is the aftermath of the Massie case and provoked by service men.

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Senator Tydings of the Territories Committee, who urged the bill's passage, let the cat out of the bag during debate when he referred to the Massie trial, saying:

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Senators Borah, Norris, LaFollette and Vandenberg were among the Republican Senators to vigorously oppose a change in the naming of a Governor for Hawaii law of another race might be applicable to some sections of the mainland. Senator Borah maintaining that the measure was an indictment of the people of Hawaii as being incapable of local self-government.

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Race Problem - 1933 I

United States

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
AGE HERALD

MAY 14 1933

THE NEGRO, THE SOUTH AND OUTSIDERS

To the Editor The News:

Please allow us to make a few observations on the letter appearing in your edition of May 10 by one Thomas W. Watson, of Tuscaloosa, entitled, "Negroes and Communist Propaganda."

Watson maintains that the activities of the I. L. D. and the Communists have only succeeded in destroying the good-will of the white people, etc. We are of the opinion that if after living with the white people in the South for more than 200 years, somebody can come from any place and inflame them against us, with all the cards stacked against us on every hand, their friendship has no fundamental and righteous basis. We think that the poorest excuse in the world for mistreating a Negro—especially when there is so much talk about superiority—convicting him for crimes he obviously did not commit and then saying, "We did it because you made us mad." Must justice and good-will be relegated because a man is mad? True Americans would not do that, a savage might.

You can rely upon the best type of Negro and white man alike to agree to the fact that the Negro still does not get justice in the South. Ask Dr. Moton, in his book, "What the Negro Thinks." Dr. Moton is no fool! And he says in substance, "The Negro still can not get justice in the South." Dr. Kenneth Barnhart, of Birmingham-Southern College, says what all whites and blacks know, that Negroes are framed in courts and are blocked and hedged by discriminatory practices everywhere. Watson knows this, too. He knows that there is not a Negro in the South who deliberately turns to the Communists or outside agencies in crucial moments until he has become convinced that he can not get a break here. Watson knows that all sensible white people know that; they also know that it is the duty of the Southern white man to give the Negro simple justice and a square deal. And we all know the reason they don't do it is because, although they camouflage about "social equality" and such trick phrases, the matter is an economic one. He wants the Negro to exist for the state and the law, and the law to exist for the white man. Any Negro that will agree to that is a "good Negro." Those who do not are "smart." The system demands, on these premises, that the latter be bought out or done away with. We have met a lot of white people here who, like the intelligent Negro, are sick and tired of this "Uncle Tom, head-scratching, cap'n" Negro. No white or black man who is not trying to fool himself or play others for a fool can get the idea over in this day that he loves any man who does not believe in himself and his people or who wants to still be a "nigger." Tom Watson knows that the reason that some Negroes are taking an interest in Communism is because they are like a drowning man that catches anything. They all prefer that the South avail itself of the opportunity to give the Negro a fair break, but if the South does not do so, it is guilty of providing the basis that furnishes outsiders an opportunity to spread their gospels. Let the South remove the cause and there will be no need for Watson to keep telling them not to mix up with outsiders.

We are not Communists nor do we belong to the I. L. D. But we do know the South better than the South knows the Negro. Watson and his type are simply trying to fool the white folks. They have an ax to grind. If we do not miss our guess they will be around for a donation of some sort very soon. And the surprise of surprises is there are so many white people who go down in their pockets and pay for such boloney.

There are thousands of Negroes all over the South who are fully capable to sit on the juries; they have been here for years and years. The best white people know it. The best black people know it. No white man would ever be satisfied going into a court where the judge, the jury, the arresting officers and all concerned were black, with 300 or more years of prejudice in their hearts. It is contrary to human nature to have confidence in an arrangement like that. Especially when we all know "prejudice destroys the soul that harbors it."

Neither white nor black man should allow any individual act to inflame them against another race. For like the rattlesnake, when made mad, if you get a long stick and keep on prodding him at a safe distance, he keeps jumping over trying to bite the thing that is prodding him until he bites himself. And then he dies of his own poison. It is still true that "if you would destroy any man first make him mad."

ROBERT DURR,
E. H. MURPHY.

Birmingham.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVE. SUN

JUN 7 1933

Thinks The Negro Is Treated As Badly In This Country As Is The Jew In Germany

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—Sir:

I noticed that the National Conference Against Racial Persecution has asked the aid of President Roosevelt to help the Jews in Germany. Naturally I feel sorry for these down-trodden people. But there is one question which I would like to ask the readers of the Forum. Why is it that this conference has o g al. the way to Germany to help the Jews, when the Negro in America is being treated just as bad as the Jews in Germany?

There is only one way in which I can link of this question and that is that the American people regard the Jews in Germany as better American citizens than the American Negro.

HARRY MAYERS, JR.

Baltimore, June 6.

NEW YORK

HARTFORD CONN TIMES
APRIL 27 1933

FAIR TREATMENT FOR NEGRO ASKED

Racial Problem in United States Emphasized at Meeting of Prominent Local Group.

SEVERAL SPEAKERS HEARD

Providing Intelligent Leadership Is Termed Challenge to Democracy's Success.

"Mass murder of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States is the only way out of the social problem, if you feel the Negro is a permanent problem," asserted Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald fund, and author of "Brown America," last night at the Town and County c'ub, before 135 prominent Hartford people.

He spoke following a dinner given by a committee of seven, for the purpose of discussing the new leadership of Negroes in America, politically, educationally, and economically, with special reference to the work of Fisk university at Nashville, Tenn.

Other Speakers.

Other speakers included Dr. Edward Mims of Vanderbilt university, who is a southern member of the general education board; Paul D. Cravath, president of the Metropolitan Opera association, anw James Weldon Johnson, Negro poet; and Dr. Thomas E. Jones, president of Fisk.

The smallness of the present-day world and the unity of all countries and races was emphasized by Dr. Embree. "We can't isolate ourselves from the rest of the world," he asserted, and pointed out the foreign news, vitally affecting our every-day affairs, which is printed in newspapers.

He told of the contributions to culture given by the Negro, particularly folk lore, folk music, and a joy of living and work. To continue the Negro must be educated adequately to use the tools of civilization, he said.

The dinner was arranged by a committee consisting of A. A. Welch, Arthur P. Day, Harrison B. Freeman, Charles Welles Gross, Robert W. Huntington, Lucius F. Robinson, and Dr. William Douglas Mackenzie.

Dr. Mackenzie opened the meeting and briefly outlined racial problems throughout the world.

Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. T. Seaverns, Chief Justice and Mrs. William M. Maltbie, Miss Julia Havemeyer, Louis R. Cheney, William Brosmith, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur M. Collens, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Countryman, jr., Miss Mary Hooker, Mr. and Mrs. Lucius Barbour, Rabbi and Mrs. Abraham J. Feldman, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Bulkeley, and Mrs. Normand J. Allen.

James Weldon Johnson, Negro poet and professor of creative literature at Fisk, stated the Negro problem in the United States.

The Negro Problem.

"There are about 12,000,000 people of more or less African blood," he said, "a group of full citizens in name but only half citizens in fact, a group isolated industrially, politically, socially and even religiously, a group that offers special temptation and opportunity for exploitation and for the working of injustice, oppression and cruelty by the dominant majority, a group that involuntarily constitutes a menace to democracy."

He mentioned that the history of that group extended back 300 years, beginning two years before the landing of the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth, when twenty Africans landed at Jamestown.

"The great problem is the work of providing from within the race, intellectual leadership," he told his audience. "If we fail to meet it, democracy in America fails with us."

"The exodus of Negroes from the south to the north after the World war, not only of exceptional men and women but a mass movement, served to nationalize the problem," Dr. Mims asserted. "Wherever the race has assembled, in large numbers, serious problems of housing, education and politics have arisen. But leading intellectuals of the race are starting an exodus to the schools and colleges of the south and are learning that opportunities of service to the greatest number lie there."

"Despite what many would call unjust race discrimination and sometimes rank injustice, you may find evidence of good will and co-operation between the two races. Local interracial committees have substantial achievements to their credit, and have developed plans of procedure and a spirit of friendship that augur well for the future."

Dr. Mims spoke for the liberal south, and spoke of changes that have taken place in the life and thought of southern people.

"There are more white men and women actively working for the improvement of race relations and the education and welfare of the Negro than ever before, and of great importance is the fact that the Negroes yearn for greater opportunities and respond eagerly to all that is done for them," he said.

Paul D. Cravath, New York lawyer, president of the Metropolitan Opera company, and president of the board of trustees of Fisk university, traced the growth of organized education of the Negro since the Civil war. Before that war, needs of the slaves were administered by their owners, and there was no occasion to develop Negro leaders, he said.

When 4,000,000 slaves were freed, they created one of the greatest social problems in the country. At first mission schools were started, then schools of higher education, not always wisely managed.

During the past few years, Mr. Cravath said, intelligent people have realized the need for higher education for Negroes, and the question is now not whether they shall be educated, but how.

ARKANSAS SENATOR FLAYS WHITE RACE HATERS IN LENGTHY SPEECH FROM SENATE FLOOR

SENATORS FROM BOTH SIDES OF CHAMBER JOIN DEMOCRATIC LEADER IN WARNING MESSAGE TO "WHITE SUPREMACY" ZEALOTS

"The Millenium Has Not Come," Arkansan Admonishes Colleagues

WASHINGTON, June 22.—(ANP)—The voice of the administration admonishing southern white race haters was heard last Saturday on the senate floor as Democratic Leader Joe T. Robinson of Arkansas, read to his colleagues a lengthy prepared speech on the "persecution of Negroes in the United States."

Nor was Senator Robinson alone in his warning message to the "white supremacy" zealots of the South. He was joined by senators from both sides of the chamber.

The galleries applauded as Senator Robinson asserted:

"It is sickening and terrific to realize that a great people, whose advance during thousands of years has been marked by notable achievements in the arts and sciences, should respond to impulses of cruelty and inhumanity which when they have spent their force will have lowered the white civilization of the south in the opinion of all peoples with whom the United States must have social and commercial relations throughout the future."

While not advertised as such, the speech of the Democratic leader was considered as certainly having the approval if not the inspiration of President Roosevelt and the state department.

He reviewed in detail the evidence concerning the southern white policy of persecution of the Negro.

"It is not suggested," he said, "that the federal government intervene or attempt to determine the domestic policies of the southern people.

"Such cruel policies as are referred to will bring their own penalties. They will result in loss of international prestige in moral reaction among the American people of far reaching effect in the loss of economic stability.

"It has sometimes been said that the Negroes are a people without a country. In a sense that is true; but in a broader sense is it not known that Negroes have made their home in every land? That the characteristic of the Negro is peacefulness and respect for public authority?

"It must be recognized that intolerance and persecution take many forms and from time to time their serpent-like heads appear to poison and terrify the tolerant and the just in every land. It is deplorable that education and enlightenment have not crushed and destroyed these foes of liberty and happiness.

"May we not with propriety express the hope that wholesome world opinion may influence sentiment in the south so that in time—a short time—the iron grip of racial hatred may be relaxed and the Negroes again be permitted to enjoy fair freedom?"

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE TEACHER WRITES IN BANNER

"South Guided by Politics And Emotion" Says Eminent Educator Facts

Appearing in The Nashville Banner Sunday, Jan. 8th, under the caption of "SOUTH GUIDED BY EMOTIONS," Dr. Ullin W. Leavell, professor of education at the George Peabody College for Teachers, and Mr. E. S. Richardson, parish superintendent at Minden, La., are out in articles on education "Education and Interracial Understanding."

The following is a reproduction of what The Nashville Banner carried in that issue:

Politics and emotion have guided the interracial policies of the South long enough. Race relationships should now be considered as a public school problem for both races to solve and for which suitable study material should be introduced in the early elementary grades.

This is the opinion expressed by Dr. Ullin W. Leavell, professor of education at George Peabody College for Teachers, and E. S. Richardson, parish superintendent at Minden, La., in a news article on "Education and Interracial Understanding."

"Frankly and flatly it is proposed that factual material on the subject be carefully worked out by capable persons, fair-minded Southerners of both races, for use as content material in the schools," the article asserts, declaring that regardless of how unimportant the Southern Negro may now be in politics he remains a major factor in Southern poverty, health, and education.

A continuous program of fair publicity is one of the great needs in the bringing about of the better understanding that will make a truly educational study of the problem possible, according to the article, which declares that no method is more effective in the dissemination of information than the press and which also declares that every effort should be made to curb inflammatory propaganda so often seen in Negro newspapers.

"This type of publicity is becoming a greater menace to peace and harmony than any other one factor," they assert.

As for newspapers of the white race, the educators advocate that newspaper men be interviewed frequently and urged to present more facts about Negro achievement, rather than to emphasize only such items as the Negro's crimes, court proceedings, the number of Negroes in jail and sent to the penitentiary.

The material for use in schools should be worked out by means of local and State-wide committees keenly and sympathetically interested in the problem. Such a plan, according to the belief expressed, would clarify or eliminate many acute racial problems now pending and ultimately would develop sentiment to the point that "rash racial crimes" would not be countenanced.

"Because of our proximity to the situation, we have failed to realize the importance of the economic side of the race question. No section of the country can develop in a wholesome way when a large per cent of its people are in poverty," they declare.

Dr. Leavell is one of the outstanding leaders in interracial activities. He is a member of the executive committee of the Peabody conference on education and race relations and during the summer quarter at Peabody teaches the only class in the South on dual education.

A REBUKE TO HARPER'S AND A PREJUDICED CONTRIBUTOR

Apropos a recent article in Harper's on prison conditions in the South, particularly Alabama, Dr. Roland M. Harper, geographer on the staff of the State geologist at the University of Alabama, has written the following letter to the editor of Harper's, a copy of which he has been good enough to let The Advertiser see. Since Dr. Harper is a native of New England rather than the South he should be above the suspicion of sectional prejudice in favor of the South. His letter is herewith printed as an appropriate substitute for editorial comment by The Advertiser:

"University, Ala.,
"May 6, 1933.

"Editor Harper's Magazine,
"49 East 33rd Street, New York,
"Dear Sir:

"A friend has recently lent me a copy of the April issue of your magazine, in which I find among other things a malicious article on the treatment of convicts in the South, that seems utterly out of place in a supposedly reputable magazine like yours, however appropriate it might have been for some of our muck-raking periodicals that I need not name. Your predecessors of a generation ago would hardly have stooped so low as to publish such an article. I never heard of the author before, and do not know whether he is white or black or some intermediate shade, or what his particular grudge against the South is. I notice that you say of him that he was born in the mountains of Tennessee; but in his first paragraph he mentions that at the age of seven he was living in West Tennessee (which is a long way from the mountains.) You give his present residence as Connecticut, so I suppose he has some reason for not feeling safe in the land of his birth.

"Perhaps I should say before I go any further that I was born in Maine, and neither I nor any of my relatives, as far as I know, ever got South of Mason and Dixon's line until I was about nine years old; but I believe in justice to all sections, and even in giving the devil his due. And I am decidedly not one of those who believe in publishing only agreeable facts. Indeed I have encountered considerable opposition in attempting to tell the whole truth about some Southern States myself. But I believe that when unflattering facts are presented they should be put in their proper relation to everything else, and not singled out as if they were the whole story. Even if everything Mr. Wilson says about the cruelties in Southern prison camps were true, it falls far short of being the whole truth, and that is what makes it unfair. One might go through the records of police courts in New York City for any year and compile a long list of atrocities, but that would not prove that New York is not a fit place to live in. (My home was in New York most of the time from 1900 to 1921, so I know something about it.)

"Mr. Wilson evidently wants his readers to believe that the conditions he describes are peculiar to the South; but he presents not a particle of evidence that the same things do not happen with equal frequency elsewhere. (What about the 'third degree' commonly used on unconvicted prisoners in New York?) If I remember rightly, the serious prison riots of the last few years have all been in the North and West, which would seem to indicate that the prisoners in those sections are not wholly satisfied with their lot. And are not the few prisoners burned to death in North Carolina in 1931 more than matched by the number lost in northern penitentiary fires about the same time?

"A few little things aside from the main argument illustrate the author's desperate efforts to discredit the South by contemptible tricks. On page 536 he refers to Governor 'Tom' Kilby of Alabama, as if to imply he was a very common sort of person; whereas he was and is a gentleman, and perhaps as good a governor as the State has ever had; and I do not recall any valid criticisms that have ever been made of his administration. On page 540 he refers to vermin-infested convict cages

Race Problem—1933 II
United States.

creaking along hot sandy dusty roads, as if the vermin were put in the cages and the axles left ungreased, just to annoy the prisoners, and as if all Southern roads were hot, sandy and dusty. (Even if the roads were all unimproved, Southern soils are not all sandy, and we have plenty of cold, rainy weather, too.)

"Mr. Wilson's main argument is that the alleged cruelty to prisoners is due mainly to a desire for profit; and he would probably like to have us conclude that all northern officials are so philanthropic that they have no desire to exploit persons who are so unfortunate as to transgress the laws. But whatever may be true of other times and places, Alabama's convicts at present are a liability rather than an asset. Their upkeep is so expensive that the State has become bankrupt; the schools are closed in many of the counties, some of the teachers have not been paid for months, and even the State Board of Health has had to practically suspend operations. The convicts are getting their three meals a day, while educators and scientists have to live on credit or charity. The situation is so desperate that many criminals have been paroled or pardoned, to menace the peaceful citizens again, and this is happening in other Southern States, too. If convicts were a source of profit do you think they would be released so readily? Whatever the injustice in individual cases, I think you will have to admit that most criminals in the United States these days, whether in the North or South, are treated too leniently. Many are never convicted at all, and others get off with very light sentences, and that is one reason we have so much crime.

"This is only one of many venomous attacks on the South by prejudiced outsiders in recent years. I do not know whether they have some fancied grievance, or are crusaders like the 19th century abolitionists, or are just trying to tear down civilization everywhere, like the Communists; but the situation is fraught with danger, much like the decade preceding the Civil War, and I regret very much to see a magazine like yours lending itself to such a cause.

"Respectfully,
"R. M. HARPER."

Abbeville Ala 5-15-33
Montgomery Adv.

Would You Eat with a White Man?

When you dine, would you prefer downtown hotels frequented by the white race?

Good digestion depends partly on food but also on congenial surroundings. Most people have their best meals at home.

Hotel keepers and restaurateurs have places for public accommodation. They should serve whosoever has the money to buy and the appearance that he is clean and orderly. They have no right to bar Negroes because they are black, Jews because of their religion or Germans because of the late war.

The Pole or Chinese who walks into a hotel downtown for service is not there because he wants to eat with anybody, but because he has to eat or sleep, and he is accustomed to such accommodations as the hotel offers.

Americans who lose a good part of their waking hours putting up exclusion bars in public places might better take a trip abroad to find out what culture is. We sometimes suspect that those who are rude and crude to other races in public dining rooms haven't the kind of homes they like to live in, and so they wish to make the public tavern and public guest house into a private emporium.

The synod of the Baltimore Presbytery in session at Hood College in Frederick, Md., made its meetings, its luncheons. its sleeping accommodations available recently to all Presbyterians, black, white, brown and red.

The four or five colored delegates didn't attend to be with anybody. They were Presbyterians and their place was with Christians of their denomination in annual convention.

If every white hotel in Dixie opened its doors to-day to all races, they wouldn't have 100 colored guests in a month. Continued persecution of Negroes in public places is, therefore, only the visible evidence that some of us cannot forget the Civil War.

Many young colored people who travel in Canada, South America, Europe and Asia come back home certain that white Americans are the world's greatest hypocrites.

The United States terms itself democratic, Christian and civilized. Black men know our country has neither democracy nor Christianity, and that beside the naked African the sartorially correct Americans are intolerant, impatient, selfish and impolite.

HATE'S HANGOVER

The officer in charge of the interstation work in the state of New York against whom Negro workers broke out in rebellion last week, is said to be the same man who sowed France with tales about Negro soldiers during the World War. At least he is consistent.

If any man is not fair in the administration of a public duty, he should be put out. Even his army record should not save this officer. In fact it should operate to bring him the more condemnation, because he knows that Negro soldiers were both brave and effective in France.

One human trait is behind many of the unfair conditions imposed on Negroes—men believe easily what they wish to believe. Starting out to prove that Negroes are as bad as prejudice says they are, this officer when in France construed an act that was perfectly proper in a white soldier as entirely wrong in a black one. Now when a half generation later he deals with young Negroes, he cannot punish them by sending them to the front line trenches, and they can resent his attitude. The result is confusion, a break in the President's program, and loss for the whole people. Hate always destroys. It is the worst of investments.

Kansas City Call 7-21-33

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
JUL 18 1933

What The Negro Wants

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

"Majestic Mayjor," in the Forum of July 13, says: "As long as the Negro continues to fight for privileges to eat, drink and sit with the whites, so long will the whites object."

I deny absolutely that the Negro fights "for privileges to eat, drink and sit with the whites." He simply insistently declares that he is a part of "the public," which is neither black nor white, paying the same rate of taxes as others, and a part of the people granting licenses for public enterprises to serve the public generally, and that it is iniquitously mean for the strong to unite and deprive the least able of their rights and privileges because of race or former condition of our forbears.

In a notable address of Judge W. H. Fleming, of Georgia, before the alumni society of the State University, in 1906, occurred the following:

> Let us resolve that there shall remain ingrained in the moral fiber of our New South the high character of our Old South—which can best be described in the memorable words of Edmund Burke, as "that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor which felt a stain like a wound" . . . We can not afford to sacrifice our ideas of justice, of law and of religion for the purpose of preventing the Negro from elevating himself. If we wish to preserve the wide gap between our race and his in the onward progress of civilization, let us do it by lifting ourselves up, not by holding him down.

George A. Bragg, Jr.
Baltimore, July 13.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
STAR

JUL 14 1933

Whose Problem?

Editor St. Louis Star and Times: I need make no apology for making this subject a debatable question, namely, "Whose Problem Is the Negro Problem?" The airplane, the radio, the television, the wireless telephone, have made the inhabitants of the earth no longer distant nations but "next-door neighbors."

Since Negroes are growing less patient with promises of "mansions in the sky," and are joining the Communists and atheists, the Negro really becomes a problem that must be reckoned with, but whose problem?

Some of us may not be pleased with the Negro's viewpoint. Others will not agree with the White Man's viewpoint. But if we are to be classed as intelligent human beings, we must all agree that in seeking a solution to any problem it is important that we discuss both sides of the question.

The Negro's viewpoint: The Negro charges the white man with originally having created the problem by bringing him from Africa to the United States. It was the white man's greed and the worship of the almighty dollar that introduced slavery on American soil. Since the white man was fundamentally wrong in introducing the slave trade, says the Negro, it necessarily culminated in the trouble of a race problem as it exists at the present time.

As regards the Negro and slavery, the white man answers that it was not the love of money that caused him to bring the Negro from his native land, but that he was inspired to "save the Negro from himself" where he was feasting on reptiles, etc., and brought him to a land "flowing with milk and honey." The white man further says: "If you will just make a line of contrast between your condition when you arrived and the conditions of the race which really exist today, you must admit that I have been your friend instead of your enemy as you claim." The white man points to the Negro's fine schools, churches, colleges, business institutions, fine homes, automobiles, airplanes, banks and heaven knows what. Here the white man piles up a great majority in his favor at the very start, but there are other points to be considered.

FREDERICK STARK.

Cordele, Ga. Telegraph

GEORGIA NEEDS PRESS AGENT

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

As an influential publisher, you and your readers should be interested in the way other states and sections are looking on Georgia. I formerly lived in Georgia and I feel sadly over what the rest of the country thinks it is like. I wonder sometimes if President Roosevelt doesn't find it embarrassing to be called "almost a Georgian" because of his place at Warm Springs. Georgia needs a press agent as badly as poor Hoover ever did.

First, there is the matter of the chain gangs. There have been motion pictures, magazine articles, newspaper stories with photographs, etc. I am often asked if the people of Georgia are as brutal as all that. Then there are so many silly things, such as the refusal to allow a vote on prohibition repeal and now this latest stunt of Talmadge in calling out the militia over the highway funds. They published an embarrassing life-like picture of him in a cowboy suit and hat, looking wild-eyed and illiterate, in one of the Philadelphia papers lately. There is the matter of lynching, of the negroes sent to jail for long terms for "insurrection" for doing what is allowed without thought and without harm, every day in every city up this way. The conditions in the mill towns, low wages, child labor, etc., are believed by everyone to be bad past description. So it goes.

Really, I appeal to you as one whose love for the old state is unshaken. Can't something be done to make the Georgia people see and understand that they and their state are all part of this country and that they cannot ignore, without suffering grave financial injury as well as loss of self-esteem, the opinions of the rest of their own American people. It isn't only a matter of money—although, God knows, when things get right they are going to find that investors are reluctant to place money there, money which Georgia badly needs for its development. But it goes deeper, it goes down to the fundamental fact of being a self-respecting part of the general national life.

Georgia is in a bad way, in this opinion of other sections at any rate. It ought to get right. Please understand that I am not "knocking". I am really trying to help. The Macon Telegraph always has fought a good fight for the state's improvement. Go to it some more. EX GEORGIAN.

Marcus Hook, Pa.—Macon Telegraph.

Unite With All Darker Americans, Diego Rivera Urges U. S. Negroes

NOT IN ROMANTIC return to a homeland in distant Africa, but in practical union with other darker groups throughout the three Americas lies the solution of the American Negro's problem. This is the opinion of Diego Rivera, the Mexican Indian artist, as expressed at a forum held Friday night at the New York Urban League, 206 West 136th street, under auspices of the Scottsboro Defense Club.

"The oppressed Negroes of the Caribbean, the disinherited and exploited Indians and blacks in Mexico and the South American countries are the natural allies of the American Negroes. You and they are both exploited by the same elements of greed. You have been robbed of the wealth you have created. United, you have in your power to paralyze the economic nerves of the Western Hemisphere. You are the producers of the cotton, sugar and coffee, the tropical fruits, rubber and minerals which so largely constitute the wealth of the Americas."

This is no idyllic dream, the shaggy-headed, swarthy-skinned artist insisted. The community of interests already exists. The means of communication are at hand for all the ships which ply among the ports of the Americas are manned, in part at least, by black men and red men. There is needed only to arouse in the people a consciousness of this kinship. Once they will have done this they will be able to rally to their banner the exploited white workers and together precipitate the social revolution which alone is the solution of the economic and race problems which plague this land.

"Then truly will this be a new world," Rivera prophesied. "Here in the Western Hemisphere all races are represented. With the shattering of color, racial and national barriers a new and greater people, the amalgam of all races, will create a new and classless society."

Only in response to questions did the speaker refer to his hectic career as a proletarian artist in a bourgeois society—his ousting from the official Communist party, his dismissal by the Rockefellers for his now famous murals in Radio City, and his philosophy of the artist as propagandist.

His speech, delivered in Spanish, was translated by Bertram D. Wolfe. Other speakers included W. D. Domingo, Mrs. Bessye Bearden, James H. Hubert. J. D. Jenkins, president of the club, presided.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER

SEP 10 1933

BLACK AND WHITE IN THE DEEP SOUTH

The Negro who commits rape against a white woman is as much the enemy of his own race as he is the sure and deserving objective of the white man's hate. To apprehend him, to convict him, and to put him to immediate death at the law's hands is a public task in which the Negro race has easily as much at stake as the white race. This is something for every decent Negro to remember, no matter how sorely the two present foes of Southern civilization—the lyncher and the I. L. D. agitator—confuse with their actions the plain face of the thing.—John Temple Graves, in The Age-Herald.

The low-down Negro is the greatest bu den which the decent Negro has to bea even as the low-down white man is th greatest burden which the respectable white man has to bear.

Because we have low-down Negroes an because we have low-down white peopl here in the South where both races ar numerically powerful, it behooves the de cent people in both races to give the bes that is in their hearts and brains to cur and repress both classes that now an again humiliate them.

The respectable and the responsibl elements in both races should come clos together. They should be frank and hon est, they should be brave and resolute Their common purpose should be to re press and control the vicious elements i both races. They should desire to kee the peace between the respectable peopl in both racial groups. That is the de cent, sensible, civilized thing to do.

There are two facts to remember First, low-down Negroes are more pron to attack white women than low-down whites are to attack colored women. Their proneness to this crime is derived not as many suppose, from the jungle animalism of the black—an absurd idea—but from his vanity. Vanity, as a matter of fact, wrecks more lives than any other cause. Watch it.

Second, the low-down white man frequently is inconsiderate of and insulting to respectable Negroes. He makes it impossible for them to trust him, respect him, admire him or to avoid hating him. Indeed, he deserves their hatred, because he is crude, vicious, cheap, cowardly and unfeeling. He is offensive to them only because he knows they are weaker socially, economically and politically than he is.

Because he is willing to betray, abuse and outrage the weak he is not better at heart than the most ornery cornfield Negro in Alabama. If he had any moral courage he would make it a point of honor to be decent to the weak in all circumstances.

But the Negro, it is only fair to say, is weaker than the white man because he has not been so well trained. He has not yet had the benefit of the spiritual power which flows from civilizing agencies because he is still the youngest of the races that stand face to face with golden opportunity.

It is no reflection upon the Negro to say this. He knows it as well as anyone. But the Negro shows remarkable promise, and it is greatly to his credit and of notable significance that the choicest spirits of his race seldom if ever come under a cloud. The Advertiser has never known of a Negro college graduate, as an example in passing, who was charged with the crime of rape. As the Negro's training improves the less prone he is to turn anti-social and in any way to be troublesome.

It is still the Negro beast who would prey upon white women and otherwise humiliate his race by committing offenses that cannot be condoned either by white or blacks.

The Negro beast is primarily the problem of the Negro race in the South and every orderly, intelligent Negro realizes the fact. Knowledge of it shames and horrifies the good men and women who are black.

But The Advertiser is sure that all white men of good will recognize the gulf that lies between respectable, orderly Negroes and those of their race who cannot be controlled except by force.

Race Problem - 1933

United States

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Post

JAN 21 1933

Mistreatment Of Negroes Is Termed Blot On South

Editor, The Post:

I was born and raised in Montgomery county and have spent the last couple of years in Birmingham. Except for two years at Purdue university I have spent all of my time in Alabama. I have always been genuinely interested in The Post editorials, although I have not always agreed with them. Recently The Post Box has become a source of pleasant and edifying reading especially because of the controversial nature of some of the letters which raise fundamental social problems.

This time I want to refer to your editorial of Jan. 11 "The Negro's Best Friend." Ever since my high school days I have seen the fallacy of the jimcrow policy toward the negro of the south. I firmly believe that so long as the negro race remains pressed down below the white race, the southern white people as a whole cannot consider themselves a free people.

We might as well be frank and recognize that the American people as a whole (and this is true of European people) consider the south as the least civilized section of the United States. Why? Precisely because the south is guilty of treating the negroes as a semi-enslaved race. I would categorically disagree with any southern white person who would contradict this statement.

Your editorial blames the communists and the I. L. D. for the death of the negroes in Tallapoosa. I remember my childish heart would become inflamed at the mistreatment of some innocent negro farm hand by our whites in Montgomery county. And there were no reds there back in 1912.

Instead of trying to break through an open door why doesn't The Post offer its solution of the negro question? Blaming people who are not responsible will not wipe the blot of shame on southern civilization. That blot is the mistreatment of the negro throughout the south.

ROBERT E. CROWDER

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Editor The Advertiser:

Please allow me to commend the Rev. Dr O. V. Calhoun of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for his wonderful article that appeared in The Montgomery Advertiser Thursday, Feb. 9. He stands out as a beacon light and the modern Henry W. Grady of Georgia. His words concerning the negro are true.

He said 38 per cent of Alabama's Methodist South was colored, and a large part of the progress of the South depended on the graduall uplift and development of the Negro and the Negro was a ward of the white race. He further said that the Negro was not here by his own volition. Our country brought him here in chains, as a slave, indeed a chattel. Our plain duty lies in doing our part to enable him to live in friendly relations and to make such development as is possible for a race so recently brought to our shores.

Dr. Calhoun said that the most rapid advancement of the South would come from giving the Negro opportunity to keep up with the present stride of progress. I voice the sentiment of 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States in saying all that Dr. Calhoun said is true. It is a spirit of Southern Methodism.

We believe the South is the best place to live and the Southern white people are our best friends. History tells us that 6,000,000 Negroes live in the Northern States, and 9,000,000 in the Southern States. It has been proven that the Negroes in the South are better educated and trained than the negroes of the North and are not seeking social equality.

Here we expect to work out our destiny for we understand our Southern white friends and they understand us. The writer has been in public life for 35 years, as a minister, presiding elder, editor and teacher, serving two years as chaplain in the Spanish-American War, and two years in the World War as chaplain, with rank of lieutenant of the 92nd Division.

I was sent to Paine College, Augusta, Ga., by Bishop Wallace W. Duncans, of South Carolina, of the M. E. Church, South. Remained in college eleven years, graduated normal and college, educated as a missionary for Africa. I have traveled all over the United States and know the condition of my race. I wrote on the Relation Between the Races in The Atlanta Constitution by the request of Hon. Clarke Howell during the World War.

As to the loyalty of the Negro as a soldier, 5,000 fought under George Washington in 1776 to help throw of fthe British yoke; 25,000 fought under Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812, 200,000 fought in 213 battles in the War Between the States on both sides.

In the World War 2,000,000 were drafted and 400,000 soldiers fought to make the country safe for Democracy under Hon. Woodrow Wilson. Twenty-five thousand fought in the Spanish-American War.

As Dr. Calhoun said, the Negro must be developed and educated, and trained. The Southern white people have given $75,000,000 for the education of the Negro in the Southern States

As there are 50,000 preachers and 50,000 teachers and own millions of acres of land in the Southern States, Alabama has educated and trained more Negroes than any other State in the Union through Tuskegee, and the public schools of the State. Thus we believe that the advice of Dr. Calhoun is true, wholesome and sound in solving the race problem. We need 10,000 good men like him.

DR. W. M. DINKINS, A. M., D. D.,
Editor Christian Union Herald.

CONGRESS AND DISFRANCHISEMENT

THE National Bar Association, under the leadership of its President, Jesse Heslip, will endeavor to have Congress enact legislation to prevent the continuation of the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South. This is an accomplishment devoutly to be wished. Much of the injustice which the Negro suffers at the South, is due to the fact that he is not permitted to vote. Because the Negro in the South hasn't a vote, the school funds are inequitably divided between the two races. In all Southern States, from five to twenty times as much of the public school funds are spent upon white children as upon colored children. Even the Federal Government robs Negroes of more than two million dollars a year in the distribution of funds to land grant colleges.

In the matter of street paving and lighting, Negro sections do not receive anything like a fair portion. Many beautiful Negro homes stand on streets which are poorly paved and poorly lighted, and in some instances, not paved at all. This condition obtains because the Negro is not permitted to exercise the right of franchise and anything which is done for the Southern Negro, is done by sufferance, or out of the bigness of the heart of the Southern white man. The Negro has no vote and, therefore he has no power to back up his justifiable complaints. It is unconstitutional for any State or section of a State to prevent a man from voting on account of color but that this obtains is common knowledge.

It is sincerely hoped that the National Bar Association will follow this through until the necessary legislation is enacted to guarantee the Negro his right to vote in all States.

Fayetteville, N. C. Times
Saturday, January 14, 1933

DIXIE NEGRO GAINS GROUND DARROW SAYS

Liberalist Thinks Pleasure Life's Chief Aim; Teaching Latin a "Crime"

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 14. — (UP)—The South has made great forward strides toward liberalism in recent years, Clarence Darrow, noted liberal and internationally-known attorney, observed during a visit here recently.

Darrow referred principally to the improved status of negroes. He pointed out that at the present time southern negroes are gaining ground due to the progress of interracial organizations, while their brothers in the North are losing advantages they previously enjoyed.

"I have talked to a number of negroes down here, and they all say conditions are improving," Darrow said. "On the other hand, the negro worker in northern industrial centers is the first to lose his job in a lay-off and is not admitted to unions, despite professions of economic equality."

Darrow granted this interview while visiting at a country estate in Albemarle county near Monticello, home of another great champion of the "under dog."

"Jefferson," Darrow said, during his visit to Monticello, "was the greatest Democrat of them all. He was the champion of the poor always and in his outlines of government, was aware of the tendency of the government to drift toward tyranny.

"Washington was a tory and had no conception of democracy. He was an aristocrat and a close friend of Alexander Hamilton, who did not believe in mass rule. Of Washington's qualifications as a soldier, I am not competent to say."

The conversation turned to philosophy and Darrow immediately expressed his belief that pleasure is the chief objective of life. He had expressed the same view in a lecture to students at William and Mary College in Williamsburg.

"I can see nothing in life but pleasure. It is important, above all, that persons do not take life too almighty seriously."

Darrow believes teaching of Latin and Greek in schools and colleges is wasted effort for students. "There is no excuse for the teaching of Latin and Greek," he declared. "They are both dead and nothing can be learned from them. It ought to be a crime to teach either."

That statement brought a round of applause from the William and Mary student body.

BEAT WHITE LAWYER WHO DEFENDED MAN

MEMPHIS, March 6. (ANP).—Even white southern lawyers who defend Negroes in the courts run the risk of consure and attack from the prejudiced ordinary mine-run of common whites, it was demonstrated here this week when C. B. Tipton, local white lawyer, reported that he had been beaten at Marion, Ark., because he defended a colored man accused of robbery.

The defendant was Harry Davis, who was charged with robbery and assault on Nolan Robinson, white. Tipton obtained a continuance of the case against his client.

After he had stepped out of the courtroom, Tipton was set upon and knocked to the ground by friends and relatives of Robinson when he admitted that he was Davis' lawyer. The man who knocked him down was Sam Robinson, the plaintiff's borther.

After returning to Memphis, Tipton stated: "Apparently some of those fellows just don't think a Negro is entitled to his day in court and resent a lawyer from Memphis going over there to defend one."

BLIND LEADERS

The black race in America, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, is still a leaderless race. In spite of all the talk about leadership—all the jockeying for position at the top of the ladder—in spite of all the shouting and all the tumult, the sad truth remains that 12,000,000 Americans, cast by arbitrary laws and social traditions into the same valley of racial hatreds and animosities, are without a Moses to lead them to the top of the hill and to safety.

We sadly come to this conclusion after reading a speech by a national "leader" of the Race in which he made the statement that "We Negroes do not want to marry white people. We are content to live among ourselves and lead our own lives in our own way."

This leader said a great many more things along the same line, but why go into them? All of us have heard that kind of chatter before and we know what it means. We know that it means that the person speaking is saying to white people what he thinks they want him to say. He is following the same line followed by so many other leaders for so many years. We know that he is involved in one way or another with some social movement that depends upon the support of white people for its existence. We know, finally, that he is not nearly as interested in the welfare of the Race as he is in the welfare of that particular movement in which he is interested.

How can this individual speak for the Race? How can he lead any group from darkness of poverty, superstition and ignorance to a position of self-respect self-reliance, an independence of spirit and of mind when he so far out of tune with the things which make for the progress of any people?

HOW CAN HE SPEAK FOR US?

After all, of what importance is it to the great movement for real citizenship whether we are interested in intermarriage or not? Men and women mate and marry for individual reasons. They have done this since men and women have been together. Neither race, religion nor creed has ever proved a definite barrier to this natural law of mating where two individuals meet and decide to mate. Knowing this, and knowing that the state of our minds as a group will have nothing to do with the ultimate question of marriage, we see such statements as the above one, coming from a national figure, as silly and ridiculous. Even as this "leader" speaks, we recall that he is loaded with the white blood of his grandfather and father.

This same leader, living as he does in the deep South, attends interracial meetings, rides to these meetings in Jim Crow elevators in the South, sits in Jim Crow sections of the rooms, eats at Jim Crow tables in Jim Crow restaurants, rides Jim Crow trains and street cars, and does not dare enter a first class hotel for a night's lodging. He has done this for years, and will continue to do this because to him the fight for a complete abolishment of these evils is beneath his dignity. He is interested in the greater issues of intermarriage and of lynchings.

HE'S A JIM CROW LEADER

He goes his way serenely happy and content, asking nothing but that he be given a national ovation as a hero and a leader. He speaks to white audiences in the North and tells them how we "are conquering" the demon of race hate in the South. In the North he talks of great issues of "human brotherhood" and of the general welfare of man. But he never speaks of the murder and the pillage and the strife and confusion going on about him. He never tells his hearers of the North that he wants his people set free from proscription and from slavery. He says nothing of his women serving as concubines for white masters who prate daily of "the sanctity of womanhood." He says nothing of the debauchery of his young girls by white men and the state of moral depravity into which this debauchery has thrown them. He says nothing of the mental anguish and physical slavery imposed upon his men and women throughout the South. He says nothing of the segregated school—the money taken from black toil-worn hands to pay for institutions of learning from which he and his children are barred.

HE TALKS OF "WORLD SUBJECTS"

Oh, there are hundreds of things he could mention to prove that he is sincerely interested in the welfare of his people and, through them, the general welfare of the world. But he doesn't speak of these things. He speaks in platitudes and in aphorisms. He talks of world peace and of international problems. He talks of freedom in the midst of slavery. He speaks of justice to the peasant, the serf and the coolie in China, but forgets that injustice surrounds him in his native state. He is a missionary to the world for world peace when he knows that there is no peace in his own yard.

This leader and his sentiments would be unimportant if they were alone. But they are not—they are legion. Everywhere we turn we run into them—petty, self-inflated children with their childish prattle! They live within their horizons of pettiness and strive to fill the boots of greatness. They know nothing of the world because they have not bothered to travel and learn. They know not what real freedom means because they have never experienced it. They have drawn their conclusions of the world and world affairs from within the narrow confines of their Jim Crow lives. They have never seen such countries as France, Brazil, Argentina, therefore they have no conception as to how free men and women of all races live and act together. They speak of manhood—but the word means nothing to them!

Yet they pose as our leaders. They presume to speak for us. They get the ear of the world and fill it with their ideas of what we do or do not want. Is there any wonder that we flounder about in our efforts to get in step with the forward march of the world? We need men—real men—courageous men—honest men—men of vision. We need men who have traveled, and who can tell us from experience and contrast the viciousness of segregation and prejudice. We need leaders and we need them badly.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

"Out Of Luck"

MR. W. O. SAUNDERS, newspaper editor and magazine writer, told an audience of Norfolk colored people Sunday that "a Negro minority in a highly competitive white civilization is just out of luck, that's all." He softened the effect of this obvious truth, so emphatically revealed by adding that "the economic security of the Negro in America must wait upon the socialization of America." He went further and prophesied socialization, saying that the revolution is already under way. Most thoughtful people find substantial support for MR. SAUNDERS' convictions in present political trends.

There is no cause for immediate alarm in the first proposition laid down, that we are out of luck. As a "Negro minority" we are having an extraordinary share of economic casualties. But we are so interwoven into this white civilization that we cannot be removed without seriously damaging the whole structure. No nation can destroy 12,000,000 of its members without seriously impairing its vitality.

This is not to say that the destruction is not going on. It is; and not only is there trouble ahead for the Negro minority, but as Secretary Wallace said recently, destruction of the entire middle class in America is a possibility.

A natural sequence of this is the socialization of America of which MR. SAUNDERS speaks. He looks for the powers of the state to be employed to convert into general benefit what is now the gain of a few. Unless this is done for the Negro minority that great body of Americans that classify as the middle class will also be 'out of luck." Negroes will go first, of course, but the others will come tumbling after.

MR. SAUNDERS also indulged in wise counsel when he said: "My advice to the Negro is to maneuver cautiously to the left in the great political drama that is unfolding in America today." Not far enough to the left, he counselled, to classify as radicals, but far enough to augment the strength of the forces now fighting to bring about social betterment in America through socio-political action.

Journal & Guide
12-23-33
Norfolk Va.

More Apparent Than Real

WE COULD agree in toto with everything said in the splendid editorial from the Newport News *Daily Press*, under the caption "Not Parallel Cases," reprinted in another column on this page, were it not that the even-handed opportunities, legal equality, and social justice meted out to Negroes in the United States, as set forth by the *Daily Press* were not more apparent than real. In taking exception to Dr. Aery's remark before the Kiwanis Club that "American citizens cannot calmly accept the dictum that a minority group like the Jews of Germany must suffer needlessly because of race or creed, yet Americans wittingly or unwittingly often discriminate against a large portion of our population, some 12,000,000 Negroes," the *Daily Press* sets forth in clear-cut terms the theoretical Southern attitude toward the Negro, which indeed, every Negro and every justice-loving and thoughtful white person must wish were true in fact. As a matter of fact much of what the *Daily Press* says, in stating its own honest convictions and its own splendid attitude, is true. When the *Daily Press* says "The white man in America, in the South as well as the North, has continuously fought the Negro's battles for him," it states the truth as to a high-minded minority of white public opinion. When it says that innumerable whites have assisted Negroes to rise as individuals and groups it states the truth; when it says that Negroes are large beneficiaries of Southern charities it is correct. When it says that the Southern white man and the Negro are friends it is emphatically correct.

But the *Daily Press* goes further, to which lengths the JOURNAL AND GUIDE cannot follow it. That there is no boycott against the Negro in public life; that he is given the right to vote "if he chooses to exercise it;" that educational opportunities are afforded him "on the basis of his ability;" that the segregation law as enforced "is not discrimination," are all, in their entirety, more apparent than real.

The Negro as a skilled artisan is boycotted on large public and private works in the South, with the knowledge of the more thoughtful white people, who, apparently can not do anything about it. Such a boycott occurred recently in Norfolk.

Legally the intelligent Negro may vote anywhere in the South, and in many places does vote "if he chooses," but every well-informed person knows that in the vast majority of places subterfuges and extra-legal means are used to either prevent him from voting or to nullify his vote.

The Negro is deprived of educational opportunity in anything like the proportion the same is provided for the whites, even in the elementary grades. Negroes comprise nearly one-third of the population of Virginia. The state spends on public schools for whites $24,102,504, for Negroes $1,511,787. The average expenditure per child of school age is: for white $47.46, for Negro, $13.30. The whites receive 89.0 of the total funds and the Negro 11.00. That speaks for education. Virginia is ahead of most of the Southern states.

The "separation" or "segregation" laws do discriminate, grossly. The law itself provides for "separate but equal accommodations" on public carriers. No railroad or steamship line operating in Virginia has ever, at any time, provided equal accommodations for Negro passengers, although Negroes paid the same fare charged the whites. It is the spirit, not the letter of the separation laws that sting. There are some things worse than breaking a nose or gouging out an eye. The atrocities perpetrated upon the *spirit* of Negroes by those invested with the enforcement of the separation laws equal in every respect the atrocities lately inflicted upon the Jews in Germany.

Few Jews have been lynched in Germany, although mob violence has been visited upon them. Over 4,000 Negroes have been lynched in America; many others judicially put to death unlawfully. Only a few weeks ago all the Negroes in a given community in South Carolina were driven from their homes and farms because of a crime alleged to have been committed by a member of the race. *No Negro's life is safe in any rural community in the South.*

We wish we could agree in whole with the splendid statement of the *Daily Press*. We are making progress, however, when so influential a member of the press comes out frankly with an expression of the gains made in social justice in the south and places the stamp of its approval upon them.

SAVANNAH, GA.
PRESS

SEP 11 1933

WAS IT WORTH WHILE?

A writer in the South Atlantic Quarterly, a magazine published in Durham, N. C., seeks to find the truth about the War Between the States.

He seems to combat the peculiar idea that it was a glorious thing that the Union was saved or the slaves freed by means of civil war. No one can prove a negative, that things "might have been" worse had the Union been destroyed. The writer is Richard H. Shryock, and he asks how great a price was paid for Union and freedom, and second what value were these ends in themselves? The costs of the struggle are evident. The dramatic Reconstruction has long received due attention, but not so the dreary, discouraging years which followed. In acquiring their freedom and attempting to secure civil rights, the Southern negroes were involved with a serious struggle with the dominant whites. The course of emancipation of the negro had its effect on his health and hygiene. So the costs account of the national conflict become more impressive the more one thinks about it.

There is little evidence that more than seven states would have seceded in '61 had Lincoln maintained a policy of peace. Few states would have tried to secede even if the right of secession had been established.

There is a claim that the War Between the States made possible emancipation and freed the whole nation from the curse of slavery. Open criticsm of slavery was not suppressed in the South. The South had the germ of a special and unknown anti-slavery party. It was felt that slave labor was inconsistent with either economic or cultural progress. There were prophets in this period both North and South who foresaw the failure and the consequent elimination of slavery for economic reasons. Throughout the world abolition has come naturally when the price of slave labor became high and unprofitable. The slave of the United States was passing toward freedom by the natural road, and the forcible interference of the North, hindered this progress. Sudden emancipation and all the disorder and suffering it entailed did indeed hinder what would otherwise have come as a very gradual and moderate process.

The writer contends that a vast, inestimable price was paid in war and reconstruction for values of a decidedly uncertain issue. War was the worst possible solution of the sectional issue. This is not sentimentality, but, the writer says, a matter of cold calculation.

This is the tradition of the War Between the States. It is an incursion into the "might have been" in the face of the orthodox American theory that the Union was saved and the slaves were freed by means of the "Civil War."

August 30, 1933

White Man Best Friend Of Negro

Say Washington Representatives Of Religious And

Missionary Brotherhood Here For 30 Days.

Rev. J. D. Battle and Rev. W. M. Martin, well known colored ministers of Washington, representing the Religious and Missionary Brotherhood, founded by Bishop Joseph J. Higgs, D. D., 30 years ago, are in Gastonia and will be here for the next month in the interest of their organization.

This organization teaches:

1. That the South is the natural home of the Negro.
2. That the Southern white man is the Negro's friend.
3 That we need to know and to understand and to appreciate this fact and any man or woman or foreigner who would teach otherwise is an enemy to the Negro's welfare and progress.
4. Understanding creates friendship and good feeling—the white man understands the Negro from the fact that he has spent 265 years with the white man in the South and this period has undoubtedly created instinctive friendship. It would be cruel to teach otherwise.
5. It is very fitting therefore for the Negro to remember and to understand that it took the white man 5,000 years to arrive at his present standing in the world.
6. 265 years ago he brought the negro from a savage and heathen state to his present standing in the world.
7. Our stay with him has resulted in education, refinement, prosperous and desirable citizenship.
8. It is said that we have outstripped any dark race in the world in so short a time.
9. We owe this to the American white man.
10. Let us be patient and not hasty, lay down undue suspicion and become self controlling, respect everybody and practice to the greatest degree politeness and gratefulness to every man, and God and angels will bless us.

CONSTITUTION WEEK

The observance of "Constitution Week" in a state like Texas shows how far the democratic "reach" in America exceeds its "grasp." It is a fine thing to pay reverence to this great document, and to invite allegiance to it; but it is also important that we should keep before us the following facts, the ultimate issue of which will determine the future of our constitution:

First.—The 13th Amendment provides against slavery and involuntary servitude; but it is a well known fact that peonage is rampant in many sections of some of our Southern states.

Second.—The 14th Amendment provides that every citizen shall be protected in his life, liberty, and property; but it is no secret that, even in Texas, this is made in actual practice to mean in many cases that "white" citizens shall be protected in their life, liberty and property.

Third.—The 14th Amendment provides that, where the right to vote is denied to any of the male citizens of the state, such a state's representation in congress shall be reduced in proportion to such discrimination; but it is notorious that Texas deprives one-sixth of its citizens of the right to vote, while at the same time Texas is allowed representation in congress on the basis of the disfranchised Negro one-sixth, as well as on the basis of the white five-sixths.

Fourth.—The 15th Amendment provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; but Texas officials have even gone to the length of openly flaunting the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in order to deny and abridge the right of Negroes to vote.

This is not the whole story by any means; but it all leads in the same direction. No constitution can permanently be worth the paper it is written on, unless it is lived up to in letter and in spirit. America has made progress toward this end, but it yet has much to accomplish.

Race Problem – 1933

United States.

Roosevelt and the Negro

By KELLY MILLER

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT has now been in office for nearly nine months. During that time he has had to assume responsibilities as great, if not greater, than have ever fallen on presidential shoulders. His originality, resourcefulness and courage have been a source of never failing surprise and admiration. He has settled, at least for the time being, the liquor question, which had threatened internal disruption for two decades.

He has recognized Russia, and thus contributed importantly to the tranquillity of the American people and the peace of the world. He has led Congress and the nation in the enactment of sundry recovery acts calculated to relieve unemployment and bring within hailing distance that prosperity which his deluded predecessor assured us was just around the corner.

Perhaps most daring of all, he has inaugurated a new fiscal policy about which the hopes and fears of the financial world play see-saw. But the patriotic optimism and American-minded statesmanship are assured that the Roosevelt policy will be the winner. He insists in face of European presumption that the ring of the American dollar shall make sweeter music in the ears of the world than that of franc or pound. If he succeeds in leading the people through the wilderness of depression and despair, he will go down in history alongside the names of Washington and Lincoln.

Weighted down with such a heavy load of general responsibilities, Roosevelt could scarcely afford time to devote to class issues and group grievances. The whole is greater than any of its parts, and is equal to the sum of all its parts. What is good for the body must needs be beneficial to the several members thereof. So that the Negro shares along with the rest in whatever promotes the national welfare.

During his campaign and since, Mr. Roosevelt has stressed the point of his intention that the Negro should be an equal sharer in his general policies for the welfare of the whole. He has appointed a cabinet whose attitude is broad-minded and sympathetic. Secretary Roper of South Carolina, in a formal address on the race problem, has taken as patriotic and generous ground as any cabinet officer has ever been known to do.

If the Negro has any just complaints against the practical workings of the codes under the NRA, such discrepancies are due to the incidents of administration, and can nowise be traceable to the thought or purpose of the administration.

During the last campaign I flooded the Negro press with the belief that a change of administration did not necessarily mean any additional burden or hardship to the Negro race. My genial and galland friend, Perry Howard, with true political instinct, was frantically vindicating his Republican partisanship by predicting all manner of racial calamities should his party lose. Roscoe Conkling Simmons, the brilliant oratorical lightweight, was so sure of racial degradation, in case of a reversal of political fortune, that he openly declared that any Negro who voted for Roosevelt ought to be sent to hell.

I wonder what Howard and Simmons are now thinking. What possible arguments will they devise for 1936? I have great faith in the political sagacity of the Mississippi national committeeman, and have no doubt that during the intervening years he will devise a new set of plausible platitudes to beguile the simple political obsession diehard.

I will now indulge in terms which the politician can understand—jobs. Nothing is great or small except by comparison. Let us now compare the administration of Hoover and Roosevelt as to the allotment of patronage of the Negro group, after nine months of incumbency. Mr. Roosevelt, up to now, has left undisturbed every Negro appointee left as legatee from the Hoover administration, with one or two possible exceptions.

The Liberian ministry is undergoing an interim along lines suggested by the Hoover administration. When the diplomatic tangle is straightened out, we all expect that a Negro diplomat will be accorded this customary place. The apointment of Robert L. Vann easily offsets any of his Republican predecessors in caliber, character and leadership. Death caused a vacancy in the Department of Justice, which, it is hoped, will shortly be filled. In addition to all of these, the Roosevelt administration has appointed Dr. Johnson of Columbus, Ohio; Prof. Hunt of Georgia, and Robert Weaver to important assignments in the Interior Department.

Dr. Eugene Kinckle Jones, the well-known expert in industrial problems, has been made special assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, and William H. Hastie has been assigned as special solicitor for the Interior Department. No such array of Negro talent has been accorded important governmental berths in many a long and cold political day. Those who profess to be in the confidence of the administration assure us, in the language of the Show Boat captain, that this is "only the beginning."

Judging Mr. Roosevelt's administration by this practical concrete test, we see that he has already done for the Negro more in nine months than was accorded the race by Harding, Coolidge and Hoover combined covering a course of twelve years. We can certainly say of Roosevelt and the Negro—"so far, so good." Let us hope that it will be better further on.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

Carthage, N. C., News
November 2, 1933

RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO

He No More Desires "Social Equality" Than the White Man, And He Should Not Be Deprived of His Inherent Civil Rights

By O. J. PETERSON

The sooner the Negro is accorded every right of a citizen justly belonging to him the less trouble will ultimately result. Many white people seem unable to distinguish between civil rights and social privileges. The social barriers raised to prevent race mixtures are right and proper. Those barriers are not so much raised to prevent "social equality" as for the protection of racial integrity. To the individual and the various social groups naturally belongs the right of prescribing his or their social relations, so long as such relations do not endanger the public welfare or interfere with individual rights. But no individual, whatever his color, has any right to impose his presence upon those who do not desire to recognize him socially. A man's home is his castle; any social gathering is properly controlled by its sponsors who have the privilege of debarring whosoever they please. The social relations of the races really give no trouble in the South. Hardly a Negro in a thousand desires to assume what is termed "social equality". The Negro no more than the unwanted white man is disposed to intrude where he is not wanted.

But civil equality is another thing. That is the inherent right of every citizen, white or black, and the granting of such right does not at all menace the barriers to social equality or the integrity of the races. That principle is thoroughly recognized in business relations in the South. Whites and blacks freely commingle in the stores and upon the streets. The Negro has no such "untouchable" barrier as the lowest caste of the people of India. In business relations, such as bartering, chauffering, and household work considerable personal intimacy is taken for granted. No white man hesitates to sell or to buy from a Negro. No such thing could happen in America as happened in India when the landlord forbade his "untouchable" servant to keep hands off a melon which had been gnawed by a skunk, lest the "untouchable" should make it "unclean" and unusable by the master. On the other hand, tens of thousands of the "best" Southern people have been brought up under the care of Negro nurses, while the Negro cook is the usual and the proper thing. All those relations exist without the least menace to the social barriers.

Yet in civil relations many Southerners, have apparently been unable to differentiate between civil rights which do not at all interfere with social relations and those practices which might ultimately menace racial integrity.

Such misconceptions, which lead to debarring Negroes from juries, to closing the registration books to Negroes who are qualified to vote under the educational and other legal restrictions, to resenting the appearance of Negro attorneys in the courthouses and to their functioning in every respect as do white attorneys, are bound, sooner or later, to react upon the Southern people. The voluntary granting of those rights, while the social barriers are maintained, would be accepted in the proper spirit by the masses of Negroes.

On the other hand, if the South should be compelled by the Federal authorities to grant them, and full and equal civil privileges should come at one full swoop and at what the whole mass of Negroes would know was the Federal ukase, the danger of attempted breaking over of the social barriers would be much greater.

For if many white people have not been able to differentiate between civil and social rights or privileges when the power to discriminate against the Negro in civil relations lies in the hands of the whites, it is assumable that the same mistake would be made by the Negroes when the Federal powers decree him his civil rights and that he might assume that the same authority could go further and open the white schools and the churches to him and remove the legal barriers to miscegenation, all which limitations are based upon the social and racial relations, and not upon the civil.

Moreover, in that case a full right to the franchise upon identical terms with the whites would result in a greater mass of colored voters arriving upon the scene at one time than would the voluntary registration by the white registrars of those Negroes who prove themselves qualified, under the legal restrictions, to be enrolled as voters. Thus gradually seeping into the electoral body, it is presumable that the Negroes would vote as individuals and not as a race, as was the case when the franchise had been granted the former slaves by the compulsion of the Federal authorities. For thirty years they voted as a mass for the party which enfranchised them, and it is likely that they would again as a mass support that party which should be responsible for their regaining the franchise.

There can be no question that Negroes are denied several of their inherent civil rights in North Carolina. White registrars perjure themselves in refusing to register scholarly Negroes. Hiding behind the North Carolina law which declares that the register must "be satisfied", they violate their oath to maintain the constitution of the United States which declares that there must be no distinction shown with respect to races in the granting of the franchise. But that kind of annulment of the U. S. constitution can hardly be expected to go on forever. The Federal government will some day see to it that the qualified Negro citizen is accorded his inherent civil right to the franchise, and then there will be ten times more trouble than if the qualified Negroes should be allowed to seep in gradually and in numbers that could not immediately become the balance of power in Southern elections.

Differences Between Baltimore and Chicago

The Rev. Asbury Smith, white, Methodist Episcopal pastor and chairman of the recent interracial meeting in Baltimore took colored people to task for their political backwardness.

He pointed out that Chicago had councilmen, members of the legislature, and even a Congressman. If Chicago's colored voters can organize and accomplish so much, he thought that Baltimore should be able to do something.

Well, let us look further into this Chicago-Baltimore comparison.

First of all, Chicago is normally Republican; Baltimore is normally Democratic.

Chicago is a western city with Northern ideals. Baltimore is a border city with Southern feelings.

Chicago has mixed schools, and Negroes are policemen, firemen and municipal employees. Baltimore has separate schools, and there are no colored policemen, no firemen nor municipal employees.

The Rev. Mr. Smith must know that on Interracial Sunday in Chicago, black and white pastors exchange pulpits. In Baltimore, no colored pastors preach in white pulpits. On the other hand, the colored people of Chicago differ little from those in Baltimore. Twenty years ago most Chicagoans were in the South where they could neither vote nor hold office.

The best example of the difference between white people in Baltimore and Chicago can be seen in their use of the gerrymander.

In Chicago, the Southside where colored people live is a political unit, containing more colored votes than white votes.

In Baltimore, the northwest section, where Negroes are in the majority, has been cut up and parcelled among the adjacent white districts so that no legislative district has a majority of colored votes. Only last fall, Democrats again changed district lines so as to cut up the colored district still further and postpone the day when any colored candidate can be elected.

The thing we are trying to indicate is that the Chicago white man is of a different species from the white man in Baltimore, and that this explains in part the political weakness of Baltimore's colored people.

The greatest handicap of the Negro in Baltimore and in the rest of the South is the hostility and the opposition of the white race to any form of Negro progress, and next to it we place the silence and acquiescence of the white Christian church. The church is just where it was in 1862, when it passed resolutions defending the divine plan of slavery and supporting the rebellion.

That is what "messes up" the racial situation, as Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of New York, sadly admitted when he added that "we Northern people are standing for things we ought not to, and colored people are standing for things they ought not to."

OLD WOUNDS AND THE NEW SOUTH

The Advertiser is a Confederate newspaper.

When Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as the first President of the Confederacy an Advertiser reporter was there to report it. And, indeed, even before the new nation came into being, an Advertiser editor was defending the rights of the Southern States and condemning the lies of Northern abolitionist propagandists.

The Advertiser, in its humble way, fought for the ideals of the Confederacy. As much as a newspaper could, it aided the Confederate War Department. It gave its support to the harried statesmen, who for a while governed the Confederacy. It tried to do its bit by giving encouragement to to the valiant men in gray, by fostering hope in the hearts of brave women who denied themselves food and clothing so that the boys in gray might carry on, women who were hungry for bread—but more hungry for news of the safety of their men-folk fighting, perhaps in the next county or in Georgia swamps or Tennessee hills.

The Advertiser watched the birth of the Confederacy. As a newspaper could it shared in the fighting. And The Advertiser hates prejudice. It writhes at maudlin sentimentalism.

But if the cherishing of those memories of the "Southern prejudice and sentimentalism," this paper is guilty of both.

John Temple Graves, II, we believe, shares those views with this paper. We are taking the liberty of saying so because we believe we know Mr. Graves well through his daily column in The Birmingham Age-Herald. And we, with the South, knew—and still know through his writings —the illustrious father of the Birmingham writer.

The young men and young women who are to live and follow and guide the destinies of the South, to remember that of the Old South which was gallant and beautiful and charming—and defiantly powers encroaching on liberty.

The Advertiser would have the South's sons and grandsons and remember these things. The Advertiser would have them remember the —the illustrious father of the Birmingham writer.

of the so-called New South, to remember

Its plant was destroyed by

Confederacy.

Federal troops.

The men who operate this newspaper, its editors, its reporters, even the young men who deliver The Advertiser are for the most part the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of men who donned grays and went away to war in '61.

The Advertiser cherishes the great tra-ditions of the South. It has shared those traditions.

in the fighting.

to the war—and harder lessons in the

to remember them itself.

There are lessons to be learned from the

The Advertiser cherishes the great tra-War Between the States. There are les-sons to be learned from the events leading

This paper would have Southern youth, struggles that came after the war.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

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November 2, 1933

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But civil equality is another thing. That is the inherent right of every citizen, white or black, and the granting of such right does not at all menace the barriers to social equality or the integrity of the races. That principle is thoroughly recognized in business relations in the South. Whites and blacks freely commingle in the stores and upon the streets. The Negro has no such "untouchable" barrier as the lowest caste of the people of India. In business relations, such as bartering, chauffering, and household work considerable personal intimacy is taken for granted. No white man hesitates to sell or to buy from a Negro. No such thing could happen in America as happened in India when the landlord forbade his "untouchable" servant to keep hands off a melon which had been gnawed by a skunk, lest the "untouchable" should make it "unclean" and unusable by the master. On the other hand, tens of thousands of the "best" Southern people have been brought up under the care of Negro nurses, while the Negro cook is the usual and the proper thing. All those relations exist without the least menace to the social barriers.

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On the other hand, if the South should be compelled by the Federal authorities to grant them, and full and equal civil privileges should come at one full swoop and at what the whole mass of Negroes would know was the Federal ukase, the danger of attempted breaking over of the social barriers would be much greater.

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Chicago has mixed schools, and Negroes are policemen, firemen and municipal employees. Baltimore has separate schools, and there are no colored policemen, no firemen nor municipal employees.

The Rev. Mr. Smith must know that on Interracial Sunday in Chicago, black and white pastors exchange pulpits. In Baltimore, no colored pastors preach in white pulpits. On the other hand, the colored people of Chicago differ little from those in Baltimore. Twenty years ago most Chicagoans were in the South where they could neither vote nor hold office.

The best example of the difference between white people in Baltimore and Chicago can be seen in their use of the gerrymander.

In Chicago, the Southside where colored people live is a political unit, containing more colored votes than white votes.

In Baltimore, the northwest section, where Negroes are in the majority, has been cut up and parcelled among the adjacent white districts so that no legislative district has a majority of colored votes. Only last fall, Democrats again changed district lines so as to cut up the colored district still further and postpone the day when any colored candidate can be elected.

The thing we are trying to indicate is that the Chicago white man is of a different species from the white man in Baltimore, and that this explains in part the political weakness of Baltimore's colored people.

The greatest handicap of the Negro in Baltimore and in the rest of the South is the hostility and the opposition of the white race to any form of Negro progress, and next to it we place the silence and acquiescence of the white Christian church. The church is just where it was in 1862, when it passed resolutions defending the divine plan of slavery and supporting the rebellion.

That is what "messes up" the racial situation, as Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of New York, sadly admitted when he added that "we Northern people are standing for things we ought not to, and colored people are standing for things they ought not to."

OLD WOUNDS AND THE NEW SOUTH

The Advertiser is a Confederate newspaper.

When Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as the first President of the Confederacy an Advertiser reporter was there to report it. And, indeed, even before the new nation came into being, an Advertiser editor was defending the rights of the Southern States and condemning the lies of Northern abolitionist propagandists.

The Advertiser, in its humble way, fought for the ideals of the Confederacy. As much as a newspaper could, it aided the Confederate War Department. It gave its support to the harried statesmen, who for a while governed the Confederacy. It tried to do its bit by giving encouragement to the valiant men in gray, by fostering hope in the hearts of brave women who denied themselves food and clothing so that the boys in gray might carry on, women who were hungry for bread—but more hungry for news of the safety of their men-folk fighting, perhaps in the next county or in Georgia swamps or Tennessee hills.

The Advertiser watched the birth of the Confederacy. As a newspaper could it shared in the fighting. And The Advertiser suffered with the citizens of the Confederacy. Its plant was destroyed by Federal troops.

The men who operate this newspaper, and that of the Old South which was gallant and defiant—and beautiful and charming—and beautiful and charming on liberty. its editors, its reporters, even the young of powers encroaching men who deliver The Advertiser are for The Advertiser would have the South, the most part the sons and grandsons and remember these things. The Advertiser great-grandsons of men who donned gray likes to remember them itself. and went away to war in '61. There are lessons to be learned from the The Advertiser cherishes the great tra- War Between the States. There are les- ditions of the South. It has shared in sons to be learned from the events leading those traditions. to the war—and harder lessons in the This paper would have Southern youth, struggles that came after the war. —the illustrious father of the Birmingham writer.

Yet we disagree mildly with Mr. Graves when he says that the South should not laugh at Harriet Beecher Stowe's infamous libel of the Old South. And we say, mildly, because we agree so much of the way with Mr. Graves's opinion of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and disagree so very little with his opinion that too many persons in the North are inclined to view the play as a true presentation.

Mr. Graves says that "many things are worth sacrificing for a laugh but some things are not." And Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is one of the things which Mr. Graves thinks people or at least the people of the South, should not laugh at. He says:

> It would be easy and proper for modern Southerners to enjoy and laugh at "Uncle Tom's Cobin" if it were accepted today as merely a product of the author's misinformed and perfervid imagination. But it is still taken for something much more than that. It is the book which portrayed the South so falsely in ante-bellum days that it had much to do with bringing about the War Between the States. It is a story which isn't true, but which many people still accept as true. Its untruths foul history today as they made history in other days. The South has too much of its name in the real drama of those other days still at stake and still unrecognized to be expected to laugh at or endure "Uncle Tom's Cobin."

If we did not think that the South should be able to laugh at the old melldrammer, we, too, would agree more heartily with Mr. Graves and the Daughters of the Confederacy at Houston that the students of Rice University should not present the play.

If the play would arouse bitterness in the hearts of Southerners viewing it, we, too, should plead with the student dramatists to substitute another play for "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Yet there is nothing sacred about the drama built on lies and exceptions.

If the South can laugh at a burlesque interpretation of a play which once caused anger and bitterness, how long then, can the North continue to take "Uncle Tom's Cabin" seriously?

Macon, Ga. News
November 23, 1933

Gist of The Press

FEELING RATHER BILIOUS

From the Pembroke Journal.

In the arrangement for the reception for President Roosevelt when he visits Savannah on the 18th, it is noticeable that a great deal of the choice space and seating capacity has been assigned to a lot of Negro brats.

Enough to accommodate five thousand in number, this space is located directly in front of the speakers stand and is considered the choice location at the stadium.

These Negro brats will not know who is speaking and will care less. If any of their fathers are able to qualify under educational grandfather clause, he voted for President Hoover, like he will vote next time, and like these boys will do when they attain majority.

Thousands of good white citizens will be deprived of an opportunity to listen to the great white Democratic leader speak, by reason of the fact that this space has been assigned to a lot of Negro boys.

It is noticeable that among the noted celebrities of prominence in the parade and on the grand stand the names of Messrs. Howell Cone and J. Saxton Daniel are painfully absent.

Howell Cone as collector of the port is the direct representative of the president in Georgia.

But the Negroes seem to have crowded him out. If it had been the Hoover celebration, your "Uncle M. O. Dunning" would have ridden astride of the president's shoulders during the parade. In fact he may do it anyhow.

If you happen to see a big double figure coming down the street at the head of the parade you need not inquire what it is, it will be M. O. Dunning setting astride of Franklin D. Roosevelt's shoulders.

The arrangement that is usually adopted in the staging of a parade is to hook the calliope to the tail end of the procession, but in this case, it may be located in the front car.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle
OCT 31 1933

Charge Negroes Worst Treated of All Racial Groups

Interracial Discussion Led by Church Women of Brooklyn, Queens

The Negro was described as "the most completely and cruelly subjugated of all the racial groups in the country" yesterday by Miss Mabel Carney, head of the department of rural education of Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Miss Carney spoke at the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Women of Brooklyn, Queens and Nassau, sponsored by the Brooklyn and Queens Federation of Churches and the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches, held at Plymouth Church, Hicks and Orange Sts.

Solution Is Offered

"Because of their subjugation," Miss Carney said, "the Negroes have developed a psychology of fear, bodily and spiritual." She urged meetings of the cultural "tops" of the Negro and white groups to overcome this situation.

Ira DeReid, director of research of the National Urban League, declared that the problem of the Negro today is still colored by the influence of the days of slavery.

Dr. George E. Haynes declared that the codes of the steel, lumber and cotton textile industries had been drawn up discriminating against the Negro.

"The Negro gets the result of a social and economic system little removed from the slave State," he said. "It is the Negro who is the forgotten man and woman, and who needs a new deal."

Mrs. Ida L. Wallace presided in the morning, and Mrs. Orrin R. Judd in the afternoon. The Rev. Dr. J. Stanley Durkee conducted the worship service. The Rev. Bradford Young of the Holy Trinity Church and Miss Marion Cuthbert, a secretary of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., led the discussions.

Other speakers were:

Roy Wilkins, a secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, past president of the State Federation of Women's Colored Clubs.

Dr. J. E. Moorland, a former secretary of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A.

Miss Katherine Gardner, a secretary of the Federal Council of Churches.

N. Y. TIMES
OCT 26 1933

RUSSIAN RECOGNITION CAUSES BAPTIST ROW

Resolution Opposing Renewal of Relations to Be Worded More 'Diplomatically' in Jersey.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, Oct. 25.—Russian recognition by the United States was opposed in a long debate which upset the New Jersey Baptist Convention today.

At the close of the business session of the 104th annual meeting here a resolution attacking Russia was referred to the executive committee "to be worded more diplomatically."

The Rev. Edward W. Cooper of Vineland precipitated the Soviet argument. During the reading of a resolution committee report which contained no mention of the matter Dr. Cooper interrupted. "Are we going to stand by without protest," he demanded, "and see our country negotiating to recognize Russia, a nation which has blasphemed God?"

Dr. Cooper suggested the convention "go on record as opposing the United States Government recognizing the present government of Russia, in as much as she has renounced God and opposed all religion."

The Rev. Otto F. Laegeler of Newark, director of religious education for Baptist churches of this State, objected. "Youth," he said, "is looking forward to world brotherhood."

Another delegate declared, however, that "if we have recognition it won't be long before we will have their active agents here."

Another resolution deplored the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne, Md.

Harold W. Bennett of Camden, City Commissioner and attorney, was re-elected president. Other officers chosen were the Rev. G. Pitt Beers of Paterson, Mrs. W. W. Fry of Camden and Frank V. Jennison of Trenton, vice presidents; the Rev. Charles E. Goodall of Roselle, executive secretary; the Rev. Finley Keech of Rahway, recording secretary, and Charles D. Brady of Newark, treasurer.

Newark was chosen as the place for the 1934 session.

Race Problem – 1933

United States.

BLEASE DROPS OLD 'CRACKER' METHODS IN PLEA FOR VOTERS

Courier 9-16-33 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Didn't Use the Word "Darky" In Address to Columbia, Ga., Negro Voters—"Protect All Women," He Says.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 14—Cole L. Blease, former governor of South Carolina, and former United States Senator from South Carolina, and an announced candidate for the governorship of South Carolina in 1934, spoke at Bethel A. M. E. Church, Sunday evening, September 10th. It was expected that an unusually large crowd would have been on hand to hear what Blease had to say in view of the recent publicity given Louisiana's Huey Long, and the erstwhile South Carolina senator's reputation for pithy utterances, but the crowd that listened to the speech was comparatively meager. The Blease speech was also a disappointment.

Gone were the inflammatory tirades of former years. Only once during his speech did the word "darky" escape the Bleaseian lips; even then it was apparently well meant since an attempt at paying a compliment to the darker brother was being made. Blease was invited to speak at Bethel in the interest of the budget committee of that church, which is struggling under a tremendous financial burden. In presenting the chairman of the budget committee, Dr. A. J. Collins, who acted as master of ceremonies, the Rev. Norman Westley Brown, pastor of Bethel Church, said that it is his intent to make as many friends for his church and his people as he can. In introducing the former senator, Dr. Collins called attention to the fact that he had made the dedicatory address when Bethel was first used for purposes of worship.

Seated on the platform, aside from those already mentioned, were Dr. Robert W. Mance, son of the late Dr. R. W. Mance, whose candidacy for the A. M. E. bishopric was defeated, it was said, because of his having been recommended by Blease, who was then riding the crest of the Negro hating waves; and the Rev. I. H. Alston, a presiding elder in the A .M. E. Church. President Abram Simpson, of Allen University, was in the audience but refused an invitation to sit on the platform.

Blease's speech would properly be classified as a sermon. It was replete with reference to the Bible, and the spirit of Jesus Christ. The same Blease, who in former years spoke so disparagingly of the virtue of colored women (believe it or not), spoke of the necessity of protecting the virtue of all women. The Blease whose stock in trade was discountenancing the black man's humanity, actually admitted that the black man had achieved most worthily in every field of endeavor. It was taken by some that Blease was even referring to the Hon. Oscar DePriest, whose presence in Congress inspired Blease's muse to the extent of stimulating him to write his immortal poem: "Niggers In the White House."

The Blease who appeared at Bethel Sunday night might have been an ambassador of the Lord, so saintly were his pronouncements. No longer was he the advocate of lynchings, but the champion of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." His subject was "Adjusting Ourselves To the New Deal." He took care of his subject by simply saying that adjustment would only be made by reconstructing the family altar and rededicating ourselves to the religion of Jesus Christ. These sarcedotal preachments did not fail to call forth loud "Amens" from his sable auditors. Cole Blease was voted a staunch friend to suffering humanity and a champion of Negro advancement.

Blease, who is a lawyer by profession, said that during the first years of his practice he seldom defended a white man, but now, he added, "I never defend a darkey." His implication was taken as meaning that the "darkies" have their own lawyers. The former senator and governor is making a desperate bid to regain the laurels which he has forfeited at the hands of the South Carolina electorate. Even the despised Negro is not too lowly for the crafty Blease to try to impress with his conversion.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

TOLERANT OSTRICHES

Courier

THE National Conference of Jews and Christians has organized a traveling discussion unit comprising a rabbi, a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister to tour the entire country for the express purpose of "resisting the duplication in this country of the outbreak of intolerance abroad." The touring group will conduct seminars and roundtable discussions at which "groups of thoughtful persons will be invited to talk over friction points of a racial or religious character and try to reach an understanding which will enable them to co-operate." The sponsoring groups feel that "the outbreak of tolerance abroad must not be duplicated in this country."

10-28-33

This is all very fine and to be lauded by all right-thinking persons but it is singular that nothing is said about combating the worst intolerance of all—color prejudice. No Negro is a member of this discussion unit although color prejudice is a much more pressing question than that involving Jews and Christians. While there is unquestionably considerable anti-Semitism in the United States, it is as nothing compared to the tidal wave of Negrophobia and the physical and psychological cruelties that follow in its train.

But neither Jew nor Christian is very anxious to touch the question of color prejudice. That is dynamite, and the nice liberals who are weeping over the possibility of a growth of anti-Semitism here are little concerned with the lynching and ruthless exploitation and shameless discrimination against the colored folk. While they are preaching tolerance, they prefer to play the ostrich about color prejudice.

It would have been an excellent policy to include a Negro speaker in this discussion unit to tour the country. Much good would undoubtedly have come from it. Nothing is more needed to improve race relations, but nothing would have brought down more criticism upon the heads of the nice liberals sponsoring the movement. So the Negro was left out, and the color question will scarcely be referred to on the national tour. It is a question that all white people, save a small minority, are unwilling to touch. It is much safer to play the ostrich. It is all very well to fervently denounce the Hitlerites but not the Heflinites. As usual the Negro is left to fight his own battles.

NEGRO BISHOP ADMONISHES FLOCK TO 'STAY IN SOUTH'

Fountain Says Southern Negro Doing More Than Negro of Other Sections

Macon Ga

Bishop W. A. Fountain, Atlanta Negro clergyman, yesterday gave he principal address of the second day's sessions of the Methodist Georgia conference of the A. M. E. church.

The conference began Tuesday and will continue through Sunday. More than 150 ministers from the Macon, East Macon, Milledgeville and Forsyth districts are attending.

"The Negro in the South is doing more than the Negro of any other section of the country," the bishop declared. "I prefer to stay in the South."

The Negro churchman also urged the pastors to study conditions in their respective communities. He said that the trouble with churches today is that the are not sufficiently broad-minded.

During the morning session, at which Bishop Fountain presided and spoke, the following were chosen secretaries of the conference: Rev. T. J. Davis., East Macon; Rev. A. J. Harris, Macon, and Rev. J. M. Miller, presiding elder of the Forsyth district.

Marshals Named

Rev. S. M. Howard, Forsyth; Rev. T. M. Johnson, Lizella; Rev. John Daniel, Leeport, and Rev. A. Simmons were named as marshals.

In the afternoon, reports from pastors in the Milledgeville district were heard. Those reporting balanced budgets were: Rev. C. C. Ealey, Sparta; Rev. A. C. Danford, Milledgeville; Rev. J. G. Brown, Devereaux, and Rev. A. Griggs, Sparta.

Rev. J. A. Brayboy, Jacksonville, Fla., spoke to a congregation of more than 700 people at the night meeting. Rev. J. I. Stringer, Columbus, presided.

Features of today's session will be several addresses on state church work, the opening of the conference institute, reports of pastors of the Forsyth district and observance tonight of the missionary anniversary.

Other Speakers

The following will speak on state church work: Rev. E. J. Odum, Griffin; Rev. C. C. Crouch, Donalsonville; Rev. J. L. Butler, Savannah; Rev. J. A. Hadley, Atlanta, and Rev. J. W Dennis, Cuthbert.

Rev. H. Vernon Green, Cordele, will conduct the first day's church institute. Speakers will be Dr. C. W. Dyer, Macon physician, and Rev. T. J. Linton, South Macon.

Morning sessions begin at 9 o'clock and end at 1 o'clock. Afternoon sessions continue from 3 o'clock until 5, while night sessions start at 7:30.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.
NEW MEXICO STATE TRIBUNE

OCT 20 1933

THE TOLERANCE TOUR

A Jewish rabbi, a Catholic priest and a protestant minister are being sent forth through 39 American cities by the National Conference of Jews and Christians for the purpose of "resisting the duplication in this country of the outbreak of intolerance abroad."

Newton D. Baker, one of the three co-chairmen of the conference, describes the project as a purely domestic campaign.

"The national conference," he says, "feels that the outbreak of intolerance abroad must not be duplicated in this country. The American ideal is inconsistent with the spirit, and the conference therefore aims to emphasize the American spirit, to instill sympathy and cooperation in our own country."

Must the ideal of live-and-let-live be "sold" again to our America, founded by religious and political refugees and built by the toil of many races? Unfortunately, yes. Fear of want and insecurity increase hatred and violence.

Danger signs are not lacking. In Maryland, free state a mob of frenzied whites on Wednesday night lynched a negro. In Oklahoma a misguided group of youths, calling themselves "silver shirts," ape Hitlerism's mouthing against Jews and communists.

Elsewhere the spirit of the K. K. K., that grew after the 1921 depression, is stirring again. Strikes and lockouts are rampant, and in California farmers fired on striking cotton pickers, killing three.

The tolerance tour will organize groups of thoughtful citizens and seek to iron out racial, religious and other friction spots. Every American family should be such a group. This country has endured enough without the torture of internal strife.

Jackson, Fla., Progress-Argus
December 22, 1933

WARNING TO UPLIFTERS

Those misguided negro protective organizations of the north who insist in sending northern lawyers to the south to defend negro criminals are playing with a bomb, as well as doing the cause they intend to help an injustice. The manner in which those imported lawyers attempt to handle such cases is an insolent insult to the southern courts and prosecuting attorneys. They heap coal on a burning fire that helps create prejudice and bitter race feeling, that is resented by both races in the south, and if those uninformed northern organizations continue the procedure something of a deplorable nature is sure to result sooner or later. The southern people are solving the race problem slowly but surely to the advancement of both races and the north would do well to attend to their own home problems and let the south and west do the same.—Thomasville Press.

Foley, Ala., Onlooker
December 14, 1933

LAWYER DEFENDS SOUTH IN REPLY ON NEGRO QUESTION

Woodford Mabry, attorney at Grove Hill, Ala., well known at Foley and a former resident of Magnolia Springs, writing a brief on "A Reply To Southern Slanderers in Re. Negro Question, Lynch Law, Etc." which appeared in the Opp News, presents a strong argument in defense of the state against the effort made by Northern agitators during the last three years to incite racial hatred between the white and colored races of Alabama.

"Many lawyers have fallen into the habit of worshipping 'due process of law' because it yields fat fees," Mr. Mabry's article began.

"The public is seldom agreed as to what it does want, but is quick to determine what it does not want—and it does not want shyster lawyers to come into their state employed to interefere with the administration of justice in our courts and it does not want a rape-fiend or assassin to live one minute longer than necessary to determine his guilt and put him in the electric chair. You New York lawyers who came to Alabama seem to entertain the mistaken opinion that the people were made for the criminal and the criminal for the lawyer, on the principle that every bug must have smaller bugs to bite. You nave fallen into the bad habit of worshipping 'due process of law' because it yields fat fees from the International Labor Defense, forgetful, that it is in no wise worthy of adolation unless it yields also protection to the people."

Speaking of court procedure and lawyers, Mr. Mabry goes on to say:

"Speaking for myself alone, I would like to see the court room procedure in the entire county remedied. A trial in the court room should be made more of a judicial examination by the judge and jury, and less of a prize fight between the lawyers. There are too many shyster lawyers injected into the legal profession. Few greater men have ever lived than really true lawyers. Few meaner men have lived than the false ones. You feel the need of a disinfectant when you approach him. He looks bad and he is bad. He is abroad in the land. The impudence of Satan is in his face, and the mainspring of his existence is "boodle". Principles are, to him, things to use, trade on and desert.

"These northern buzzards forget that it was the South that gave us at Jamestown the first representative government; that it was on the soil of the South that the first Revolutionary blood was shed, that it was in the South (North Carolina) that the first Declaration of Independence was made, that it was in a southern state (Virginia) that the first armed movement against the royal forces was made, that the South gave the country a Thomas Jefferson to write the Declaration of Independence, a George Washington to carry our sword to victory, a Patrick Henry to speak out for home and liberty, and it was Virginia that pledged her credit to secure credit to carry on the war for independence. And it was the South that kept alive the doctrine of state's rights until now out of 39 only two states (we are sorry these are southern states) have voted against state's rights.

"And what was the North doing while we of the great old South were setting up a free government. New England was sending slave ships to Africa and stealing negroes from the jungles and bringing them back to America, selling them wherever they could find buyers, North or South, and then after they found the slaves unprofitable in their climate sold them to the South and as soon as they got paid off turned in and made us free them for nothing. That same thieveish principle is raging against us now.

"But we of the South know how to get along with the negro. No race, not even our own, is happier than the negro is here in the South. He likes the white man and the white man likes him. They know each other. But these howling buzzards are doing untold harm. Just a little more of it and times will get tough."

Dunn, N. C. Dispatch
October 17. 1933

INVITING FUTURE TROUBLE.

The sooner the Negro is accorded every right of a citizen justly belonging to him the less trouble will ultimately result. Many white people seem unable to distinguish between civil rights and social privileges. The social barriers raised to prevent race mixtures are right and proper. Those barriers are not so much raised to prevent "social equality" as for the protection of racial integrity. To the individual and the various social groups naturally belongs the right of prescribing his or their social relations, so long as such relations do not endanger the public welfare or interfere with individual rights. But no individual, whatever his color, has any right to impose his presence upon those who do not desire to recognize him socially. A man's home is his castle; any social gathering is properly controlled by its sponsors who have the privilege of debarring whomsoever they please. The social relations of the races really give no trouble in the South. Hardly a Negro in a thousand desires to assume what is termed "social equality". The Negro no more than the unwanted white man is disposed to intrude where he is not wanted.

But civil equality is another thing. That is the inherent right of every citizen, white or black, and the granting of such right does not at all menace the barriers to social equality or the integrity of the races. That principle is thoroughly recognized in business relations in the South. Whites and blacks freely commingle in the stores and upon the streets. The Negro has no such "untouchable" barrier as the lowest caste of the people of India. In business relations, such as barbering, chauffering, and household work considerable personal intimacy is taken for granted. No white man hesitates to sell to or buy from a Negro. No such thing could happen in America as happened in India when the landlord forbade his "untouchable" servant to keep hands off a melon which had been gnawed by a skunk, lest the "untouchable" should make it "unclean" and unusable by the master. On the other hand, tens of thousands of the "best" Southern people have been brought up under the care of Negro nurses, while the Negro cook is the usual and the proper thing. All those relations exist without the least menace to the social barriers.

Yet in civil relations, many Southerners have apparently been unable to differentiate between civil rights which do not at all interfere with social relations and those practices which might ultimately menace racial integrity.

Such misconceptions, which lead to debarring Negroes from juries, to closing the registration books to Negroes who are qualified to vote under the educational and other legal restrictions, to resenting the appearance of Negro attorneys in the court houses and to their functioning in every respect as do white attorneys, are bound, sooner or later, to react upon the Southern people. The voluntary granting of those rights, while the social barriers are maintained, would be accepted in the proper spirit by the masses of Negroes.

On the other hand, if the South should be compelled by the Federal authorities to grant them, and full and equal civil privileges should come at one fell swoop and at what the whole mass of Negroes would know was the Federal ukase, the danger of attempted breaking over of the social barriers would be much greater.

For if many white people have not been able to differentiate between civil and social rights or privileges when the power to discriminate against the Negro in civil relations lies in the hands of the whites, it is assumable that the same mistake would be made by the Negroes when the Federal powers decree him his civil rights and that he might assume that the same authority could go further and open the white schools and the churches to him and remove the legal barriers to miscegenation, all which limiations are based upon the social and racial relations, and not upon the civil.

Moreover, in that case a full right to the franchise upon identical terms with the whites would result in a greater mass of colored voters arriving upon the scene at one time than would the voluntary registration by the white registrars of those Negroes who prove themselves qualified, under the legal restrictions, to be enrolled as voters. Thus gradually seeping into the electoral body, it is presumable that the Negroes would vote as individuals and not as a race, as was the case when the franchise had been granted the former slaves by the compulsion of the Federal authorities. For thirty years they voted as a mass for the party which enfranchised them, and it is likely that they would again as a mass support that party which should be responsible for their regaining the franchise.

There can be no question that Negroes are denied several of their inherent civil rights in North Carolina. White registrars perjure themselves in refusing to register scholarly Negroes. Hiding behind the North Carolina law which declares that the register must "be satisfied", they violate their oath to maintain the constitution of the United States which declares that there must be no distinction shown with respect to races in the granting of the franchise. But that kind of annulment of the U. S constitution can hardly be expected to go on forever. The Federal government will some day see to it that the qualified Negro citizen is accorded his inherent civil right to the franchise, and then there will be ten times more trouble than if the qualified Negroes should be allowed to seep in gradually and in numbers that could not immediately become the balance of power in Southern elections.

The foregoing was suggested by the ill treatment in Vance county of certain colored attorneys who were absolutely within their civil rights in insisting upon the principle that Negroes should not upon racial grounds alone be debarred from jury service.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
September 14, 1933

WISELY DESIGNED MOVEMENT

FOR the first time a systematic and sustained fight is to be waged against racial and religious prejudice in the United States. Everett R. Clinchey, director of the movement, expresses the purpose of the campaign in the sentence:

"We Catholics, Jews and Protestants have got to learn to live together amicably, even while we may differ strenuously."

That presents a fact that all theorists may as well recognize. The fact also should be recognized that any warfare upon any group of American citizens will inevitably react upon all other groups. All are in the same boat and any attempt to scuttle the ship imperils the whole.

The national movement, headed by distinguished representatives of the Jewish, Protestant and Catholic groups, is designed to minimize friction and its inauguration at this time is eminently fitting.

Never was there a time when differences of every nature should be subordinated to the general well-being of the county, and this movement is in complete harmony with the national recovery program. Cooperation along economic lines is not going to be perfect when racial and religious differences are permitted to disturb the general harmony.

There is not now nor has there ever been any reason for conflict between any groups of well-intentioned American citizens, and certainly the well-intentioned embrace men and women of every race and of every faith. All are here; all are here to stay, and to work in harmony for all that makes for national growth and national prosperity should be the chief incentive.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
September 13, 1933

Editorial Of The Day

(The Montgomery Advertiser)

BLACK AND WHITE IN THE DEEP SOUTH

THE Negro who commits rape against a white woman is as much the enemy of his own race as he is the sure and deserving objective of the white man's hate. To apprehend him, to convict him, and to put him to immediate death at the law's hands is a public task in which the Negro race has easily as much at stake as the white race. This is something for every decent Negro to remember, no matter how sorely the two present foes of Southern civilization—the lyncher and the I. L. D. agitator—confuse with their actions the plain face of the thing.—John Temple Graves, in The Age-Herald.

The low-down Negro is the greatest burden which the decent Negro has to bear, even as the low-down white man is the greatest burden which the respectable white man has to bear.

Because we have low-down Negroes and because we have low-down white people here in the South where both races are numerically powerful, it behooves the decent people in both races to give the best that is in their hearts and brains to curb and repress both classes that now and again humiliate them.

The respectable and the responsible elements in both races should come close together. They should be frank and honest, they should be brave and resolute. Their common purpose should be to repress and control the vicious elements in both races. They should desire to keep the peace between the respectable people in both racial groups. That is the decent, sensible, civilized thing to do.

There are two facts to remember: First, low-down Negroes are more prone to attack white women than low-down whites are to attack colored women. Their proneness to this crime is derived not as many suppose, from the jungle animalism of the black—an absurd idea—but from his vanity. Vanity, as a matter of fact, wrecks more lives than any other cause. Watch it.

Second, the low-down white man frequently is inconsiderate of and insulting to respectable Negroes. He makes it impossible for them to trust him, respect him, admire him or to avoid hating him.

Indeed, he deserves their hatred, because he is crude, vicious, cheap, cowardly and unfeeling. He is offensive to them only because he knows they are weaker socially, economically and politically than he is.

Because he is willing to betray, abuse and outrage the weak he is not better at heart than the most ornery cornfield Negro in Alabama. If he had any moral courage he would make it a point of honor to be decent to the weak in all circumstances.

But the Negro, it is only fair to say, is weaker than the white man because he has not been so well trained. He has not yet had the benefit of the spiritual power which flows from civilizing agencies because he is still the youngest of the races that stand face to face with golden opportunity.

It is no reflection upon the Negro to say this. He knows it as well as anyone.

But the Negro shows remarkable promise, and it is greatly to his credit and of notable significance that the choicest spirits of his race seldom if ever come under a cloud. The Advertiser has never known of a Negro college graduate, as an example in passing, who was charged with the crime of rape. As the Negro's training improves the less prone he is to turn anti-social and in any way to be troublesome.

It is still the Negro beast who would prey upon white women and otherwise humiliate his race by committing offenses that cannot be condoned either by white or blacks.

The Negro beast is primarily the problem of the Negro race in the South and every orderly, intelligent Negro realizes the fact. Knowledge of its shame and horrifies the good men and women who are black.

But The Advertiser is sure that all white men of good will recognize the gulf that lies between respectable, orderly Negroes and those of their race who cannot be controlled except by force.

FROM A NEGRO LEADER

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have read with unusual interest your recent editorials in regard to crime.

Your statement pleading with the White people to recognize the wide gulf which divides the better element of Negroes from the lower or vicious type is indeed commendable. One of the most saddening aspects of the whole racial situation has been that all Negroes have been classed in one or the same category.

The better and more intelligent of our group deeply deplore the grave crimes allegedly committed by members of our race, and wish our white friends to know how humiliated we feel when they are committed.

We want it known that the officers and authorities have the moral and active support of the better element of Colored citizens, in the detention and suppression of criminals and crimes in this community.

As a social worker in the large prisons of the State, I wish to state an observation. While the discipline in Kilby and the other prisons is excellent, the State does little or nothing to help the unfortunate to improve himself spiritually, or undergo a change in attitudes.

There should be compulsory attendance at regular religious services at the prisons; or the merit system should include points for such attendance.

Again, the breeding places of crime should be cleaned up. Several public places in the downtown business district are teeming daily with Negro youth. They are dirty, ragged, hungry, and are growing up as beggars.

These offer a menace to society. The law may scatter them, and the effect is only temporary. Each case should be investigated, and catalogued.

We need a dozen Negro social workers among Negroes in this city.

The work is too heavy for one Probation Officer.

We are in need of one or more Negro detectives of a high type, to assist our White officers in the detection of criminals, and the solution of our manifold problems.

Society is failing in its duty until the very root of the evils that beset us, are rooted up and exposed to the sunlight of truth and righteousness, and honest endeavor is substituted for the most violent methods of cure.

OSCAR E. SAFFOLD,
President Alabama Congregational Young People's Conference.

BLACK AND WHITE IN THE DEEP SOUTH

The Negro who commits rape against a white woman is as much the enemy of his own race as he is the sure and deserving objective of the white man's hate. To apprehend him, to convict him, and to put him to immediate death at the law's hands is a public task in which the Negro race has easily as much at stake as the white race. This is something for every decent Negro to remember, no matter how sorely the two present foes of Southern civilization—the lyncher and the I. L. D. agitator—confuse with their actions the plain face of the thing.—John Temple Graves, in The Age-Herald.

The low-down Negro is the greatest burden which the decent Negro has to bear, even as the low-down white man is the greatest burden which the respectable white man has to bear.

Because we have low-down Negroes and because we have low-down white people here in the South where both races are numerically powerful, it behooves the decent people in both races to give the best that is in their hearts and brains to curb and repress both classes that now and again humiliate them.

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Montgomery, Ala. Home
September 6, 1933

SOME ADVICE TO NEGROES

The so-called Negro problem is one of the most difficult of solution ever faced by the people of this nation. The Alabama Christian Advocate does not presume to offer advice that will solve this problem in its entirety, but at this particular time it dares to offer a suggestion that it believes will be helpful to all concerned.

The best white people of the South desire to live on the friendliest possible terms with the Negroes. This writer believes sincerely that the truest and most dependable friend that the Southern Negro has is the Southern white man. Of course, there are exceptions to this; there are some white men who would exploit the Negro, but he is not confined to the South, nor is his spirit of exploitation confined to the Negro; he would exploit whom he could. But this is not the case with the average white man. Most Southern white men not only feel kindly toward the Negro, but have a sincere desire to help him.

In the light of this fact, it behooves the Negro to appreciate this friendship and to show this appreciation by eschewing the proferred help (?) of foreign agitators. While the pseudo-friendship for the Negro on the part of these foreign agitators and their presence at Negro trials is no excuse for mob violence, it will hardly be denied by any one familiar with the situation that recent lynchings in this state were provoked by their presence here. Their presence here is resented by even the most devoutly religious white men, first, because their presence is an unwarranted intrusion and an unappreciated insinuation that Southern white men will not give the Negro a fair trial; and, second, because their presence works harm to the Negro and does militate against a fair trial.

Two things, then, the Negro leaders and preachers can do, First, preach and teach against assault of white women by Negro men. Aside from the fact that this is a sin against God and humanity, the Negro is sure to have to suffer for such a crime. This is one crime for which the white man will not stand, and in one way or another (sometimes the innocent along with the guilty) the Negro must pay for that crime. This fact should be so dinned into the Negro ear that he cannot ever forget it.

Second, the Negro leaders, by concerted action, ought to repudiate the presence of these foreign agitators, at Negro trials in the South. A suggestion made by the Alabama Baptist is timely, namely, that the Negroes in state-wide assembly, denounce the proffered help of these outside agitators. This will help the situation.

We are two races living side by side. The best men in each race wish to live not only peaceably but happily. Every assault case and every act of mob violence tends to make a breach between the two races. Let the leaders of both races work against the occurence of any crime that leads to suspicion and hatred.

That Park "Ape-Man"

Amsterdam News
10-11-33

SQUIRE WATSON of 240 West Sixty-third street was arrested Sunday night in Central Park and charged with violation of the Sullivan law because, police say, they found a knife in his possession. The Evening Journal came out Monday with a headline screaming "Park 'Ape-Man' Suspect Held." Similar headlines have appeared repeatedly in the metropolitan dailies during the past few weeks.

A number of white couples, according to police, have reported being attacked and robbed by a "giant Negro" in Central Park. These accounts, whose narrators have been unable to identify any of the numerous suspects rounded up, have not served to cement friendly relations between the races in New York and the newspapers have not helped the situation. An Amsterdam News reporter went up on Washington Heights the other day to get the straw votes of white citizens in the Twenty-first Assembly district for a newspaper poll. When he rang the bell at one house a little girl came to the door, took one look at the reporter, and ran back yelling something about a "giant colored man."

This incident shows clearly the impression made upon children (and unthinking grownups, too) by these lurid headlines, screaming race hatred, for the reporter is less than average height and not heavily built.

A group representing Harlem churches and liberal organizations has sent Mayor O'Brien a communication protesting this sort of journalism and the big manhunts being staged in the park on the order of Police Commissioner Bolan, who has been quoted as saying: "Bring him back, dead or alive." Such hysteria is in strange contrast to the wide indignation expressed by press and public in New York over the determination of Alabama to execute the Scottsboro boys. Fairness, like charity, should begin at home, if the city wishes to keep the stain of mob murder from its name.

HOSTILE ACTS OF A WHITE WORLD

Chicago Defender
10-28-33

H. F. Gosnell, associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago, in a recent issue of the American Journal of Sociology discussed with freedom and fairness the social and political attitude of the white world against the black world.

While the professor built his conclusions upon facts obtained in a major thesis which directly concerned Chicago, it nevertheless was applicable to the white governing class of the world. His statement, which in part follows, expresses an irrefutable fact: "In the Colored community unskilled laborers, domestic servants, gamblers, policemen, prostitutes, clerical workers, bootleggers, teachers, mail carriers, lawyers, business men, clergymen and others are all surrounded by a wall of prejudice erected by the white world.

"A discriminatory act or threat against any member of the group whatever his standing may be, is regarded as an attack on the entire group." This statement tells the story of the prison house of prejudice out of which the black people must escape if they are to obtain their full measure of social, political and economic benefits enjoyed by other racial groups.

Their escape cannot be accomplished unless they have the help and support of the better thinking white people of the world. The test of the white man's civilization is fundamentally involved in this very question. It has been said that in all ages civilizations are built out of the dominant ideas and ideals that form the lives of the builders.

If we want to remold our civilization we must set about training in new fashion the minds that are to do the building. To ignore that side of life is to defy the structural laws of the world and, it may well be added, the spiritual hopes of mankind. The remolding of our civilization or of the white man's civilization must be based on the conscientious acceptance of the brotherhood of man.

This feeling can only conceive its birth in the spiritual growth of human sympathy and love. White mothers and white fathers as well as black mothers and black fathers must cease to teach hate, proscription and prejudice if their sons and daughters are to be the proper builders of the civilization of the future.

The wall of hate to which Professor Gosnell refers has had its effectiveness in the all too generous use of selfishness and racial antipathy. This has been passed on from generation to generation with the result that the arteries of human sympathy are clogged with hypocrisy and hate.

Race Problem – 1933
United States.
PRESS
Dansville N.Y.
APR 11 1933

THE FOLLY OF PREJUDICE

It is evident that the Nazi persecution of the Jews in Germany s awakening a new kindliness for Jews in other nations on the part of people with whom they live. From the United States has come protests, sponsored in no small measure by prominent Gentiles, against this form of race hatred, proved by time to be prejudicial to the best interests of the world at large. Last week Christian groups in France were asked to pray for their Jewish brethren in Germany. In fact, indignation has been voiced throughout the world.

No good has ever come from the persecution of a people. Hatred seems to have the faculty of obliterating virtues and of grinding deeper and harder whatever shortcomings there may be. Jews will say that the faults of their race are many. But they know and we know those faults have arisen entirely from the desperation of hard centuries of persecution. The very love of money which is supposed to be inherent in the race is really not intrinsically a part of the Jew. It is a trait developed by sheer necessity since money alone was able in the past to buy immunity from cruel oppressors.

Most of the world would like to feel that it had progressed past those pages filled with the costly errors of hatred and persecution and into the new era of intelligent cooperation and mutual helpfulness.

In our own country there exists a situation from which no American can derive much satisfaction. That the presence of large numbers of the Negro race in the United States creates immense problems there can be no gainsaying. But here again hatred, intolerance and bigotry will only accentuate the lowest and meanest traits of the colored people. The rape of the Negro and his enslavement was one of the mistakes that is now part of our heritage from those who overstepped themselves in their zeal to develop a young country. Perhaps before very much can be done toward rectifying that mistake greater attention must be paid to the development of those white people who are most constantly in contact with large colored elements.

That such development is imperative needs no better proof than is found in the statement issued by Samuel S. Leibowitz, chief defense counsel in the now famous Scottsboro case concluded Sunday at Decatur, Alabama. In part, Mr. Leibowitz said:

"This is a black page in the history of American civilization. An occasion where once more twelve citizens of Alabama, swayed by bigotry and prejudice and hearkening to the yelps of a bombastic Ku Klux who hurled mud at the Jew and the people of the great State of New York to sympathetic ears in the court room crowded with lantern-jawed morons and lynchers, brought in a verdict that is a mockery of justice.

"The hatred for New York and other metropolitan centres of commerce and modern enlightenment was even more vicious than the hatred manifested by this outrageous verdict against the Negro.

"You must know this God-forsaken place, some of the creatures that live here, the mobs that burn crosses at night, masked like cowards so that decent people cannot see the sordidness and venom in their hideous countenances in order to understand that the verdict here was just a piece of judicial lynching."

BEAUMONT, TEX.
ENTERPRISE
MAR 28 1933

THE RACE ISSUE AND THE BALLOT

In an article entitled, "The Southern White Man and the Negro," reprinted from the Virginia Quarterly Review, R. Charlton Wright makes this statement: "Whatever may be said, pro or con, of the negro's present situation, his enfranchisement, initially, was an act of madness or hate perpetrated by men inflamed against a conquered people, and bent on their humiliation. It was an act of war superimposed upon a status quo of peace. The ballot is the white man's greatest heritage, his supreme boon, from long centuries of struggle and self-discipline. Yet, with a pious gesture of magnanimity, it was handed like a child's bauble to a horde of illiterate, irresponsible negroes, newly freed from bondage, and mentally and morally retarded three to four thousand years behind the whites. Such a measure of enfranchisement was not extended to the people of England until some years later. Politically it was one of the most absurd acts of stupidity ever committed by civilized men."

In discussing the so-called race issue in the south, not enough attention has been paid to the political consequences of giving the ballot to suddenly enfranchised negroes who were not capable of making intelligent use of the power placed in their hands. Scenes witnessed in South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and other southern states during the dark days of Reconstruction resulted from the determination of northern leaders to punish the southern whites for their "rebellion" and the mawkish sentimentality of abolitionists who made no distinction between an illiterate negro field hand and an educated white man, but demanded that both be put immediately on a plane of political, if not social, equality.

It was grotesque, it was tragic. History does not hold a parallel to the misguided policy of forcing the southern white people to submit to negro domination, which was not so much negro domination in fact as the control exerted by white carpetbaggers from the north and white scalawags of the south. To southerners the Civil war was not a contest over slavery but over property rights; southerners who were not wedded to the slave system and would gladly have seen it abolished, held, with some degree of logic, that their property should not be taken away from them without adequate compensation.

If the former slaves had not been granted political rights, in all likelihood most of the bitterness engendered between the races in the south would never have arisen. The horrors of Reconstruction, which did infinite harm to the negroes as well as the whites, could have been avoided. For centuries white women were denied the ballot. Only in recent years have they won universal suffrage in the United States, which prides itself on its political progress. In some of the European countries, including that other great republic, France, women are denied equal political rights with men. Yet, the ballot was thrust into the hands of former slaves in the south before they had even adjusted themselves to freedom, much less learned how to exercise their suffrage rights.

Giving the southern negro the right to vote before he was prepared for citizenship, led to abuses which continue to the present day. The southern negro, with relatively few exceptions, is still a political pawn, used by one of the major political parties for its own ends. Restrictions enforced by the other major political party were adopted for the preservation of racial and social integrity menaced by the ballot in the hands of an ignorant and irresponsible electorate.

THE GOVERNOR AND THE NEGRO.

It is not unusual for white people in high position, when speaking before Negro audiences to attempt to rock them into a sense of satiety by the use of various means. It is customary for them to remark at the progress the darker brother has made in so short a period, and to make much of the fact that in the main he is a law-abiding chap. The Negro is cautioned and advised to continue in the ways of righteousness and humility and all will be well. Of course the white brother usually tells him that "all of us are, alike, citizens of this great republic."

We were thinking of the many speeches we have heard from the lips of white men while listening to Governor Ibra C. Blackwood at Allen University last Tuesday night in an address he delivered under the auspices of Chappelle Station A. M. E. Church. The governor's first statement was one that gives to South Carolina Negroes all the opening they need to protest against the many abuses and injustices that are heaped upon them because of their color in this state. He said that it is his desire to promote the interests, welfare and happiness of all the people within the borders of this commonwealth.

So long as there is disfranchisement, so long as there is inequality in the distribution of educational funds, so long as there is the governor of all the people, and for us to come to us and tell us that he is willing to be nor remain inarticulate where our rights, privileges and duties are concerned should certainly brand us as an inferior people not deserving the badge of citizenship pinned on us by the Constitution of the United States of America.

If words mean anything Governor Blackwood certainly believes that the Negro has many superior racial traits. He said that the race individual or group that shows itself master of adverse situations is the race, individual or group that ul-

Race Problem – 1933

United States.

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THE GOVERNOR AND THE NEGRO.

7-18-33

Columbia, S.C.

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We were thinking of the many speeches we have heard from the lips of white men while listening to Governor Ibra C. Blackwood at Allen University last Tuesday night in an address he delivered Negroes are excluded from jury service, so long as there is enforced segregation in the distribution of educational funds, so long as Negro minors are given instead of juvenile state penitentiary when they are found to have run afou... equality in the United States of America. Governor Blackwood so long as there is disfranchisement, so long as there is inequality before the law, the interests, welfare and happiness of a portion of South Carolina's citizens perior racial traits. He said that the race individual or group that shows itself master of adverse situations is the race, individual or group that ul- under the auspices of Chappelle Station A. M. E. Church. The governor's first statement was one that gives to South Carolina Negroes all the opening they need to protest against the many abuses and injustices that are heaped upon them because of their color in this state. He said that it is his desire to promote the interests, welfare and happiness of all the people within the borders of this commonwealth.

So long as there are exceptions, so long as Negroes are excluded from jury service, so long as there is inequality in the distribution of educational funds, so long as there is disfranchisement, so long as there is enforced segregation and so long as there are found to have run afoul of the law, the interests, welfare and happiness of a portion of South Carolina's citizens perior racial traits. He said that the race individual or group that shows itself master of adverse situations is the race, individual or group that ultimately believes that the Negro has many super

timately triumphs. He said, moreover that the Negro had assuredly shown himself to be master of the many adversities he has encountered in his forward march.

The governor certainly spoke words of truth when he surmised that "it must be very difficult for people to display kindness towards those who discriminate against him in public life." He avowed that the Negro has been long suffering in this regard.

In closing the governor stated that a passion for truth and a strong sense of duty are all that are needed to insure the success of any individual or people. Let us hope that the people of South Carolina and of the United States may soon recognize the TRUTH that under the Constitution of the United States, all citizens are supposed to be treated with equality, and that public officials may acquire such strong senses of duty that public speeches before minority or weaker groups may mean something to them.

MORE ABOUT THE BARE-FOOT SOUTH

Just as we feared the South has gone and become indignant again. It is about Miss Frances Perkins's speech on the South and shoes, or rather Secretary Perkins's speech on the South and the lack of shoes.

Now we had hoped that our editorial brethren on this side of the Mason-Dixon line would not deal too harshly with the good lady merely because she said, "The South is an untapped market for shoes."

True enough most Southern women at least forsake the comforts of going barefoot to afternoon teas. And most male Southerners, generally speaking, wear shoes to Sunday meeting and affairs of State.

Our Mr. Atticus Mullin, an unchallenged authority on Alabama and Alabama folks, vows that he counted no less than two dozen fully shod feet at the inauguration of the Governor.

Surprised indeed were we at Miss Perkins's advocay of a social revolution in the South simply by encasing Southern feet in leather.

Miss Perkins is a well-informed woman. She has been a capable and efficient public servant in New York and her record is one to be envied.

Doubtless that is why too many Southerners took the statement about shoes in the South too seriously. That is why not a few of our newspapers have devoted space to denying that the South is an untapped market for shoes.

But on second thought Southerners should realize that the mistaken general statement might have come from many another enlightened New Yorker. For New Yorkers are rather ignorant about many phases of the South—as a goodly number of them are ignorant about most of the world outside Manhattan.

Of course the lady Secretary of Labor knew that our Southern Colonels, the white-haired, mustached gentlemen, you know, who throng every street of every Southern city, do not go about sipping mint juleps and bowing from the waist down to the ladies in carriages, entirely shoeless.

Southern Colonels, as Miss Perkins doubtless can tell you, either wear patent leathers, or riding boots—not to mention the black hats and white waistcoats—which indeed every Bostonian and New Yorker knows.

C. W. Butler, a shoe manufacturer, says that the Southern woman is better shod than any person in the United States, and the children of the South are more generally shod than those in New York.

Mr. Butler, however, did not mention the men-folks.

As a matter of fact it is an open secret that when President Roosevelt visited Montgomery, there was quite a lot of discussion as to whether the reception committee should wear shoes.

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NEWS
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To the Editor of The Daily News:—

In your edition of November 24, you carry an excellent report of a speech delivered by the Rev William B. Lipphard, editor of Missions, dealing with the situation in Germany. I wish that we could have more talks of this kind The spread of anti-Semitism in this country and our persecution of the Negro make our protests against Hitler less effective than they should be We must first take the beam out of our own eye if we want to take the mote out of the eye of our neighbor.

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In your report of Mr Lipphard's speech you suggest that he somewhat apologize for the atrocities committed by the Nazis against the Jews by pointing out our treatment of the Jews and Negroes. I think we must remember that two wrongs do not make a right, and that our errors are no apologies for the sins of Hitler. And there is a difference between the United States and Germany. Our government does not approve of anti-Semitism or persecution of the Negro, any reason to criticize them? Whatever does it pass laws to victimize group of people wouldn't be proud to them. Germany does. have it said of them that they had The anti-Semitic program of the risen to positions of power? Hitlerites, and of all anti-Semites is

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GEORGE DEWITT.

New York, Dec. 26.

timately triumphs. He said, moreover that the Negro had assuredly shown himself to be master of the many adversities he has encountered in his forward march.

The governor certainly spoke words of truth when he surmised that "it must be very difficult for people to display kindness towards those who discriminate against him in public life." He avowed that the Negro has been long suffering in this regard.

In closing the governor stated that a passion for truth and a strong sense of duty are all that are needed to insure the success of any individual or people. Let us hope that the people of South Carolina and of the United States may soon recognize the TRUTH that under the Constitution of the United States, all citizens are supposed to be treated with equality, and that public officials may acquire such strong senses of duty that public speeches before minority or weaker groups may mean something to them.

MORE ABOUT THE BARE-FOOT SOUTH

Just as we feared the South has gone and become indignant again. It is about Miss Frances Perkins's speech on the South and shoes, or rather Secretary Perkins's speech on the South and the lack of shoes.

Now we had hoped that our editorial brethren on this side of the Mason-Dixon line would not deal too harshly with the good lady merely because she said, "The South is an untapped market for shoes."

True enough most Southern women at least forsake the comforts of going bare-foot to afternoon teas. And most male Southerners, generally speaking, wear shoes to Sunday meeting and affairs of State.

Our Mr. Atticus Mullin, an unchallenged authority on Alabama and Alabama folks, vows that he counted no less than two dozen fully shod feet at the inauguration of the Governor.

Surprised indeed were we at Miss Perkins's advocay of a social revolution in the South simply by encasing Southern feet in leather.

Miss Perkins is a well-informed woman. She has been a capable and efficient public servant in New York and her record is one to be envied.

Doubtless that is why too many Southerners took the statement about shoes in the South too seriously. That is why not a few of our newspapers have devoted space to denying that the South is an untapped market for shoes.

But on second thought Southerners should realize that the mistaken general statement might have come from many another enlightened New Yorker. For New Yorkers are rather ignorant about many phases of the South—as a goodly number of them are ignorant about most of the world outside Manhattan.

Of course the lady Secretary of Labor knew that our Southern Colonels, the white-haired, mustached gentlemen, you know, who throng every street of every Southern city, do not go about sipping mint juleps and bowing from the waist down to the ladies in carriages, entirely shoeless.

Southern Colonels, as Miss Perkins doubtless can tell you, either wear patent leathers, or riding boots—not to mention the black hats and white waistcoats—which indeed every Bostonian and New Yorker knows.

C. W. Butler, a shoe manufacturer, says that the Southern woman is better shod than any person in the United States, and the children of the South are more generally shod than those in New York.

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New York, Dec. 26.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

Paris Paper Compares Hitlerism With Race Hate in U. S.

Rich German Jews Deplore Propaganda Against Hitler. Adolf Termed Poor Imitator of Southern Cracker Methods. German Hatred of Jew Due to Jewish Mental Superiority.

Afro-American Correspondent in Paris

For the past few months a controversy on the Jew in Germany has been raging in the Chicago Tribune (Paris edition), and it was inevitable that the Negro in America should be projected into it.

One Charles Schultz declared that the Jew in Germany is treated worse "than the N—— in the Southern States." To this Vera Kohl writing from Frankfort-on-Main says: "Mr. Charles Schultz says that the Southern Negro is treated with more respect and consideration than the German Jew. Well one can only think that he dreamed that. No Jews have been chased through the streets by mobs and when caught lynched or riddled with bullets as in the Southern States of the U.S.A. When a Jew or a Christian commits a crime here he is tried by due process of the law and not by mob violence.

"Even the 24-hour Jewish boycott by the Nazis was carried out in an orderly manner. Being an American I am neither for nor against the Hitler Government but strictly neutral, but when an American citizen makes the comparison between the German Jew and the Southern Negro, the German Jew has decidedly the best of it."

Hitler's Pronouncement.

Hitler's pronouncement on race and the supposed racial superiority of the German, not only over Negroes and Jews, but over other whites as the Belgians and French, and Americans, sounds strikingly like the frothings of a Southern cracker when speaking of "N——."

In short, the racial dogmas of Herr Hitler smack strongly of American origin jazzed up to include Americans. Nevertheless in practical application, Hitler, at his worst, is but a poor imitator of cracker methods. Your average Southerner, when it comes to the treatment of the Negro, is a half-baked savage while the Germans at home are, on the whole, a very kind and cultured people, even where the Negro is concerned.

Propaganda.

The Nazi treatment of the Jew is brutal and unjustified. It is necessary to remember, however, that perhaps the most of what is told about Jewish treatment in Germany is propaganda, since the Jews control to a great extent the international press.

Large numbers of Jewish stores are running full swing in Germany, while the rich Jew, unlike the rich Negro in America, goes almost anywhere his money can take him. The leading German association of Jews but a few days ago broadcast a release deploring the propaganda that was being waged in their favor abroad.

The Jew and Radicalism.

The ills of the German Jew are not primarily racial. Quite often he is indistinguishable from a so-called Aryan German. The Jews, however, to their credit, furnish a large percentage of the international thinking element, and are leaders in the radical economical movement for the general benefit of mankind. Hitler's intensely narrow nationalism and antiquated theories of race are bitterly opposed to this.

The Jew also is accused of being an exploiter—a charge which is, alas, but too true of a certain business element. Because the 600,000 Jews in Germany were largely united, and had to a certain extent the backing of Jews in the other leading European countries they were a formidable element for the so-called Aryan Germans, who outnumbered them 90 to 1. Thus the German opposition to the Jew is due largely to the fact that the Jew is powerful as a thinker, as a leader in advanced thought, and as an exploiter of his fellow-man.

American Treatment.

The American treatment of the Negro, however—and it would be unfair to single out the Southern States in this—is, on the face of things, due to the fact that the Negro is poor, disunited, and backward in his thought. At least this is what it actually is. Were the Aframerican rich, united, and intellectual, his treatment might be the same. In any case as things are when the German attacks the Jew he is tackling one nearer his size—one powerful enough to deal him staggering blows, while when the white American attacks the Negro it somehow reminds me of a hunter who is dressed and armed to kill lions shooting down rabbits instead. In short, a Tartarin of Tarascon with a sadist complex.

Other Germans Punished.

Again, though it is the Jew who is vocal, German thinkers of non-Jewish origin and other opposers of the Nazi regime have been as badly treated as the Jews and are imprisoned by the hundreds of thousands in concentration camps, most of them being Socialists and Communists.

Moreover, a large percentage of the Jews banished from Germany came from Eastern Europe and the German Jew, who also has a superiority complex, regarded these Eastern Jews with as little favor as the Northern Negroes did the Southern Negroes during the migration, and even now. In fact, the German Jew considers himself as superior even to the American Jew as the latter considers himself superior to a Negro, though unlike the Negro, the Jew, when attacked, recognizes a certain common bond and stands with his race for the good of all.

Further, even under the Hitler regime, a Negro, however dark he may be, is received in public places with that courtesy which is common in Europe. Colored tourists and students are well treated, while children born of Negro fathers with whom I have talked declare that they have never experienced color discrimination. In the Rhineland especially there are a certain number of these mulatto children, offspring of the French Negro soldiers who were stationed there.

Jazz and Degeneration.

It is true that Hitler drove out the Negro musicians on the charge that their jazz was corrupting the German music. And there is something to that for jazz, except in occasional doses, tends to spiritual degeneracy.

To return where we started: The injustices suffered by the Jew in Germany are insignificant when compared with those inflicted on Aframericans. Yet the Jew's slighter injustices seem far more enormous to him than the Aframerican's greater ones to the Aframericans. This is because the Jews feel that their self-respect and dignity have been trampled on. In consequence they present a certain united front, with the result that white America, although it has little or no love for Jews, joins in with them.

SOUTHERNERS USE "DEVICES" TO BAR RACE

(By Leviticus Brown for the A. N. P.)

WASHINGTON, June 23 — Some years ago, Senator Carter Glass, Virginia's fanatical "white supremacy" zealot, arose in the senate and disputed the charge that the South violated the federal constitution in depriving the Negro of his right to vote.

"We don't let him vote, all right," the little sentaor declared, in effect, "but we don't disobey the constitution. We have found it necessary to invent a system of ingenious devices to make him politically ineffective."

The white south has become expert at deluding the express provisions of any law or constitution insofar as it vouchsafes rights and privileges to Negroes. It is now engaged in manhandling an amendment to the act authorizing President Roosevelt's reforestration program. The amendment, introduced by Congressman DePriest, Illinois, republican, stipulated that there was to be no discrimination in the selection of workers based on race or color.

But southern whites are much too foxy to be checked by any little amendment to a law which Mr. DePriest might devise. And they are not going to be hamstrung in such times as these. For five years now southern whites who were formerly too good to do ordinary breadcrumb jobs allotted to Negroes have been brushing up these crumbs and leaving the Negro nothing but the bare floor. The thirty dollar-a-month jobs in the forests spelled the real "new deal" for these poor whites who had reached the place where they could only recall what money looked like. But the law said that Negroes, the "big burly Negroes" and the "suspicious-looking ones", should have their proportionate share of the jobs. But hungry southern whites forget that Negroes get hungry too.

So, in spite of Mr. DePriest, in spite of the southern white friends of the Negro, in spite of the Urban League, in spite of the National Association

WHITE SOUTH EMPLOYS "INGENIOUS DEVICES" TO ROB NEGROES OF REFORESTRATION WORK OPPORTUNITY

(Continued from Page One)

for the Advancement of Colored People; in fact, in spite of everything, the whites have ben busy gobbling up the jobs.

To their discredit it must be said that the method they employ is an old one. They had merely to copy from the United States Military Academy at West Point or the Naval Academy at Annapolis. To deprive the Negro of his share of the jobs, it was decided to find him unqualified physically and intellectually. Thus, wherever they have wanted to in the South, the Negro has been turned down in droves as being unfit. Paradoxically enough, in isolated spots in the South where this device is not employed, Negroes have been found to b especially fit. Thus at Decatur, Ala., which, for some strange reason, has accorded the Negroes of Morgan county their just quota of jobs, the Decatur Daily called attention in a front-page story to the fact that "very few Negroes fail."

But the Decatur policy is singular. In Georgia, Florida, Alabama (taking the state as a whole), Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, the Negro is not getting any of the biscuits at all. The last bit of pinched-off dough is being throfn to him.

It would seem as if the device of unfitness would hold good everywhere, but it doesn't, not even in the South. South Carolina furnishes an example of the exception to the rule. Thus with a white population of 944,040, and a black population of 793,681, or 46 per cent, South Carolina sent 869 whites to Fort McPherson and no blacks;

873 blacks to Fort Moultrie and no whites, and 984 whites and 200 blacks to Fort Benning. The whites received 1,853 jobs in all and the Negroes 1,073 or 36 per cent of the jobs for 44 per cent of the population, which is sure profligacy on the part of the state of Cole Blease and a downright reflection on its methods of selection.

Oddly enough, the southern Negro's unfitness for manual labor did not manifest itself during the selective draft for the World War in the above states. Thousands upon thousands of these same Negroes were herded into the depot brigades and pioneer regiments to do the rough stuff while these same whites who today are greedily snatching up the forest labor sought the more dignified position of being a combat soldier.

You couldn't tell a Frenchman at St. Nazaire or Marseilles or Bordeaux that the Negro is unfit. Could you, General Hardbord?

Lower Than The Worst Criminal

9-21-33

DALLAS, Tex., Sept. 21.—(ANP)—In the South no Negroes must be accorded any titles of respect by whites. No matter how distinguished a Negro may be, a white man feels entitled to call him by his first name, or by some pompous title. Negro women are never recognized as wives, nor are maidens respected as misses.

But not so with whites. The most despicable white character is a human being, and is granted the respect accorded by civilized peoples in daily intercourse. A case in point concerns the notorious brigand, Harvey Bailey, who recently escaped from the Dallas county jail. A federal judge, commenting upon the manner in which this criminal is being guarded, stated

"I hear Mr. Bailey got a gun and broke jail last Monday at Dallas I regard Mr. Bailey as a very dangerous man. I don't believe he would hesitate a moment to murder a man to obtain his objective."

Nevertheless, this desparado was a "mister" in the eyes of this judge. One of the counts against Judge John J. Parker, once nominated as an associate justice of the United States supreme court from North Carolina, was that he had objected to a lawyer in his court addressing a colored woman as "Mrs." Samuel Liebowitz, defending Heywood Patterson at Decatur, Ala., in the Scottsboro case, had to insist that the prosecution respect Negro witnesses. But his insistance did no good. Negroes are simply not good enough to be "Mr." or "Mrs.," or maybe they are too good.

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER

SEP 8 1933

CUBA AND AMERICA.

Cuba is closer to American soil than Washington is to Richmond, and her products are used daily in the United States, but when she comes sensationally into the news, most of us have to take down our reference-books before we are quite sure of some of the essential facts regarding the stormy little republic.

In area, Cuba is just about as large as Virginia. With the Isle of Pines and the outlying keys included, her 44,164 square miles give her a territory approximately that of Pennsylvania. The extreme length of the island is 730 miles, and the average width from sea to sea is about fifty miles, though there is one point where the north-and-south axis is 160 miles.

The population of the island is 3,763,000, of whom 2,570,000 are classed as native whites and 923,000 as Negroes. The Europeans, Americans and Asiatics make up the balance. The total is slightly in excess of that of Missouri, or about half a million greater than that of North Carolina.

A question often asked and rarely answered with any approach to precision is, How many citizens of the United States live in Cuba? The state department computes the number at 6,800. This is a higher figure than for any Latin-American country except Mexico (10,700), and, oddly enough, for the Dominican Republic (10,700). Most of the American citizens in the last-named state are, of course, Negroes who have resided and have taken out naturalization papers in this country.

It goes without saying that the total of American citizens living in all the Latin-American countries is small compared with the 224,000 who are trying their fortune in Canada. In fact, more than half of all the Americans living outside the confines of their country (404,000) have their homes in the Dominion of Canada. The next larger number (24,000) is that of the United States citizens in France.

Savannah, Ga. Press
September 28, 1933

MANIFESTLY UNTRUE.

A writer in Scribner's says he has just returned from a long trip in the South and he knows that the conditions of negroes are horrifying in nearly all of these states.

This industrious writer says that anyone realizes that negroes are robbed out of their school taxes everywhere in the South.

This is a remarkable statement inasmuch that every effort to divide the school tax in the South so that negro children would only get the amount of the taxes paid by the negroes, and the white children would get the benefit of taxes paid by the whites, has been defeated. Such a plan it is urged would be unjust to the negro children since the taxes paid by the colored people are very small. Instead of this discrimination the colored children are given the benefit of a fair proportion of all the taxes and every effort notably in the Georgia Legislature, to set aside the colored tax, has been put down as unwise and discriminatory.

The statement of the New York correspondent that the negroes are "robbed of their school taxes" everywhere in the South shows that the writer knows nothing about conditions here, although he says he has just returned from a long trip which took him through seventeen states in the South and Southwestern part of the United States.

The idea of the negroes being robbed out of their school tax is absurd; on the contrary, they are given a part of the white tax so that the small amount paid by the negroes might be increased for the benefit of negro children.

HISTORY BOOKS AND THE SOUTH

One of the plans to be discussed at the Baltimore convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy which opens today will be a proposed fight on biased history textbooks depicting the South in false and unfavorable colors—on its position during the War Between the States.

Already South Carolina educators have expressed a willingness to submit all history textbooks to be used in the State public schools to the Daughters of the Confederacy for its stamp of approval. In South Carolina, the educators promise, no history of the War Between the States will be used unless the D. A. R. thinks it is "fair and unbiased."

Southerners, of course, should be in sympathy with any movement tending to present an accurate picture of the South's part in the War Between the States to school children. And not many Southerners, one believes, will disagree with the Daughters of the Confederacy that the South should have its side of the story of the conflict impressed on the plastic minds of tomorow's men and women.

Usually it is a good rule to question all forms of censorship, even censorship by those who seek to guard the interests of the people, even censorship by our most competent friends.

But since someone must choose the textbooks to be used in the schools and since State educators have the final say-so anyway, the questions of censorship or of dictatorship do not enter into the picture. The Daughters of the Confederacy could investigate school history texts which they believe are not fair to the South and list with the educators those books which they believe to be accurate and those they believe to be biased.

A gentleman from Ohio recently mentioned that he was taught in the schools of his native State that President Johnson, the Reconstruction Era President, was nothing short of a traitor. He was surprised after growing to maturity to learn that Johnson was not exactly as his Ohio history texts had presented him. The same man now is a great admirer of the Tennessean, who stepped into the White House after Lincoln's death.

Doubtless the history texts used in Ohio public schools now are much more accurate than were the books used 30 years ago when this man was a schoolboy in that State. Latter-day histories of the United States, we think, are less biased. Most of the histories written since the World War have been fair to the Southern cause. That is to say that most history texts written within the last few years by writers living outside the South have been more accurate in presenting the South's case.

There is sometimes a difference in "favorable" accounts and "fair" accounts.

The D. A. R. members, need only be concerned with trying to place fair accounts of the War Between the States in the hands of school children.

The truth is more than favorable to the cause of the Confederacy. That is what the school children should learn, nothing more, nothing less.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

The Naked Truth

We had dinner yesterday with a white man. We had just emerged from a conference in our neighborhood and along with a group we went to a cafe. Our white guest was seated alone at a table with the writer.

As we warmed up to our meal the white gentleman leaned over during the course of the conversation and said

"I hope you will understand me, and will not take of fense, but do you know that I have reached the conclusion that the half-breed, half white Negro is superior to the full blooded Negro. I have been noticing this for a long time, and I reached some very definite conclusions in that conference we held a short while ago."

"No, I do not take offense at what you say. I rathe agree with you," I said, when the gentleman had concluded his somewhat hesitant statement. "In fact, I am going to go you one better: I think the mulatto Negro has, in addition to what you say, a superior mental machine than the pure blood white man."

My friend looked puzzled for a minute, but he is a growing man. He, I believe, is honestly attempting to comprehend and understand the race problem. He is willing to sit down and view naked truth (something which few white men will do when black men are involved).

"Perhaps you are right," he said as he gazed vacantly out in front, apparently grasping for light. I realized what was puzzling him. He had lived always in an environment of racial superiority. The force of our logic was crashing against the temple of ego where he had always resided.

"I think that the mulatto Negro is the superior of the pure white or the pure black stock because he combines all the qualities of the two," said I, "and while I am on this subject, let me give you the viewpoint of another white friend of mine, which I think proves the case.

"If you can accept the viewpoint of this member of your own race, you will have to agree that the admixture of white and black blood develops a finer spiritual apparatus.

" 'Dunjee,' he said, as we stood down town one morning in front of an office building, 'I think the white man is making a mistake by his policy of separation from the Negro. Here's the way I see the two races.

" 'Centuries ago the white man left his native habitat and started northward. In the northern climates where he has gone, he has not alone had to fight to clothe, feed and shelter himself, but he has in addition had to fight the races of men whom he has overrun in his passage northward.

" 'After centuries of battling and struggling with the elements and with other people, today the white man finds himself developed into the most cruel, bloodthirsty, barbaric individual on the face of the globe.

" 'Contrasted to white life, what has happened to black life? While the white man fought and battled northward the black man remained in peace and quietitude in his native Africa. Food, clothing and shelter were his without effort. His has been an inane existence with nature helping him on every hand. As a result the black man has across the centuries developed into a creature of love, fellowship and good-will. Perhaps the black man has, like the white man, gone to an extreme in a given direction Today I view the Negro as in a state of coma and sterility He needs something to stir his blood into action.'

" 'My thought of the two races standing so far apart in this country,' said my white mentor, 'is that through amalgamation the two races could give much to one another The white man needs to tone down the fire in his blood and the Negro needs to tone his spirit up. There is rhythm and harmony in black life contrasted to a raucous and cold-blooded spirit of the white man. How wonderful if both could see the gold and the pearls in the life of each other.' "

A PLEA FOR A UNIVERSAL FOUNDATION FOR THE NEGRO

(By Chas H. Stewart)

There appeared in Sunday morning's issue of The Savannah Morning News of October 22nd, an article from the Associated Press staff, written by Professor Kelly Miller, Dean of Howard University of Washington, D. C. in which a plea was made for whatever funds are set aside by the Government for Negro relief be devoted to establishing exemplary Negro farm communities in the South

The writer wishes to state that such utterances coming from a man of Dean Millre's standing is damaging from various angles

First they come at a very critical hour, such time as when our people both in the urban communities, as well as those in the rural sections need every available consideration to earn bread in this tremendous battle for life

Second, we believe that a man in this land of the free and the home of the brave, ought to be the sole judge as to his avocation for a livelihood or where he should be domiciled, be he black or white

Third, Dean Miller holds a very lofty position and therefore enjoys the atmosphere of a relationship with the dominating race much different from that of the average members of his race in the more common walks of life and is therefore not prepared to witness the unfavorable conditions that confront our people in the rural sections.

Fourth, The Negro enjoying city life have more protection of life, limb and liberty than those in the rural sections, and can more freely exercise his human rights. Where are the greater number of our taxpayers who pay their taxes and register and enjoy the ballot box, and become a factor in the equasion of our great Government? In our larger cities of course. Where do we find members of our race operating lucrative businesses?

Yes, we agree with Dean Miller our people should own land in the rural sections and operate profitable farms but why should the dean make a plea to migrate the city Negro back to the farm where there are already enough Negroes in the rural sections to till every available acre of land out there and make them bloom as the rose of Sharon.

Why does the Dean say that the city Negro is without assured status, when the hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the rural districts are in far worse condition, without a foot of land or a dollar to buy one.

They work when they can get work, and that at such wages as their employers may choose to give

We believe in the doctrine preached by our lamented leader, Booker T. Washington, let your bucket down where you are. Our people should continue to purchase homes in the the city, operate newspapers, insurance companies, operate food and clothing stores, work side by side with the white man in the business enterprises helping in the growth and development of whatever city they chance to live in.

We do not believe that racial identity should determine our livelihood or designate any particular place in which we should or should not live.

Dean Miller says the "Negro loiter around the outer edge of industry and are assigned to the manual and menial tasks which the white man does not prefer to perform."

We again agree that our people does not get a fair consideration in this line of employment, but would it not have been wiser for the dean to advise such men in our race as Robert F. Abbott and others of his financial standing and men like the president of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co. to organize gigantic industies for the purpose of giving our people employment and to manufacture the crude material produced by our people in the rural districts intoa state of use, and further guaranteeing a market and a price for our produce.

We admire Dean Miller and have great respect for him, and always enjoyed reading from his profound and erudite pen and would not have meddled his article were it not for that all comprehensive statement, "whatever funds is set aside by the Povernment for the Negro be given to establishing him on the farms in the South."

Jews "Half-Niggers"

SO SAYS NAZI CHAIN LETTER STARTED IN LOS ANGELES

New York, N. Y., Nov. 6, 1933—A chain-letter started by the Aryan Book Store, 902 Alvarado St., Los Angeles, Calif., and signed by Paul Thaulitz, the proprietor, with a swastika emblem of Hitler's Nazis, attacking both Colored and Jews, is reproduced in the November number of "Red Front," a magazine published here.

The letter, reproduced in facsimile and attacked in an adjoining column by the editors of the paper, says "The Jews are not of the White Race, they are Semites (Half Niggers)."

The letter instructs its recipient to copy it ten times and send it to that many friends.

Why Not Four?

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE of Jews and Christians appointed three religious representatives—a Jewish rabbi, a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister—last Wednesday to tour the nation together during the next three months to combat manifestations of rising anti-Semitism in this country. With the recent increase of brutal lynchings throughout the South and the repeated ranting about the "park ape-man" in our own metropolis, why not throw in a Negro clergyman also? We need some good-will.

PROTECTING AMERICAN CITIZENS

SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL is greatly concerned over the attacks on American citizens in Germany by overzealous Nazis because of failure to render the Nazi salute. Several of our citizens have been severely beaten in the past few weeks and Mr. Hull has begun an official investigation preliminary to making protest to the Hitler government.

We agree with Mr. Hull that American citizens should be protected from attacks and persecution in foreign countries, but it seems to us that protection, like charity, should begin at home. Several American citizens have been lynched in the South in the past few weeks. Local authorities have been unwilling or unable to do anything about it. The Scottsboro boys, although proved innocent of any crime, are still occupying death cells in an Alabama prison. And although the government has discovered ways and means of chasing kidnapers across the various State borders, it complains that it can do nothing to stop lynching, peonage and persecution of Negroes.

Negroes' faith in the honesty and fairness of their government would be greatly revived and renewed if the authorities in Washington did no more than register sharp protest against the failure to protect black Americans at home. ItI has long been one of the anomalies of American official policy that a Negro citizen abroad is the object of greater solicitude than a Negro citizen at home. After all, it is quite impossible for the bulk of Negro citizens to take a trip to Europe or Asia in order to discover that Washington is interested in their well being.

The Black Man's Problem

In scanning many Negro newspapers and journals, we come across many articles offering a solution for the black man's troubles in the American set-up. We note with some misgiving that practically all the solutions offered deal with economics. Somehow these writers seem to think that, if the black man can manage to acquire money and other forms of wealth, that presto! all his troubles will be at an end. We are not so sure that this is true.

Last summer we had occasion to hear one of our leading Negro educators deliver a commencement address. The burden of his thesis was that the education of the Negro had been all wrong; the Negro must forego the types of learning that constitute the education of an American citizen and devote himself to acquiring some knowledge that possesses bread-and-butter value. The idea was not new, in fact it was so old that it was hoary. We have been hearing that doctrine preached to Negroes ever since we were a boy and now it is being offered to white people by many prominent educators.

We realize that bread and butter are essential to the continuity of life itself; but does the history of civilization justify this sudden exaltation of the material above the things of the intellect and the spirit. History teaches us that long before the Industrial Revolution and the Machine Age were ushered in with their manifold comforts and conveniences, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle had woven their systems of philosophy; that Jesus Christ had promulgated to the world his philosophy of love and brotherhood. These are the things that have served as the foundation of our social and political structure and made our material prosperity possible. Long before crass materialism had taken possession of the world, Homer and Virgil and Dante had written their immortal songs and Shakespeare had written his great plays, which have served as a banquet to the intellect of man and enabled him to keep his soul and his eyes lifted above those of the brute.

What has happened? We have turned from the fundamental things of life to individualism and greed—attributes of the beast—and as a result "the good old U. S. A.," the marvel of the ages, in wealth and all forms of material progress, has come to an absolute impasse—millions of people walking the streets and highways, naked and cold and hungry in a land flowing with milk and honey. And the prophets and proponents of materialism have struggled for four years without finding a solution.

How is the Negro to get out of his difficulty? He won't get out unless the white man gets out of his difficulty. The Negro cannot hope to detach himself from the American scene and succeed by himself. The white man is not going to allow the Negro to detach himself. What the Negro must do is to help change the American mind away from individualism and materialism back to the philosophy of the Golden Rule. If that ever happens the white man will be willing to see the black man get his just share of the products of his labor and to exercise his rights as any other citizen. The Negro cannot afford to pin his faith to wealth as long as the mob can, with impunity, lynch him and burn his body to make a Roman holiday.

"Life is more than fruit and grain." Let us continue to get money and property, but let us ever strive to bring about that new order of things which will not only solve the black man's problem but will solve the problem of all mankind.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

MACON, GA.
TELEGRAPH
SEP 3 1933

COMMENDS VIEWS ON NEGRO

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Recently I read your statement, It Is a Business Proposition. I am very happy to see the day when the white South is willing to emancipate itself of the most deadly enemy to life, progress and civilization—prejudice, hatred and jealousy towards not only the Negro, but to any human being.

I am a Southerner and feel that the South must emancipate the South, loose itself and grow through mutual interest in human kind alike.

Booker T. Washington spoke more wisely than perhaps he knew when he said: "You cannot keep a man down in a ditch unless you stay down there with him." I hope the day will never come when colored citizens of the South will permit their souls to be dwarfed by prejudice towards any race despite the littleness of their lives.

I want to commend you for your vision of honesty and fair play for business reasons if none other; but I believe your mind and soul have been emancipated and to you life is an expression of right as it relates to man first and then with man and God. J. M. CHILES.

For the Committee on Church Co-operation.

Negroes Suffer More In U. S. Than Jews In Germany

Tulsa 9-21-33

By J. A. ROGERS

For the past few months a controversy on the Jew in Germany has been raging in the Chicago Tribune (Paris edition), and it was inevitable that the Negro in America should be projected into it. One Charles Schultz declared that the Jew in Germany is treated worse "than the nigger in the Southern States". To this Vera Kohl writing from Frankfort-on-Main says: "Mr. Charles Schultz says that the Southern Negro is treated with more respect and consideration than the German Jew, well one can only think that he dreamed that.

No Jews have been chased through the streets by mobs and when caught lynched or riddled with bullets as in the Southern States of the U. S. A. When a Jew or a Christian commits a crime here they are tried by due process of the law and not by mob violence. Even the 24-hour Jewish boycott by the Nazis was carried out in an orderly manner. Being an American I am neither for nor against the Hitler Government but strictly neutral, but when an American citizen makes the comparison between the German Jews and the Southern Negro, the German Jew has decidedly the better of it."

Hitler Rule Supreme

Hitler's pronouncement on race and the supposed racial superiority of the German, not only over Negroes and Jews, but over other whites as the Belgians and French, sounds strikingly like the frothings of a Southern cracker when speaking of "niggers". In short, the racial dogmas of Herr Hitler smack strongly of American origin jazzed up to include Americans. Nevertheless in practical application, Hitler, at his worst, is but a poor imitator of cracker methods. Your average Southerner when it comes to the treatment of the Negro is a half-baked savage while the Germans at home, are, on the whole, a very kind and cultured people even where the Negro is concerned.

The Nazi treatment of the Jew is brutal and unjustified. It is necessary to remember, however, that perhaps the most of what is told about Jewish treatment in Germany is propaganda since the Jews control to a great extent the international press.

Large numbers of Jewish stores are running full swing in Germany while the rich Jew, unlike the rich Negro in America, goes almost anywhere his money can take him. The leading German association of Jews but a few days ago broadcast a release deploring the propaganda that was being waged in their favor abroad.

The ills of the German Jew are not primarily racial. Quite often he is indistinguishable from a so-called Aryan German. The Jews, however, to their credit, furnish a large percentage of the international-thinking element, and are leaders in the radical economical movement for the general benefit of mankind. Hitler's intensely narrow nationalism and antiquated theories of race are bitterly opposed to this.

Are Jews Exploiters?

The Jew also is accused of being an exploiter—a charge, which is alas, but too true of a certain business element. Because the 600,000 Jews in Germany were largely united, and had to a certain extent the backing of Jews in the other leading European countries they were a formidable element for the so-called Aryan Germans who outnumbered them 90 to 1. Thus the German opposition to the Jew is due largely to the fact that the Jew is powerful as a thinker, as a leader in advanced thought, and as an exploiter of his fellowman.

The American treatment of the Negro, however—and it would be unfair to single out the Southern States in this—is, on the face of things, due to the fact that the Negro is poor, disunited, and backward in his thought. At least this is what it actually is. Were the Aframerican rich, united, and intelligent, his treatment might be the same In any case as things are when the German attacks the Jew he is tackling one nearer his size—one powerful enough to deal him staggering blows, while when the white American attacks the Negro it somehow reminds me of a hunter who is dressed and armed as if he were out to kill lions shooting down rabbits instead. In short, a Tartarin of Tarascon with a sadist complex.

Again, though it is the Jew who is vocal, German thinkers of non-Jewish origin and other opposers of the Nazi regime have been as badly treated as the Jews and are imprisoned by the hundreds of thousands in concentration camps, most of them being Socialists and Communists.

Jews Banished From Germany

Moreover, a large percentage of the Jews banished from Germany came from Eastern Europe, and the German Jew, who also has a superiority complex regarded these Eastern Jews with as little favor as the Northern Negroes did the Southern Negroes during the migration, and even now. In fact the German Jew considers himself as superior to the American Jew as the latter considers himself superior to a Negro, though unlike the Negro, the Jew when attacked, recognizes a certain common bond, and stands together for the good of all.

Further, even under the Hitler regime, a Negro, however dark he may be is received in public places with that courtesy which is common in Europe. Colored tourists and students are well treated, while children born of Negro fathers with whom I have talked declare that they have never experienced color discrimination. In the Rhineland especially there are a certain number of these mulatto children, offspring of the French Negro soldiers who were stationed there.

Jazz Turned Down in Germany

It is true that Hitler drove out the Negro musicians on the charge that their jazz was corrupting the German music. And there is something to that for jazz, except in occasional doses, tends to spiritual degeneracy.

To return where we started: The injustices suffered by the Jew in Germany are insignificant when compared with those inflicted on Aframericans. Yet the Jew's slighter injustices seem far more enormous to him than the Aframerican's greater ones to the Aframericans. This is because the Jews feel that their self-respect and dignity have been trampled on. In consequence they present a certain united front, with the result that white America although it has little or no love for Jews join in with them.

A Reader Points Out Michael Gold's Errors on the Negro Question

Race and National Aspects of Negro Struggle

The following letter, addressed "to the Editors of the Daily Worker and to Comrade Mike Gold" by a reader of the "Daily," correctly points out several misconceptions and dangerous errors in one of Michael Gold's recent columns.

In the September 1 issue of the Daily Worker, we find a paragraph in Comrade Gold's column which, in my opinion, is not a contribution to our "Daily"' on the question of oppressed nations, but on the contrary, this paragraph deviates from the Party's line and only helps further to confuse our readers. If my comment on this is not printed, I sincerely hope that the Daily Worker editorial staff will make the necessary correction. I'm referring to the paragraph called: "KKK." While the purpose of the article "KKK" was no doubt to assist our readers to understand the peculiar sensitiveness which oppressed people possess, and to express Comrade Gold's personal resentment (a thing which is overdone in Comrade Gold's column, namely, his column reflects entirely too much his personal and subjective reactions to various phases of political and other events which he deals with) to certain chauvinistic expressions; yet, each sentence, if carefully analyzed, contains deviations from the Communist Party's understanding of the Negro question.

His first sentence reads: "The Irish, like the Jews and Negroes, have suffered centuries of slavery and this oppression always gives a peculiar twist to a race's character." It is incorrect to put the Jews, Irish and Negroes in the same pot and lead the readers to the conclusion that the Negro question is to be treated as a racial question, suffering from the same peculiarities as the Jews and Irish.

Confuses the Problem

His second sentence further encourages the idea that the Negroes are an oppressed race and not an oppressed nation, when he says: "Oppressed races become sensitive in a way that others can never understand." This sentence is further incorrect for the following reason: While it is true that those who are not members of the oppressed peoples, those who do not have to withstand the various forms of oppression and persecution cannot react with the same sensitiveness and alertness as those oppressed proper; it is not true, however, that they cannot understand it. This assertion leads to the negation of the role of the Communist Party, as the leader of all oppressed peoples.

How can the Communist Party work out a correct program for the Negroes, let us say, unless this program is actually based upon a full understanding of the needs and desires of the Negroes? To take it a step further, how can the Communist Party become the leader of the millions of Negroes unless it understands and thus is in a position to explain the sensitiveness of the Negroes; a sensitiveness which grows out of centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negroes as a nation by the white bourgeoisie? It is precisely because the Communist Party understands these national peculiarities of the Negroes that enables it to stand at the head of the struggles for Negro liberation.

Comrade Gold then says: "They develop sharp nostrils, as do all hunted animals, and can quickly smell out an enemy." I can appreciate the fact that Comrade Gold wished to emphasize that Negroes are hunted, but to make an analogy between them and hunted animals in itself betrays a note of chauvinism on the part of the writer. It is the bourgeoisie and apologists of the system of lynching and discrimination who continuously point out that the Negroes are inferior to the whites, are not fully "civilized," and are very close to the animal kingdom. We, therefore, must be careful in using such a term as "they develop sharp nostrils as do all hunted animals."

He continues: "Sometimes it is a delicate job to deal with them, they are so touchy and over-alert." True, the question of oppressed peoples is a delicate one. In order to win the confidence of us whites among the Negroes we must understand them and we must have the correct program. But this will be impossible if we consider them "so touchy and over-alert," instead of considering the Negroes' alertness to the deep-rooted white chauvinism as a healthy and potentially revolutionary quality.

Divert Resentment to Struggle

We must utilize this "touchiness" and "over-alertness" on the part of the Negroes, and divert it into channels of struggle against the oppressors, and if you please, white chauvinism in the ranks of the labor movement, even if it be a writer of a column of a revolutionary paper. It is precisely the above statement which leads Comrade Gold to say: "The best way is to be casual and matter-of-fact." Oh, no Not at all! This is what the Socialist Party and renegades from Communism say. Treat the Negroes as you treat the workers generally. By the Communist Party making the Negro question a special question, they contend, the Party is guilty of segregation and separationist tendencies. The best way is not to be "casual and matter-of-fact," but in all of our writings, in our speeches, in the demands which we work out, to place special emphasis on the needs of the Negroes and to give a conscious and bold expression to these needs and desires. To blur over this problem, is to fail to see the Negro question as a special question.

If the object of this sentence was to instill a sense of equality on the part of the whites towards the Negroes, of avoiding a paternal (which is nothing less than inverted chauvinism) attitude, etc., then this will be done only when we will treat the Negroes not in a "casual and matter-of-fact" style, but when we will fully grasp the meaning of the alertness which the Negroes possess and make a serious attempt on our part (I mean we, white workers, including the writer of "KKK") to consciously and persistently root out and exterminate all tendencies of white chauvinism which we inevitably possess because we live in a white chauvinist world: and thus prove to the Negroes that we understand their reactions and suspicions towards us, and that we will assist them in directing this suspicion and hate not towards their fellow-slaves in white skin, but towards those who oppress them and us.

A Question to Michael Gold

Don't you see, Comrade Gold, that this "touchiness and over-alertness," if treated in the "casual and matter-of-fact" manner, will not help to break down the suspicion towards us but on the contrary, if it is treated as a natural result of centuries of oppression of the white bourgeoisie can be made into a powerful weapon of struggle not only of the Negroes but of the working class generally, because the Negroes then become the active allies of the struggling white proletariat?

Comrade Gold then says: "If you have any race feelings in you, eliminate it, study it, fight it. Then when you are cured, be casual and human." Yes, we must study all of our inner race superiority tendencies, we must fight them and aim sincerely to eliminate them. But this, in my opinion, can be done only to the extent that we actually mingle and struggle with the Negroes for Negro rights only to the extent that we understand the importance of the problem of struggling for Negro rights as part of the general struggle of the proletariat. We cannot separate our little self and precious individual from this. Therefore, I think, it would have been better had you said: "If you have any race feelings in you you can best kill them by participating in the struggle for the rights of the oppressed peoples. Develop an alertness towards those who express chauvinism in one way or another Jump at the throat of those who discriminate against Negroes. BECOME A FIGHTER FOR NEGRO RIGHTS."

Actual Participation Necessary

Then you would have avoided the mistake of separating the curing of white chauvinism from the struggle and could have saved yourself the unpleasant breath when you said: "Then when you are cured be casual and human." We will be "human" when we prove our readiness to fight for Negro rights and not when we *think* we have cured ourselves of white chauvinism.

Let me conclude with a word of comment on your last sentence which reads: "Better to have persecution frank and bitter, something that can be fought in the open." Undoubtedly open chauvinism can be fought better than covert. But this does not mean that we always have a guarantee of being able to fight against persecution because it is "frank and bitter." The persecution of the Negroes in the South is brazenly open. No apologies are made about the hundreds of Negroes lynched in the South, nor are apologies made for the very "frank and bitter" discrimination and Jim Crowism directed towards the Negroes in the South. Does that indicate that the struggle in the South against these forms of persecution easier than in the North. I don't think so! I do not think that we should wish for "frank and bitter" persecution in the columns of the Daily Worker, we should instead use these columns as a means of rallying all sources at our disposal, of both white and Negro masses of workers, against all forms of persecution, open or hidden.

DENISON, TEX.
HERALD
SEP 6 1933

US ATTEND TO OUR OWN AFFAIRS.

The World Zionist Congress has called upon the United States to intervene in Germany, to force Hitler to cease persecuting the Jews. The Zionists, it appears, would have this country go to any length—even resort to arms—to protect the Hebrews in Germany.

At the same time, the newspapers in the United States are being flooded with propaganda by a well-known Hebrew organization in New York, protesting against the publication of anything favorable to Hitler, and condemning the American press for granting the German chancellor the right to tell his side of the story.

This sort of propaganda is not calculated to move the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of a foreign nation, nor is it likely to cause the press to smother all of Hitler's statements and give only one side of the story. The newspaper men of America have no patience with Hitler nor his ilk. They despise intolerance, wherever it may be found. But to condemn Hitler in every issue, and refuse to publish one word from him or his friends—as the American Hebrew demands—would brand the American editors as consummate cowards and partisans. For, let us not forget, Hitler is now chancellor of Germany, by grace of the German electorate. The Hitler government is the German government and all German consuls in this country are representatives of the Nazi government.

We have too many beams in our own eyes to begin drawing the motes out of the other fellow's. Only a few years ago, German Jews might have called upon their government to intervene and protect their fellow-Jews from persecution by American Ku Klux. Colored organizations in other countries might call indignation meetings and demand intervention every time an American negro is lynched.

The Hebrews are among our best citizens in America, and there is no discrimination against them If those persecuted German Jews wish to come to this country to locate, and can get by the immigration officers, they will find a welcome. But we will not send our army and navy to Germany to dictate to the Germans. Nor will the American newspapers agree to publish only one side of a story, at the demand of a racial magazine. Our sense of fairness would not permit it.

United States
Race Problem - 1933

Race Problem - 1933
United States

Carrying Two Banners

Defender
6-17-33 Chicago, Ill.

"THE BAREFOOT SOUTH."

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

"And thou, too, O Brutus?"

And so, because the cabinet lady was so unwary as to say to some working girls that there were innumerable other work folks in the Sacred South in such desperate plight for shoes, it ought to pay some one to build a shoe factory there—for such blasphemy against us, "Ah ain' gwine ter gin de lady her gran' title no mo'. Us des gwine ter call her plain Miss Perkins."

Humph!

When I read about that "to-do" within the Senate, that "Much-a-do-about-nothing" by a few of our Honorable Lawmakers, it brought to mind that grandiose lament of Edmund Burke's upon the ride of Marie Antionette to the guillotine, which some of the boys used to try to declaim in school, "Methought ten thousand swords would have leaped from their scabbards to avenge the slightest insult to such beauty, such grace, etc., etc."

And did the swords leap from scabbards? They did.

There was Sir Knight Bailey, who declaimed that even the mules wear shoes in his beloved South. So they do, when their feet require them; for, a sore-footed mule is a liability. He eats, but he does not work. The well mule always has a job, and it costs good money to replace him.

It costs nothing to replace a human work mule, even in North Carolina. If he has no job, no owner, and his shoes wear out, as these paste-bottomed shoes will wear out when it rains, his toes can freeze. If he sickens from cold feet and cold body and malnutrition, all the platitudes of his ten-thousand-a-year Senator will not help him hire a doctor, or keep him from burial in the potter's field, when the "flu" snuffs him out.

But what matter? North Carolina has its normal proportion of the nation's twelve to fifteen million unemployed who have long been begging for some one to own them, so they can eat, and wear shoes.

Maybe they had enough shoes to last these four years of panic.

The crass ignorance of some of our politicians is sickening.

And here comes our own gallant Sir Richard, the younger, with his first tilt in the lists: "Yes, Ma'am, Miss Perkins, you just ought to come to our house, if you want to see shoes. We shore got 'em. Plenty of 'em and all kinds, and just as fine as any you have up No'th. You ought to be ashamed of yo'se'f, talkin' about us, like you done."

Yes, Richard can wear shoes. He gets ten thousand a year. His father gets seven thousand a year.

Those two in one family get more NET income than all of the several hundred thousand farm workers in Georgia got last year, after they had balanced loss against profit,—those work folks who "wiggle their toes in the soil," in the mud and slush of winter to earn the tax money that buys those elegant shoes for the thousands of Richard's associates, social and political.

There are just 54 judges in the State of Georgia that cost almost three hundred thousand dollars tax money last year.

At the 20 cents per bushel for corn last October, those 54 men ate up nearly 15 hundred thousand bushels of corn; or, at the average of

5 cents per pound, or 25 dollars per bale, these 54 men had as their share of the cotton clothing of the State, twelve thousand bales, or 6 million pounds of cotton goods. Is it any wonder that Sir Richard's associates can buy all the fine shoes they need?

Whom does Richard represent in the Senate of the United States, any way?—Those elegant shod few with whom he pals, or those multitudinous common Georgians, whose shoes and clothes are shabby to the very jumping off place of common decency—those so-often sold out voters, who had faith in his claim that no corporation-corruption money soiled his meagre campaign funds?

So touchous, so tender of conscience about a shoeless South? I wonder if Richard has the real moral fibre to enter the Senate chamber clad in the garb of the farm worker who gave him most of his votes, and ring out in clarion tones to his august fellows:

"Hear me, O Senators, and look at my garb. Through me, as I appear to you today, you see my people—a people that produce an integral part of the cotton that clothes the world, and yet wear shirts, that once were shirts, but are now composed of nothing but super-imposed patches a disgrace to a dog's bed, while 13 million bales are held out of use by tied-up money bags—a people who once spent dollars, but now can't get dimes, or even the postage to mail their letters with—whose shoes are tied together with pieces of haywire, as mine are today. There is among gentle folks (and hundreds of thousands of my people are of gentle origins) no deeper damnation of humiliation than the inability to meet one's honest obligations, social, moral and financial, and yet, through causes beyond their control, my people are in despair, half of them unable to pay even their taxes.

"How, Senators, are you going to meet this condition?

"Repeat the idiocy of the Farm Board to plow up every third row of their hard work: tell them, perhaps, like the little Austrian princess, to eat cake, if they haven't got bread, to wear satin slippers if they cannot get shoe leather?"

No, I dare say that Richard would shy at such heroism. He could not face the jeers of his fellows. He and they would class him as a clown—dressed tho he be as hundreds of thousands of farm workers are compelled to dress "from early dawn to dewy eve."

These self-constituted leaders of mankind are as ignorant today of the real problem of human desperation and its solution, as were the French Courtiers, before the fish-wives marched upon Versailles, and the mob destroyed the Bastile.

That age-old problem, so acute now in its 1933 dress, is well illustrated by my conversation some time ago with an old college friend, who, I want to say, has my entire respect as an honest man, a fine lawyer, a good citizen, "un chavelier sans peur et sans reproche," yet is as absolutely dumb to modern economies as George Washington was in 1789.

"Joe, I am sick and tired of all this talk of depression. If people would only go to work and make a living, and stop talking depression, there wouldn't be any depression."

I smiled and asked impertinently and apropos of nothing at all:——"Tom, those shoes you are wearing cost you seven or eight dollars, did they not?"

"Eleven," he corrected.

"Tom, I am an excellent judge of hides, having bought some thousands of them off cotton wagons at the Old Rock Warehouse at Hawkinsville, paying therefor 50 odd years ago, anywhere from 5 to 15 dollars apiece. The other day, I sold as good a hide as I ever saw, 55 pounds for 55 cents.

"Between me, the grower, and you, the consumer, there ought to be just the tanner, the shoemaker, and at most two or three distributors. That hide would make at least 6 pairs of shoes, very likely more—$66 worth of shoes.

"A pair of shoes like yours would cost me 20 of those hides, or if I should want all 6 pairs the hide would make, I should have to kill 120 cows to get back the shoes made from one hide.

"Ratio—120 to 1—SOME DIFFERENTIAL—to use the slang of the day. No such disproportion ever existed between producer and customer before the age of the machine and mass-production.

"Tom, your income is rather liberal for these times—six or seven thousand dollars a year would now purchase nearly thirty thousand dollars' worth of farm produce, as compared with the dollar's purchasing power four years ago. If you were worth then, six or seven thousand of the farmer's stuff, how is it that you are four years later, worth four times as much? Has your ability increased one hundred per cent each year?"

"Oh pshaw, Joe, you always were a crack about some thing."

"Exactly. But Tom, how many cow hides at 55 cents apiece, would it take to pay off your salary of say 7 thousand a year, if I had to pay in hides sold for taxes? Something mighty close to 14 thousand hides, would it not? I should have to be somewhat like the old Bible patriarch, 'cattle on a thousand hills'."

A worker with hand cards used to be the mainstay of humanity for thread and yarns, the basis of cloth, of wearing apparel.

A worker 34 years ago could tend 27 carding machines, with a product of more than 4 thousand times that of the hand carder. And yet it does not appear that the man who tends those 27 carding machines lives any better than the hand carder of a hundred years ago.

Who are the monopolists of the mechanical genius of mankind?

Not the workers—not even the inventors themselves.

One cotton corporation in Georgia declared last year a greater net dividend than all the millions of cotton farm workers in the whole nation recovered of profit over loss.

That is the problems of Senators Bailey and Russell; of President Roosevelt; indeed, of all mankind:

Shall the machine continue to enslave and finally destroy us?

Or shall it free us and lift us to the reality of the Gods?

Have our public men vision to avoid the perils of the past? Or do we all perish together?

Cochran, Ga. J. T. DEESE.

Alabama's 'Caste System'

A few issues past, Observer took occasion to point out what seemed to be a slight inconsistency in the editorial pages of The Montgomery Advertiser. The occasion arose from a comparison of two editorials appearing in that paper. The first, appearing some months ago, shuddered at the caste system as practiced in India; the second, an outgrowth of the attack upon the State of Alabama in regard to the Scottsboro trial, pointed out that individuals and any organized force would do well to allow the sovereign State of Alabama to settle alone those circumstances which pertained to its own jurisdiction. Said The Advertiser in reply to those statements: "Is the Auburn Plainsman opposed to the 'caste system' as it is in Alabama?

"If so, how far is it willing to go to change the system? It would be instructive to students of the phenomenon of sincerity to know."

In beginning, this column is conducted by an individual whose policies are not placed as a direct responsibility upon the shoulders of The Plainsman. The column is, as stated, an expression of personal comment and cannot assume the power to voice the policies of The Plainsman which is not an individual.

Observer, however, is opposed to the caste system as it is in the State of Alabama. The Advertiser has chosen to set off such an expression in quotation marks and stamp upon it the mark of an indefinite quantity. It is, in fact, as every native Alabamian who regards himself a student of the phenomenon of sincerity must admit, a positive reality. Just as it is a reality in other Southern States. No person who has lived in the far South for many years and has seen the misuse of the Negro can deny that he does not suffer from unequality before the State-operated legislative and judicial tribunals and their respective tributaries. No one who has ever seen the average officer of the law in this State, laboring under a misconceived estimation of civil authority arrest a Negro, can doubt that equality of the two predominating races in the State is far short of mythical.

Observer is certainly aware of the fact that the temperaments of the Caucasian and Ethiopian races can never be fused to the extent that they will be able to operate on a plane of existence where they may enjoy the identical living habits. The writer is not advocating a policy whereby the Negro and the white may meet, enjoy and fraternalize among those habits of living which are now delegated by tradition to the whites alone. The writer does advocate, however, that increased opportunity in practically every phase of our social scheme is an indisputable human right which the Negro is due.

Certainly The Advertiser is aware that the State of Alabama ranks tenth among eleven Southern States in the educational expenditures for the Negro as compared with the white. Can it then be denied that there is unequal educational opportunity of the two races? Leading sociologists, respected for their knowledge of living problems of the races, contend that crime will be more easily found where there is ignorance. Is it then rational to misuse human beings who have been denied the proper teachings of the social standards?

The political situation, which does not encourage and often prevents Negro participation in government, leaves the Negro practically a dependent upon the whites who make the laws. The majority of the blacks refer to the courts as the "white man's court," and to the police as "the law." As a consequence the Negro's feeling of civic pride and community responsibility has been stunted almost to the point of extinction. The State does not adequately provide for welfare work and organizations which would remedy the poorly accommodated institutions for juvenile delinquency and the mentally deranged among the Negroes. The justified feeling that he does not have the police protection afforded the whites leads the Negro to the conclusion that he must protect himself. In many communities police allow a crime of Negro against Negro to go unpunished; not so in Negro against white. Rarely does one hear of the lynching of a white person; never when white has committed a crime against a Negro.

The Negro has not only been denied the common advantages of a human being but has also been made to feel his inferiority. There is no denying the Negro's mental inferiority due to the fact of his suppressed educational advantages. It is possible that the Negro as a race is inferior to the white. Certainly he has been given no opportunity to disprove such a supposition. It is true that the white race has proved itself more barbaric, more taken by greed and more capable of inhuman actions than the Negro could conceivably be capable of committing. The Negro has been born to be more primitive than the white, but certainly more appreciative of human rights in more than one respect.

It is Observer's belief that if the Negro in this State were given a broader opportunity for advancement that he would be more creditab to the State. This idea undoubtedly gr upon the provincial Southland and upon traditions which are attributed to t South. But we are not striving to liv ante-bellum South. We are existi present and should strive for a gently conceived advancement. tions now clung to by many thousands of Southerners

Race Problem – 1933

United States.
DES MOINES, IA.
REGISTER

MAR 15 1933

WHAT ABOUT HAWAII'S "RACE PROBLEM"?

One thing that Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur did in his last year as secretary of the interior, although not in itself momentous, deserves at least passing notice, and that was the serious effort to inform Americans as to the general character of the inhabitants of our Territory of Hawaii.

That enterprise was made desirable, of course, because of one o two unfortunate occurrences in the islands last year that focused the eyes of the nation on the area, and yet the glib references to "race antagonisms" in Hawaii would have gone unchallenged in many parts of the United States proper except for the interior department's determination to seek out and present publicly the facts of the matter.

The man to whom Dr. Wilbur entrusted this task chiefly was his executive secretary, William Atherton DuPuy, whose "Hawaii and Its Race Problems" has now been published. The title, as the reader will discover, is at the start a misnomer, for it implies a "problem" in the sense which many Americans assumed early in the Massie affair last year, whereas Mr. DuPuy shows very persuasively that there exists no serious problem and certainly no greater one than the Negro problem in a great many of our states.

On the contrary, it is literally amazing that a population garbled with native Polynesians, their Caucasian and Asiatic mixtures, three Spanish races besides Filipinos, Orientals from Korea and China and Japan, and a handful of native Americans and other pure Caucasians, should be able to live together in such harmony and tolerant spirit.

This, according to Mr. DuPuy, is largely due to the fact that the greater share of the foreign population was imported from the lower strata of their respective nations and "have no social pretensions out of which strife might arise."

Incidentally, they have all become true Americans, from their bobbed hair to their high heels, eager to take advantage of the American education system and American customs.

The real answer to the nonsense about racial antagonisms Mr. DuPuy gives in his conclusion:

"The social question of race has never been raised. It does not exist. It is never raised *exce . by some outsider who brings his prejudices with him* **or some continental newspaper which bases its interpretation of events in Hawaii on race prejudices that exist where it is published . . . Arousing it (race prejudice) where it does not exist is an act as malicious as the introduction of the plague."**

This condemnation of certain elements in America was certainly justified by their willful sensationalizing of last spring's events. In bringing a true picture of the placidity and eager progress of the Hawaiian melting pot to the American people, Mr. DuPuy and Dr. Wilbur have done a real service.

Well, Well, Well! Blanton Makes a Discovery

REPRESENTATIVE Thomas L. Blanton of Texas has made a most remarkable discovery. He has found out that there is real unreasonable foolish persecution of Jews right in the nation's capital," and in a speech told the House that "we ought to get that out of the way first before looking abroad." Mr. Blanton also said that some apartment houses would not rent to Jews and that in some sections of the city they could not buy property.

One of these days the Texas congressman will discover that there is another racial group, thousands of whose members live in his own state, who suffer the same persecutions, and which he ought to try to correct before looking around in Washington.

Newest Racket is Whites Who Pose as Authorities on the Negro

Afro-American 1-28-33

List Could be Made of Many Who Are Eager to Help Develop Negro at a Salary They Can't Command Among Their Own People. Negroes Do Co-ing—Whites Do Operating. Fewer Negro-White Friendships and Severe Examination of Credentials of Would-be White Friends Urged.

By CORA GRACE INMAN

EDITOR'S NOTE—Miss Inman is not a new pen among AFRO writers. On the contrary, she has written often, and her analysis of racketeering now going on in religion and education is especially apropos in view of the Catholic Federation situation, the adminstration of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Government's practice wherever possible to use white men to direct Negro education, as well as Negro regiments.

The responsibility for what may be termed the authority racket, a phenomenon largely of twentieth century origin, rests fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Negro.

Very likely Booker Washington was personally responsible for the development of this ever-increasing evil more than any other individual.

Institutions and organizations which are born and bred in the midst of proscriptions usually endeavor, if they would prosper physically, to have friends at court. Consequently, Booker Washington tutored, trained, recommended and forced into a greater or less degree of limelight numerous white men, among whom are several of today's most generally recognized authorities on the Negro.

This was quite probably the beginning of the sociological exploitation of the Negro for private advancement.

But at that, there was a period when even a Booker Washington checked pretty closely on such undeclared candidates for Negro favor, to see whether probable returns in dependable friendship warranted the investment.

* * *

Every new enterprise or organization for Negro welfare has brought into evidence two types of white men—those genuinely interested in the Negro, actuated either by sentiment, an innate sense of justice, or fear of the social consequences of neglect; and those interested solely in self or organization advancement.

Negroes associated with such enterprises learned early in the game to distinguish the genuine from the spurious, and they have played for many years, a fine hand against great odds, in order to provide opportunity for their less fortunate brothers.

They have assisted materially in keeping down the numbers of unneeded and still less wanted white persons, ready and willing to assist in developing the Negro at salaries much in excess of those which their abilities would ordinarily draw among their own people.

* * *

These Negro associates have also seen that such opportunities were given to young Negroes who by training and association were best suited to study and meet the increasing sociological demands of their fellows.

Other Negroes have not seen very far. A few flattering remarks, an expression of interest, or a bid to lunch or dinner have duped many a Negro into the beginning of friensdhips from which the white parties wanted only certain experience, inside information, or "color," and from which usually emerged one more pseudo-authority on the Negro.

Much of our gullibility has undoubtedly been due to our inherent friendliness and honest dislike of fastening too generally on members of the white race the onus of being "suspect."

From time immemorial we ourselves have been victimized by generalizations, and we find it difficult to avoid thinking in terms of "Do unto others," nor should such avoidance be necessary. Yet our "doing unto others" rarely fails to result in our being "done." Where, then, shall we draw the line?

* * *

It seemed to Leslie Pinckney Hill in his "Toussaint L' Ouverture" that:

"To trust a man, and yet not be dismayed
To find him faithless, going on again
To trust another . . . "

is among the necessary qualities of Negro leadership, but he prefaces these lines with this caution:

"To be a judge of men, that none may rank
In estimation higher than his worth;
Nor, fail of scope to prove his quality;
To search the motive that explains the act
Before it is accounted good or bad."

Even more of our apparent gullibility may be accounted for by our eagerness to see true co-operation in situations actually governed by motives far less lofty.

Again, where shall we draw the line? The woods are full of budding authorities on the Negro—on his music, his literature, his education, his play, the shape of his head, and the merits of his soul.

Occasionally one may find on display in a grocer's or butcher's establishment a crude but highly effective sentiment which reads:

"IN GOD WE TRUST
ALL OTHERS CASH"

It is about time that the sign in our shop read:

"IN GOD WE TRUST
ALL OTHERS PROOF"

We might learn wtih profit from the dealers in soup bones.

* * *

Two things we can learn. First, we can learn to be party less readily to Negro-white friendships —those that deserve the name will improve by slow growth. Second, we can learn in the face of new propaganda to think for ourselves, and make our own decisions at our leisure.

"The Negro is going Communist," is now a form of national hysteria, and the usual crop of those who would head us off from going over the deep end after having done their best to push us there, is at hand—not to save us, but to save themselves or their faces.

Mistakes we expect from the best and most sincere in the white group and in our own. But recent years have shown on every side a sharp revival of the old overlord spirit, noticeable in government departments, in political groups and in agencies and organizations of every description.

Once more we are reminded of Jesse O. Thomas's pertinent definition of black-white co-operation as an arrangement whereby the Negroes do the co-ing and the whites the operating. And some

of the 1932 manifestations of this spirit—nay determination — have been enough to turn the angels themselves into confirmed cynics.

* * *

Cynics we need not be. But if 1933 and the years following are to show a real decrease in lynchings, not of the Negro's body, but of his purpose, intellect and spirit, the Negro must learn self defense.

He must make himself vastly more discriminating; no less pleasant, but much less intimate, and he will have to learn afresh on the eve of the seventieth anniversary of his physical emancipation that if he is to survive in anything but the flesh, he must weigh, measure, and act in racial unity; make new friends slowly; and require of fair words translation into deeds.

Finally, he must challenge the credentials of those who come as friends and acolytes, and leave as "authorities" to represent—not us—but their views of us, wherever such presentation seems most useful.

We have trained enough authorities, sincere semi-sincere, and insincere. Let us start training ourselves.

Anderson, S. C. Independent

PHILIPPINE RACIAL PROBLEMS

Independence for the Philippine Islands involves something more than merely turning over the reigns of government to an ethnologically united people accounted as able to govern themselves.

The people described as Filipinos under American tutelage, have progressed far on the road to civilazation.. They are rapidly assimilating modern ideas, social, educational and governmenal. Disregarding the question as to how independence, once granted, can be assured without some sort of an American or international protectorate, it is probably true that the Filipinos are capable of governing themselves. However, if the islands are cast adrift, racial disturbances heretofore held in check through American influences, are likely to arise.

The term "Filipino" is often considered, and is so used, as applying to all of the islands' inhabitants. In fact, it should be limited to the seven Christianized tribes living mostly on the island of Luzon, the largest in the group. While these tribes constitute 85 per cent of the total population of the islands and will make up the ruling class, some idea of the racial problems they will encounter may be had from the following facts.

The Phillippine archipelago consists of 3,141 islands containing forty-three separate ethnological groups and some 200 different tribes and sub-tribes, with ninety-five languages or dialects, not mutually understandable. In many cases their interests sharply conflict . The second largest island, Mindanao, is populated almost entirely by Moros, who despise the Filipinos as an inferior race.

They have a sultan and a quasi government established under the Koran and while many of them are educated, or are in the process of becoming so, they prefer to continue their progress under the American flag. They will resent being turned over to the Filipinos as will many of the other tribes who have their own leaders and may be counted on to resist Filipino domination.

At present these wild tribes do not participate in the government their representatives being appointed by the governor general. Whenever American supervision and protection is withdrawn, these inter-tribal conflicts will become acute with every liklihood that toruble, even war, will ensue, throwing the Philippine machinery out of gear.

In any event, these tribal relationships seem to demand an American supervision and to impose a responsibility which cannot easily be laid aside.

Winston Salem, N. C.
JOURNAL

JAN 3 - 1933

A Negro Leader's Creed

"I believe in the fellowship of men of good will, in their ability to live together in peace and to co-operate in service and the pursuit of truth. I believe in God, in His purposes of good toward all men, and the ultimate triumph of His justice and the righteousness in all the earth."

This is from the card of Christmas greetings sent out to his friends and the friends of his race by Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute. This sentiment is all the more significant since it is uttered by a leader of a race that has been living in formal freedom for only two generations. His ancestors brought with them to this country certain traits of character such as love for music, a capacity for loyalty, an irrepressible cheerfulness and a deeply religious sentiment that have stood the race in good stead.

The mode of life which the Negroes of the South lived prior to their emancipation was a blending of a civilization that was new to them with the traits their ancestors had acquired in their original home. The Negro works with modern tools and he does it cheerfully. His racial experience has been thrilling, but through it all he has been sustained by an undying faith. And now as a new year begins, one of the outstanding leaders of the Negro race professes his belief in "the fellowship of men of good will, in their ability to live together in peace and to co-operate in service and the pursuit of truth." The white people among whom Dr. Moton's people live appreciate this sentiment and thank him for it.

RIGHTS OF NEGROES SUBJECT OF PAPER

Alabama Research Council Holds Final Meeting Of Year At University

UNIVERSITY, ALA., April 14—(Special)—Two papers were read before the members of the University of Alabama Research Council at the final meeting of the year Thursday evening.

Speaking on the rights of the negro under the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court, E. Baskin Wright, assistant professor of political science, said that the Southern States have run afoul of the thirteenth amendment in respect to peonage laws, or laws designed to punish persons who violate contracts for labor. These laws were aimed primarily at the negro who is notoriously lax in his contract obligations, Prof. Wright said.

"However, the Supreme Court has ruled that such laws constitute peonage and are in violation of the thirteenth amendment. Also the court has upheld a Federal law designed to punish persons guilty of establishing a condition of peonage. On the other hand, the Court has upheld the practice of "leasing" convicts to private companies for purposes of labor.

"Most of the litigation respecting negro rights has arisen under the 'equal protection' clause of the fourteenth amendment. Interpreting this clause in numbers of cases the Court has ruled that Southern "Jim Crow" laws providing for separation of the races in public conveyances, waiting rooms, etc., do not violate the fourteenth amendment. The Court has also upheld laws providing for separate schools for the races, and laws prohibiting marriage between whites and blacks. However, zoning laws which prohibit the owning of property in certain sections of a city by Negroes and State laws or the action of State officials in barring negroes from jury rolls have been declared unconstitutional.

"Most of the methods employed by the Southern States to disfranchise the negro have been declared not in violation of the fifteenth amendment. The literacy test, property qualifications, residence requirements, debarrment for having committed certain crimes, and the poll tax have all been upheld.

The tendency on the part of popular writers, dramatists, and poets to play up the theatricality of the negro in the South has to a great extent overshadowed interest in the real racial situation which, while it is by no means alarming, is a subject for fruitful and scientific study and research, said Dr. Edward W. Gregory, Jr., of the department of sociology.

"There is a belief, held by social scientists, that the negro is becoming more racially conscious. The outcome of such a consciousness is dependent upon the negro leadership that seeks to guide it and upon the degree of serious consideration which the white race gives the problems of interracial relations. The growth of this racial consciousness is largely a product of urbanization and industrialization, both of which increase the social contacts of the two races and bring into clearer relief the distinctions between the two races. This factor together with an increase in the mulatto population, which tends to resent more keenly the inferior position of the race, are increasing the tension of the situation, a tension which is added to by any occurrence which brings into the focus of population attention the relative positions of the two races.

"The racial consciousness of the negro is evidenced by his attempts in some instances to fabricate a history and a record of accomplishments. It is further evidenced by his increasing resentment of discrimination, his resentment of injustice to his race, and his plea for more liberal treatment. The racial consciousness which is the product of a changing South was tremendously intensified by the World War in which the negro participated, and from which he returned with a brief background of experience more liberal and more emancipated than he had previously known."

Dr. Gregory reviewed the work which has been done in recent years by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which was brought into existence to produce more harmonious relations between the two races and to develop a mutual understanding of common problems.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVE. SUN

JUN 23 1933

She Thinks Negroes Are Well Treated, Even In The South

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:* Please let me reply to the letter in regard to the way Negroes are treated in the United States. I am from the cotton and tobacco States and should know a few facts on this subject.

During the World War Negroes earned $25 to $30 per week stemming tobacco in the factories. They are allowed liberties and freedom in their work and homes that meet every requirement in comfort and sanitation. Their white friends stand by them when in need and trust themselves and their children to their care in domestic service, for which they receive worthwhile remuneration.

Since moving to Maryland I have noted that the Negroes receive as much if not more consideration than in the Carolinas in the way of homes, schools and work.

Really, I think the statement that Negroes are mistreated in the U. S. is exaggerated, as they are often given employment in preference to white people.

Baltimore, June 8. SOUTHERNER.

Race Problem — 1933

United States.

TURLOCK, CALIF.
JOURNAL

MAY 24 1933

ONE OF EVERY TEN

One out of every 7 persons in the United States is an alien; one of every 10 is supported in public institutions—poorhouses, asylums, old folks homes, children's homes, prisons, or other state or charitably maintained institutions.

One of every 10 persons in the United States is a Negro. What are we doing for these 12,000,000 people? In 1915 there were only ninety-one high schools for the race; now there are more than 1000. There are today in America about 21,000 Negro college graduates. In a population of 12,000,000, there is great need for many more. Statistics prove their excellence as citizens. They own twice as many homes, buy better goods, maintain higher standards of living than those lacking their educational advantage. Fisk University and similar Negro schools are supported largely by private philanthropy. Any reduction in the scope of their work would be a calamity not confined to the Negro race.

Significantly, James Weldon Johnson, author, poet and educator, says, "The Negro might well ask the nation, 'How do you want us?' to which the only answer is as educated citizens."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

MAY 21 1933

PRAISE FOR MR. DEKALB'S LETTER

To the Editor The News:

Please allow me a little space in your "Voice of the People" column to express a few thoughts, my aim in so doing being to thank Mr. DeKalb on behalf of the people of my race for his timely and intelligent letter in a recent issue of The News in which he, in the most cogent and gentlemanly manner, repudiated the views of Dr. Cullen relative to the Scottsboro case, and the Negro in general.

It is of such men as Mr. DeKalb that the Negro race in the South may expect unbiased justice and fair play. And we thank God that their tribe is increasing day by day.

Personally, my sympathy, as that of all well-thinking Negroes, goes out to men of Dr. Cullen's type—splendid men in their way—but otherwise allowing their minds to become warped with prejudice so that they cannot see the simple justice which God intended for all His people.

The deep truth Mr. DeKalb's terse and pertinent statement conveys when he said, "All we know of the Negro is all what we ourselves have taught him, but what his peculiar destiny or capabilities may be if he were free, we will in all probability never know," only the truly intelligent Negro can fully appreciate.

The Negro as the minority group of our nation will go forward or backward as the white man goes forward or backward, and in so saying I am not conceding to him any biological or ethnological superiority, but I am thinking rather of the white man's superior opportunities for advancement upon a higher scale of living. As to why he has come to be the dominant race and the Negro in Africa still grovels in darkness and ignorance I am not prepared to say; that is the Almighty's prerogative. I am inclined to think, though, that it is in the plan of the great and wise God of the universe to reveal Himself through a single race to all the inhabitants of the earth. Such an opportunity was given to the Jews, but through prejudice that race fell down on the job, and so now God seems to be trying out the Caucasian race.

There is in this view much food for thought. It connotes the fact that the white man, not only in America, but the world over, is on trial and has an unsurpassing opportunity given him to show his mettle in his treatment of less fortunate races.

I do wish the good doctor might think this over seriously and try to be less caustic in his attitudes and expressions toward a race of people who have meant so much to him as an individual and to the nation of which he is a part. I am sure that he would be willing to admit that directly or indirectly the Negro has helped him to reach the place of eminence he now occupies.

Of course, the Negro is not be-

* * *

NEGROES AND COMMUNISM

To the Editor The News:

This comes to ask for space in the South's greatest daily to give my brother, Thomas W. Watson, of Tuscaloosa, my heartfelt congratulations for his Southern, Christian, manly stand, and again, I am proud to tell you that "there are 7,000 who have never bowed their knees to Baal or Communism or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" in Alabama.

He has told the whole truth when he says "The propaganda and legal effort of the International Labor Defense, and I might say this New York National Association with its rainbow to promise, 'advancement of colored people,' has only sowed the seed of race hatred, prejudice and damnation that will spring up to closing of the southern industrial doors of opportunity to the so-called educated class of Negroes, and the stretching wide the doors and ranks of the chaingang, and the death row."

Whatever any Negro individual, Negro newspaper or church might say through its pastor or official board, the opportunity and justice, legal and industrial, have from every angle of our life been of such high-class Christian make-up until the "injustice and oppression and persecution" becomes like unto "a tinkling cymbal and sounding brass." Some 82 per cent of the Negro race live down in the South, and the most of these so-called intellectual Negroes have just recently wormed their way into our midst, with their claiming their "constitutional jury and other rights."

Notwithstanding the fact all races of mankind have had a common origin, one must remember that each race was developed in different geographical areas of this globe, and because of that fact each presents certain peculiar racial traits, adapting each to the environment in which that particular race was developed. My people is a part of humanity, because God said so and every modern anthropologist bows into submission to that truth. But our ancestors were developed in the jungles of Africa, brought to the shores of St. James River in 1619; held 250 years as slaves, and today two-thirds of the race show in our physical and mental make-up our thousands of years of tropical environment.

God Himself made the pigment black, and called us "the Ethiopian race." Not tropical or any other environment is the cause of this black race. Through the social proximity of white culture and reliable industrial efficiency we have made in 70 years wonderful progress, but do not let ourselves be fooled into believing, because of these hell-born Communists and New York National Association for Negro Advancement, that we have reached the level of the Caucasian race, whom God Himself gave the torchlight of Christian, industrial, social, moral civilization, and commanded to so carry that "torch" that all races will be blessed. And the sooner that we as a race, as our dear brother T. W. Watson said, join hands with every other Negro throughout the race to curb the activities of Communists and the International Labor Defense, and I add this New York National Association among the mass of our race, we will be protected from every legal, industrial and political angle. What we, as a race, are reaching for, if the Word of God is true, and He

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moaning his condition by any means. With the help of his countless white friends here in the South he is fighting so hard to better his condition, he has no time for weeping and moaning. He is marching right on, inch by inch to a glorious day of victory. And so he lines right up with men like Mr. DeKalb and St. Paul, who said, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but this we know, when He shall appear we shall be like Him," and that regardless of all opinions to the contrary.

A. HENRY MAY.

Birmingham.

SEGREGATION

To the Editor The News:

I read in this column "A Negro's Viewpoint," and it touches a human chord when N. C. Ward states "the Negro has no particular place." The Negro was sold into slavery by his own race, then in a savage state, and has been an industrial and political bone of contention ever since. He did not come of his own initiative and the reason for his coming was a violation of the principles of our constitution, and thus he differs from every other race or nation represented within our borders. Resentment can never change this fact. Moses was an educated man, but he was afflicted with resentment when he slew the Egyptian. Afterwards, Moses served his father-in-law 40 years before God called him to lead his race out of bondage. During that time he learned valuable lessons, one of which was humility.

The white people of the South do love the Negro—for the service he renders, and for what better reason could anyone ask to be loved, when the work and the worker are one?

Booker T. Washington was a great man, and tried to teach the two races to live side by side in peace. Surely, God can raise up another leader of Negro descent, who will teach his own race how to obtain and maintain racial integrity and freedom to develop a national consciousness of their own on a higher plane than the one from which they were sold into bondage. It might even be the privilege of the civilized Negro here to carry back to Africa the benefits of education and modern industry. Territory there might be obtained in settlement of war debts.

Why does the Negro not petition President Roosevelt to give them "a particular place" somewhere, under the supervision of this government where they can find full expression for their ability and talents? They would still have access to the colleges here, and more purpose in pursuing an education in order that they might go back to their own race, equipped to serve on a high plane. "He that would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all." The white race doesn't need the highly-educated Negro, but the Negro race needs him. The obstacles of the Negro's highest development in this country are both physical and moral. God gives freedom through adherence to principle and His freedom is altogether lovely and harmonious.

This is a day of adjustment of human affairs throughout the world, and while the South would miss the Negro, future generations of both races would rise up and call him blessed who leads the Negro out of bondage. Does the Negro really love his own race? Have any among them the initiative, the self-respect, the moral courage, the vision to ask to go of their own accord? If not, then they are a child-race, clinging to the apron strings of this civilization and whining for a recognition they have not earned. In the words of Abraham, when he divided the territory and parted company with Lot: "Let there be no strife (or resentment) I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen for we be brethren."

M. FOUNTAIN.

Birmingham.

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THE NEGRO PROBLEM

To The Editor The News:

Reams of paper have been used discussing the Scottsboro case since first it came to public notice. Therefore, what I shall say is not expected to be the last word on the subject; and certainly I am not striving to fan the flames of race hatred.

But I am convinced that a clear understanding of the Negro problem, the underlying cause of the low social strata in which he finds himself today, the unimportant part his race has played in civilization's progress, then it would not be so difficult for our white friends in the North, whose knowledge of the Negro seems to be what has been gained through reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin," to understand and appreciate our position. It would also give the Negro, whose heart truly yearns for a better order and a higher standard of living for his black brother, cause to be thankful for the opportunities and blessings that surround him on every hand. Probably it would remove some of the resentment so manifest by our "Best Negroes."

It is a long way from savagery or even slavery to civilization. The capacity to imitate within itself is not civilization.

That the human race had a common origin, none will deny. And that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," I also admit. But I deny the Negro to be the Caucasian's equal; and for any man to make such claim is displaying ignorance that is amazing to the last degree.

The Negro has a marvelous ability to copy the white man's vices, but he rarely emulates the white man's virtues. He has produced nothing that is original or creative in any sense. His ancestors migrated to the equatorial regions of Africa and there for thousands of years he has been content to remain in a state of savagery. And history shows that his only quickening has been when brown men have imposed upon him their ideas and altered his blood.

In view of such facts it seems the more intelligent of the race here in America should feel grateful to the memory of slave-traders of pre-Civil War days, who enticed their forefathers aboard ship and set sail for the Western World.

Before the Civil War a Negro who assaulted a white woman would have been hanged by his fellow slaves. Today he is proclaimed by some as national hero, and conviction in the courts places him in the role of martyr to the cause of race prejudice.

That the Negro race is a race without the capacity for self-government is fully attested by the history of Liberia, Santo Domingo and Hayti. Left to himself he degenerates back into a state of savagery.

But why the vast difference in the make-up, habits and disposition of the two races, since all had a common origin? I believe the Bible furnishes the key and the only solution to the problem.

In Gen. 9:20,21 the record shows Noah imbibed too freely of wine and got drunk. Whether his son, Ham, appointed himself prohibition agent, the record does not say; but his conduct toward his father must have been very displeasing. For when Noah awoke and learned of his son's conduct, he cursed Canaan, Ham's son, and said: "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." On this same occasion Shem and Japheth both received a blessing from their father. Their tribes were to be enlarged and their wealth increased, "And Canaan shall be their servants."

So, instead of running ahead of the Lord and trying to elevate the Negro, to social equality, as some of our Northern friends are striving to do, let's be content to wait upon the Lord, until He lifts the curse; and invite our Northern friends to leave the handling of this problem to the law-abiding citizens of the South.

W. D. ARCHER,
Meridian, Miss.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH

MAY 8 1933

"New Deal" for Negro

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—Referring to "A Thoughtful Letter" from Adam Garrett in your paper I wish to agree with him about fairness to the Negroes and with you that it is "a thoughtful letter."

May I add a few feeble remarks:

1. Education will solve the problem eventually.

2. The Negroes of Virginia are better educated than they are in any other Southern State.

3. As the education and character of the Negroes improve, the more the white people are compelled to recognize their rights.

4. Race prejudice is even more base than religious prejudice.

5. In the Congress and in the General Assembly the Democrats and the Republicans have their organizations, and have their representations on committees according to their respective strength. Why should not the Negroes have their representation accordingly?

Yours for "the squarest kind of a square deal deal" for evrybody.

M. B. COOPER.

Richmond.

BOSTON, MASS.
TRAVELER

MAY 15 1933

PROTESTS OF WHOLE NATION NEEDED TO EASE SITUATION

People's Editor:

In the face of overwhelming evidence it is peculiar to read letters of the sort written by "Georgia Cracker" recently appearing in the Forum. It is indeed a sorry state of affairs when actual slavery is disguised under a cloak of "pater alism." It is incredible to believe that a citizen of Georgia would blind himself to a situation wherein Negroes and whites will bond themselves into virtual slavery to planters rather than be forced to the unspeakable torture of the chain-gang, and any one can go into a southern courtroom around planting and harvesting time and see people arrested for such offences as saying "damn" within 50 feet of a woman and then having their fines paid by planters rather than go into the unspeakable chain gang. And the length of time it takes to work off a $20 debt ranges from three months in the case of a white man to three years in the case of a Negro who never sees the infamous "books" which keep him in bondage.

It is inevitable that when one-sixth of the area of the U. S. containing about ten million Negroes live under such conditions that protests will arise. Of course human beings protest against the invalidation of such fundamental doctrines as those contained in the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments; of course we are horrified at the long record of lynchings which blackens the face of the sunny South; and certainly we are not blinded when those lynchings are attempted to be put over in legal form such as that of the Scottsboro boys and George Crawford. Only continued protest by the entire country will stem the vicious tide of carefully nurtured race hatred, and only continued support of actions such as that of Judge Lowell in the Crawford case will have any effect. When the planters and factory owners of the South see that the entire country is alert to what is going on, and is protesting thereto, only then will any changes take place. HAROLD DE LA SAUX.

Boston.

SEN. ROBINSON DECRIES JEWISH PERSECUTION

Senator Joe T. Robinson of Arkansas, spokesman for the president and leader in the senate, on Saturday last was moved to reflect the sympathies of America for the Jewish people in their plight against what is termed Hitlerism in Germany. The senator rose in the chamber of the United States senate at a point of national advantage to give the proper force and effect to his utterances. Among other things having to do with affairs in Germany, the senator said: "May we not with propriety express the hope that wholesome world opinion may influence sentiment in Germany so that in time—a short time—the iron grip of racial hatred may be relaxed, and the Jews again be permitted to enjoy fair freedom?"

We also join with the American people in the exertion of its moral persuasion in the interest of the Jewish people in Germany. We also include in our efforts any people, in any country and of whatever race, who are victims of oppression, hate and prejudice. Our sympathies are accentuated by the belief that freedom, liberty and love of fellow man are the only witnesses to the existence of a just God. We question the sincerity of either person or nation of whatever race or faith, who makes claim to belief in a God and yet burns and murders his fellow man.

We are opposed to sham, hypocrisy and false altruism that can see and condemn the acts of others in a distant land when they themselves are permitting the commission of the same things as a part of their life at home. We believe in justice for all and not for any special or favored few. We draw no lines nor do we circumscribe the equality of opportunity to any particular race, creed or color.

We regard all mankind as a part of God's plan and reserve to ourselves no right to restrict the natural progress of any part of His humanity. We insist that liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of man himself. While the condemnation of the atrocious deeds that are allegedly committed by the German government on the Jewish people may receive high acclaim by some, our condemnation, though uttered in the name of the government, will have neither weight nor effect until we ourselves can show the world that we are in the court of public opinion with clean hands.

White men cannot march into the palace of justice gushing with high sounding words and critical analysis of other nations and their cruelty toward their subjects, when they themselves are unable to conceal their own hands stained with the blood of our defenseless people and against which they have uttered no public word of complaint.

It would be interesting should the German government in response to the observation made by United States Senator Joe T. Robinson of Arkansas, call to the attention of the American government its treatment of the black people within its own country.

It would be interesting should Mr. Hitler, speaking for the German government, invite the distinguished senator from Arkansas to turn his attention and sympathy to the sad social condition of his own state, in which he will find affairs not altogether in keeping with his high sounding manifestos uttered just a few days ago in the United States senate.

Would it be embarrassing to the distinguished senator from Arkansas should Chancllor Hitler call to his attention the shameful spectacles of the Elaine (Ark.) riots and bloodshed and the public massacre of the four Johnson brothers?

We as a nation are little prepared to speak disparagingly of others with respect to their dependent nationals, especially when our land of the brave and home of the free in many instances throws the mantle of protection around and permits to go unpunished perpetrators of lynchings, burnings at the stake, peonage, concubinage and murdering of women and children without even a respectable attempt made to apprehend those responsible for the crimes.

We cannot hide our own criminal neglect of the rights and privileges of the people in our own country by concentrating our attention on the conditions in other countries. If the conduct of the German government is wrong, then the conduct of the American government is wrong. Murder, discrimination and proscription are deadly perils to a nation's existence, whether committed in Germany or America. Truth has no special field to fertilize; justice is the property of all mankind.

Race Problem - 1933

United States.

"ALL GOD'S CHILLUN GOT RAZORS" SAYS SOUTHERN PAPER IN ATTACK UPON MEMPHIS NEGROES

COMERCIAL APPEAL ONLY NEWSPAPER TO INJECT ISSUE OF SOCIAL EQUALITY IN COMMENT ON PATTERSON CONVICTION

Publication Takes Rap at American Civil Libetiers Union; Branded as Fraud

MEMPHIS, Tenn., May 18.—(By Willie Overton for the ANP)—Day by day it is becoming apparent to the 100,000 Negroes who live in this city that to them belongs the unenviable distinction of living in a community which has given birth to one of the most poisonous enemies of fair play and stubborn foes of justice in the American system.

Most southern Negroes are acquainted with and can define two types of southern whites: the "nigger-hater" and the white who would like to be on the square with his black fellow citizen but is held back by the reactionary element.

Memphis has a third type: those who raise the practice and spread of prejudice to a dignified profession.

No newspaper of assumed standing in the north or the south has been more unfair to Negro citizens than the Commercial Appeal. We who must live in this city will never forget the diabolical and wanton campaign of prejudice and ridicule which this newspaper waged against all Negroes of Memphis in the last political campaign. In order to defeat Hill McAlister for governor, the editors of this paper were willing to calumniate a race wholesale.

But it is such people who, unwisely given access to the use of words, use the device of clever language to spread their baneful influence behind their high-sounding statements.

After the recent Scottsboro trials, the Commercial Appeal was the only important newspaper, north or south, to inject the issue of social equality into the comment which followed the conviction of Heywood Patterson. With satanic ingeniousness the editor of this paper made reason into a rubber ball and rolled it where he willed it. Proudly he discoursed upon the God-made unchangeable differences and distinctions between the races and the imperative necessity that the poor old white race be ever on its guard to protect itself from black people. All this because a fair trial was sought for Heywood Patterson and the other victims of the infamous Scottsboro holiday trials.

Thursday, this writer of malicious mischief, reveling in the trouble he may cause as a sport, broke out again to prove that all of the so-called forces of intelligence in the south are not interested in working out a program of understanding between the two races which must continue to live in this region. He pounced awkwardly upon the back of the American Civil Liberties Union whose record in behalf of civil liberties and civil justice for all groups in our nation has become well known.

But the Commercial Appeal editor, injured because of the new contumely with which the rest of the nation has come to regard the South's effort to constitute the Negro as a half man, rises indignantly to challenge these aspersions and to indict the Union as a meddler in the Scottsboro case. Writes the editor impertinently:

"The record brands most of these outfits as frauds, thriving on prejudice. Not a night but somebody, frequently a young woman, is 'taken for a ride' in New York or Chicago. What does the American Civil Liberties Union do? Light up the torches? Beat the tin pans? No! It quietly scoots for cover and keeps its mouth shut. But let somebody be 'taken for a ride' south of the Ohio river. It immediately becomes a 'lynching,' and all the meddlers rush out with demands that the barbarous and savage outrage be repudiated by the governor and that the courts at once get into action and hang the perpetrators."

How easily the editor overlooks the fact that in most northern "rides" the issue of liberties in not involved. How maliciously he ignores all the crimes committed in the name of justice every day. He forgets Levon Carlock. He choose not to recognize the import of the fact that in the last five years all death sentences meted out in Shelby county have had Negroes as their victims. Regardless of the federal constitution, of your love of justice and of your Americanism, the Appeal editor indicts any individual or organization which protests against the South's unholy practices as a meddler.

On the very same page with this meddler editorial, this malicious mischief maker who would have the nerve to enter an interracial conference and blab about his good will for the Negro, publishes the following unwarranted, gratoitous insult to a race of people:

"All God's Chillun Got Razors"

"You can take the children of the tropics and semi-tropics out of the tropics, but you can not take the tropics out of them. Racial superstitions, traits and customs are much the same in the 'green pastures' of Dixieland as in the Harlem valley with the high peaks of masonry and steel all about. Not even Park Avenue nor the Lake Shore Drive extension of Michigan Boulevard can bring about complete racial obliteration.

"In the dark-hued section of Harlem they had a card game the other night. That is as it should be. The game had not gone very very far until there was a general fight. That is as it would be. Whether or not some player held ,ve aces, or whether the free for all began when some one in the game tried to make a straight beat a flush by force is not recorded. The bare item of news in one of the New York papers recalls the fact that when the slashing and hacking were done, one of the players was dead and about a dozen more or less seriously slashed.

"It could not have been done any better on Beale Street. The performance was perfect."

What good purpose can that editorial serve?

What racial superstitions were responsible for that white man who offered his mother as a living sacrifice in Kentucky recently? Are those Negroes they tried down in Texas the other day for cult murders? Atlanta papers toll of the granting of a commutation of sentence by Gov. Talmadge to a white man who killed his wife because she belonged to a strange cult which involved "some of the best known white people in Georgia." What kind of a boob can this editor be to "forget" 'the freakish tendencies of the poor old white race. He should recall that Negroes probably know more about the "dirty linen" of white folk than any other group and that some day the story may out.

CHARLOTTESVILLE VA. PR
MARCH 23, 1933

SOUTHERN NEGRO QUARTERLY TOPIC

R. C. Wright Sees Logical Submission of Black to White Race

The problem of the Negro "will continue with us as long as our existing social, civil, and political institutions survive in approximately the same fashions as now," writes R. Charlton Wright, who was from 1916 to 1929 owner and editor of the Columbia, (S. C.) Record, in the April issue of the Virginia Quarterly Review, which has just been published.

In his article, "The Southern White man and the Negro," Mr. Wright, who is a native of Georgia, attempts to outline an intelligent program for the liberal Southerner to adopt towards the South's oldest problem.

Views Opposed

"The Negro problem is made up almost entirely of vital human and racial relationships,—some of them in sharp antipathy with the attitudes of the great majority of the white race; some, it appears, equally ditasteful to the Negroes.

"The South cannot abandon itself to policies of laissez-faire or drift, with any hope that they will enable it to thread the mazes of the Negro problem safely or creditably. For such are not the policies of advanced radical Negroes and their sympathizers, some of whose well-defined objectives are not compatible with any attitudes the South will tolerate while it can prevent them.

"White supremacy is no longer in danger in the South. Even if he were permitted the full exercise of his rights under the federal constitution, the Negro could not dominate in any state in the South. The complete failure of Republican plans to consolidate the fruits of their 1928 victories in this region betrayed the hollowness of Negro domination fears.

"As a matter of fact the Negro's civilization is essentially the white man's. The economic and cultural undertakings of the two races are corollary and complementary, each contributing to the common purpose of lifting the national plane of civilization.

"But it will not be lifted to his highest levels attainable until the white man recognizes that the Negro is a vital and integral element in it, and must continue to be so.

"It lies in the very nature of things, where two distinctly dissimilar races live in close juxtaposition, with equal civil and theoretical political rights, one of these races being practically unabsorbable, that one must and will be the dominant race. The only thing involved is recognition of an unalterable, inescapable racial fact.

"All the diplomacy, all the patience which they can bring to bear with be required of liberal whites and conservative Negro leaders not only of the South, but of the nation, to institute amicable relations between the race.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
JOURNAL & TIMES

MAY 17 1933

UNFAIR TO SOUTH

For generations the South has made advances only in face of adverse conditions and in spite of grossly unfair methods of competition by other parts of the country. Long before the Civil War when the South demonstrated agricultural superiority our agrarian system was wrecked by a section which had sold us the labor with which to attain superiority. When great railroad systems were built, they were built east and west instead of north and south. After the Civil War these railroads developed the western country by telling prospectors there was nothing in the South but fevers, swamps and negroes. When cotton mills began to move South from New England we began to be told that we were grinding the life out of the younger generation by child labor and that workmen generally in the South were little better off than chattel slaves. As the plans for a great center of welfare and happiness in the Tennessee valley unfold the world is bombarded with propaganda about Scottsboro, chain gang abuses, legal lynchings and everything else that will help to discredit and discourage those who would come to make their home in the states embraced in the Tennessee watershed.

It is hard not to feel that all this is done with vicious intent and with the purely selfish purpose of keeping the South from advancing to its rightful place in wealth, income and education. This Tennessee valley project offers to young men perhaps the greatest opportunity in the nation's history. It offers far better chances than were offered to the pioneers who went west in former years.

Critics of the plan have asserted that overproduction is the country's trouble now and that increase of production in the Tennessee valley will only add to the existing perplexity. They forget that millions of people in the South want things they are not now able to purchase and that anything which will add to the average income in the South adds that much to buying power.

A prominent economist has recently shown that the average wage earnings in Southern states is $11 per week less than in such states as Illinois and Ohio.

Suppose these Southern states could bring about a condition where the average weekly income were increased $11 per week. Think of the hundreds of millions of dollars in added purchasing power this would give to the South each year. There would be no longer any complaint of overproduction in this part of the country. On the other hand there would have to be enormously increased production of everything to meet the demands and needs of the South alone.

With the possibilities of what the Tennessee valley development may do before us, it takes self-control to be silent when there is so much of misrepresentation and downright dishonesty in the propaganda sent out from northern centers about the conditions in these southern states.

Living Church
Milwaukee, Wis.
JUN 3 1933

Negro Equality

TO THE EDITOR: I am writing from neutral ground and I have no prejudices where my colored brother is concerned. I know him well, and it seems to me we are only making more trouble for him by all this expression of feeling with regard to him.

In your plea for the equality of the Negro race [L. C., May 13th] and for obedience to constitutional law, you stress the color of his skin as a cause of the injustice we do him, quite ignoring the fact that the large majority of the colored race have not the capacity for education nor the brains to enable them to fill the responsible positions we should wish them to occupy. And we can help them only so far as it is possible for them to progress. It is the few who are bright and intelligent and have a desire for accomplishment, and these, when they have fitted themselves for a career, will not work among their own people but wish to find a place with the whites, which is a pitiful condition for them.

And what about intermarriage—which of course is to be expected with the right to equality? "'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished" on his part. And what about their offspring—which may be both, black and white, in the one family? It is interesting to note that the colored people do not desire to have their own people over them, as the soldiers in the late war resented colored officers, and so it is in their choice of professional services. In fact, our colored brother seems to have a keener comprehension of the limitations of his race than have his white friends, some of whom are stirring up this unfortunate controversy. When you consider his ignorance, his lack of judgment, his emotional nature, and his happy-go-lucky irresponsibility, isn't he being placed in a deplorably false position by our effort to give him equality?

It was not so many years ago that the women of this country were discriminated against for jury duty, because they were women. A jolly poor reason compared with the one lately given for the exclusion of the black man in the South from jury duty.

In Charleston, S. C. (and also in the county), where the Negroes are in point of population 50-50 with the whites, there seems to be no friction between the races. They live along peaceably, with mutual liking and understanding. When there, I was told by many prominent citizens that their colored people made excellent domestic servants and were active in industrial and agricultural work. It sounds ideal!

St. Louis, Mo. HELEN SYLVESTER BLOCK.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
June 7, 1933

CHANGES SEEN IN NEGRO LIFE

Dr. Giffin Says They Are Little Understood.

The white man can never really understand the Negro, and most of us do not know the educated Negro at all, Dr. J. Kelly Giffin, president of Knoxville college, declared at Rotary club yesterday.

That is because, he explained, the Negro never reveals his heart wholly to a member of the white race, and also because we do not really meet the educated Negro in our daily lives.

"We do not find him in our newspapers," he said. "He is not on the motion picture screen. When a Negro a few years ago became a champion in the prize ring, the motion pictures of his success were barred, when they would have been permitted, had the champion been a white man. And I am sorry to say we don't find him mentioned from the pulpit."

But he pointed out that "we don't meet the educated Negro in his home, don't come in contact with him in a professional way, and don't read his literature."

Only among the young, as in the Intercollegiate Race commission, he conceded, is there developing a better understanding between the two races.

The religion of the educated Negro, he said, is undergoing a change. "There is a reaction against the emotional, and there is danger of the young educated Negro dropping the emotional from his religion entirely, he said. This he regarded as a great danger.

It is hard to get them into the ministry, he said, only four or five from Knoxville college having become ministers in the last 15 years

MR. PETRIE'S POSITION.

To The Commercial Appeal:

In the Sunday's edition of The Commercial Appeal Rhea A. Steel misinterprets Mr. Petrie's position on the race problem. Dr. Steel says: "It seems that he (Mr. Petrie) believes in, but does not practice social equality with negroes."

Memphis, Tenn. Commercial Appeal 6-8-33

As Mr. Petrie is in Europe on his vacation, I wish to make the following statements: Mr. Petrie does not believe in, nor does he practice, social equality with negroes. Just before he left Memphis he said in my home: "I do not believe in the social equality of the races, but equality before the law."

Having been born in DeSoto County, Mississippi, the son of a former slave owner, it is hardly to be presumed that I have wild, discordant ideas about social equality of the races. I am sure it can be truthfully said that most southern people do believe in the equality of the races before the law. I have known former slave owners, ex-Confederate veterans and the sons of former slave owners to go into courts of law to see to it that the negro got a fair deal.

That involves no question of social equality. The courts of Memphis and courts in other southern states have "public defenders" appointed whose duty it is to see that the poor man, whether black, red, yellow or white, gets a fair deal in the courts. That does not mean the social equality of the races. Messrs. Keebler, Glascock and other lawyers have served as "public defenders." They do not advocate the social equality of the races.

Mr. Petrie does not believe in the social equality of the races, but he pleads for justice for all.

J. LUNSFORD ROBINSON.
Pastor Emeritus First Unitarian Church.

Race Problem - 1933

I

West Indies

BERNARD SHAW WAS RIGHT

Courier 9-30-33

AMERICAN newspapers flew into a rage when George Bernard Shaw, the witty Irish dramatist, told an American audience that the purpose of the daily press was to conceal the news. The assertion was vigorously attacked but not effectively disproved.

An instance proving the correctness of Shaw's statement is the clam-like attitude of the white daily press in reporting the Negro revolution in Cuba. One would never know from reading these newspapers that most Cubans are what Americans would call Negroes; that the leaders of the present revolution are chiefly Negroes and mulattoes; that most of the Communists who are seizing and operating sugar mills in Cuba are black men led by black men and the Chief of Staff of the Cuban Army is today a dark mulatto.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The daily press has concealed this information as much as possible for the simple reason that capitalist America does not want the American people and the world to know that the economic-political troubles at the bottom of the Cuban revolution are essentially racial: a subjected black and mixed race being ruthlessly exploited by white men represented by Wall Street. Indeed, throughout the Caribbean area, the black workers are rising up against alien exploitation and rascally domestic politicians who have sold them out. It was impossible for the white press to conceal the issue surrounding Haiti, but in the case of Cuba it seeks to create the impression that only white people are involved and that the Negro is a grossly negligible factor. Yes, in this instance, Shaw's statement is proved correct.

NEW YORK TIMES

SEP 21 1933

CAPTURE OF GIBARA REPORTED IN CUBA

Havana Hears Port Has Been Seized by Lico Balan, Who Led Revolt in 1931.

REFUGEES FLEE TO TOWNS

Villagers Fear Disorders and Famine—Colonel Blas Declared Surrounded.

By J. D. PHILLIPS.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HAVANA, Sept. 20.—Major Lico Balan, noted revolutionary leader against the Machado régime, and a large group of followers have captured the town of Gibara, on the north coast of Oriente Province, it was learned today.

Major Balan, who commanded the ill-fated Gibara expedition in 1931, was accompanied by Lieutenant Cecilio Rodriguez, who is now in command of the town, while Major Balan and an undetermined number of men are said to have departed for Puerto Padre.

Major Balan and his followers gathered at Gibara last night from the near-by towns of Blanquizal, Cupeycillos and Fraybenito and took control without firing a shot. Mayor Gustavo Calzadilla was forced to vacate his office and Sergeant Iglesias was installed.

Whether Major Balan is in revolt against the present government is not clearly established, as reports have been received that he is in accord with the student army administration and is attempting to establish peace and order in the district around Gibara.

It could not be learned tonight whether government troops had been sent against him, but about 100 men at Holguin, near Gibara, are being held in quarters for action if Major Balan marches on that town. Great confusion exists there as to Major Balan's objectives. Many Americans live in and around Holguin.

Blas Reported Surrounded.

Statements issued by the Presidential Palace and military headquarters in Havana today assert Colonel Juan Blas Hernandez and ten followers had been surrounded at Palmiche, that many of his men had deserted and that his capture was expected momentarily.

It is not certain, however, that Colonel Blas is in the group surrounded, for it is his practice to split his forces into small groups of ten or fifteen to prevent the loss of any great number.

Secretary of the Interior Antonio Guiteras said today he had sent out an agent named Paletti to establish contact with Colonel Blas and persuade him to lay down his arms. Government sources also declared farmers in that district are now favorable to the government.

Your correspondent was informed by long-distance telephone tonight that there is a great deal of labor agitation in the Holguin district, although there were no disturbances in the town today. A number of strikes had been "settled," but generally on terms which observers feel will be impossible for the employers to carry out. Also the Holguin informant said considerable anti-American feeling has been engendered there by radicals, but as yet no incidents dangerous to Americans had occurred.

Villagers Fleeing to Towns.

In the Eastern provinces of Santa Clara, Camaguey and Oriente many inhabitants of small villages, fearful of what may happen, are concentrating in the larger towns. In some capitals of provinces it was stated a general exodus either to Santiago or Havana would be in progress if the people had the money to get away from these districts. Particularly did this hold true from Camaguey down through Oriente Province, where Negros and Communists now hold sway. Travelers from Camaguey and [illegible] Province, where Negroes [illegible] day expressed fear for the [illegible] there. Mob activities in [illegible] Province are attributed to [illegible]negroes, who greatly predominate. Every time communication was established today with these provinces it was asserted that anarchy absolutely and definitely exists in the eastern end of the island. However, except for a little labor unrest in Pinar del Rio Province, the western end of the island is comparatively quiet.

Camaguey Communists Parade.

A large demonstration sponsored by Communists took place in the city of Camaguey late yesterday in protest against a visit of the United States destroyer Sturtevant at Nuevitas, where it remained three hours. It is understood this destroyer is making a rapid survey of the entire north coast.

At Ceballos, near Camaguey, where many Americans own fruit groves, great difficulty is being experienced with labor and impossible demands are being made on fruit growers by labor, which is expected to provoke trouble of a serious nature.

An ugly situation has arisen at the Tacajo sugar mill near Antilla, American-owned and operated by the Punta Alegre Sugar Company, which has been in the hands of radical workers for the past week. Additional soldiers have been sent from Antilla. Upon arrival at Tacajo the soldiers were met at the station by a delegation of workers, who served notice that if any attempts were made to rescue the imprisoned managers, one American and the other British, they would find nothing but dead bodies. The workers are armed with revolvers and a machine-gun.

Epidemic Also Strikes Cuba.

By The Associated Press.

HAVANA, Sept. 20.—The turbulent labor situation in Eastern Cuba became increasingly alarming tonight as reports of bloodshed and strife reached the capital along with advices that many towns were suffering outbreaks of malaria.

Dr. Carlos Finlay, Secretary of Sanitation, said he had received reports of the spread of malaria in certain areas, particularly the storm-damaged province of Pinar Del Rio.

The government has sent physicians and medical supplies to the stricken area to assist the Red Cross.

The newspaper El Mundo asserted frankly today that "we are in open civil war."

Reliable reports said former President de Cespedes had gone into refuge in a foreign legation here, but the French Minister denied the former Provisional President had taken refuge with him.

Communists occupied the charred remains of the plant of the newspaper Heraldo de Cuba here. The office was sacked and burned when General Machado was overthrown. Red flags were raised on the roof and others fluttered from the sashless windows.

A new secret society, the Ku Klux Klan Kubano, is circulating the white population of Havana urging an active protest against "the insolence and decisive violence" of Negroes. The members of the society say that they will use violence without scruples if that is necessary to defend homes. Such is a news dispatch coming from the strife torn Republic of Cuba. Such a declaration and such a society, can but add fuel to the leaping flames of the revolution now taking place in Cuba. The beginning of the internal strife was caused by the ironfisted power of the Island in its effort to degrade further, through exploitation of the laborer, the toiling masses. This, the latest effort of the foreign population of Cuba, the forming of the notorious K.K.K., would on the face of things, appear as an over effort to drag the United States in the embroilment by inviting an attack. The population of Cuba is predominantly black and for the white population to single them out for punitivetive purposes would only be inviting trouble of the worse kind. The monetary interests of the Island would like to see conditions so bad and chaotic that the U. S. would be obliged to land military forces. To any one who is at familiar with the tactics of the inhabitants below the imaginary line of Mason and Dixon, know full well the idea behind the attempt to creat additional trouble. That element of the population embracing that area of the nation are noted for fomenting strife between peoples of different complexions. But in Cuba they will find a somewhat contrary class of black folk to deal with. In the first place they are nationally, instead of racially conscious. They have none of the inferiority complex, and less of the color complex. But when the man applies for a job run by American capital and manned by black labor he states as one of his main yualifications that he was born and reared in some one of the states of the South and knows how to handle "niggers." When the United States built the Panama Canal the straw bosses were mainly from the South and that is one of the reasons that there ixisted at that time more racial restrictions and more racial prejudices, than existed in the states. The Panama Canal Zone carried more racial inhibitions than most of the states of the southland. Cuba is infested with that same element, and they seek every means to foment trouble between the races.

St. Petersburg, Fla. Independent
October 13, 1933

HAVANA NEGROES SEEK PROTECTION

CLAIM THEY ARE MENACED AS RESULT OF RACE PREJUDICES IN CUBA.

(From Yesterday's Final Edition)

Havana, Oct. 12.—(AP)—Havana negroes crowded beneath the protecting arm of the government today in fear of what leaders described as "a hateful and bloody crusade" against them.

On the claim that whites had been molested, a delegation of negroes told President Ramon Grau San Martin, agitators were urging an open assault before nightfall.

As President Grau moved to meet this new problem, rumors spread that friction was developing steadily between the army and navy.

Although denying that there were any noteworthy differences, army and navy leaders met with the president in a conference which Juan Rivera, commander in chief of the navy, did not attend.

Havana university student leaders announced that registration would start for reopening the institution, Oct. 15, with classes starting Nov. 1.

Grau Regime Stirs Race War Between Negro, White Workers

"80 Per Cent Cubans in All Jobs" Slogan Is Basis of Action

HAVANA—Of special interest to the readers of the revolutionary press everywhere and to the revolutionary movement as such, are the latest developments of the committees for 80 per cent Cuban employment, here.

The past week saw a tremendous strengthening of this movement. On the 16th there took place a demonstration in support of the government. It was organized by the 80 per cent, 75 per cent and other such committees and about 25 thousand took part. On the 17th the leaders of the movement seized the issue of Ambassador Caffrey's arrival as an excuse to again rally a large demonstration.

This time the central slogans were "Cuba for the Cubans!" "No intervention and no interference in Cuba," "Abolition of the Platt Amendment." The city was plastered up with posters. Special trains were arranged from the interior. Military planes distributed leaflets. It became evident at once that the government and its servants seized upon the anti-imperialist spirit of the masses and again tried to divert them from the path of militant struggle into peaceful channels, at the same time using it to win support for themselves. No less than 50,000 people took part. The bulk of the crowd was made up of those who are influenced by the committees for 80 per cent employment, unemployed in the main. Besides these, there were also large numbers of office employees, especially from the public offices. It must be admitted that there was a great amount of enthusiasm on the part of the masses. Grau, Batista, and other government leaders made demagogic speeches in which they called for the abolition of the Platt Amendment and promised to fight for a free Cuba.

Slow to Participate

The revolutionary movement did not immediately understand the importance of this maneuver. Instead of calling upon the workers to take part in the demonstration under revolutionary militant slogans, the Communist Party only mobilized its members to distribute leaflets. The Confederation of Labor did not call upon the workers to take part. Only the Young Communist League and the Youth Department of the Confederation issued posters calling upon young workers to take part and to demonstrate against Caffrey, against imperialist oppression and against the government.

Left Student Organization

The students did not take part in the demonstration. The Ala Izquierda followed the wrong track of keeping away, and the rest of the students kept away because the ABC leaders called upon them to do so.

However, even this demonstration, rallying as it did so many people, did not strengthen the government. In the first place, because these masses have taken part in the whole movement only because they want work and bread and freedom. The government cannot satisfy their demands and it is a matter of time when these workers will see that they have been betrayed. The masses of unemployed, misled for the moment, will fight for their demands as soon as they see that they are being fed phrases alone. Already today, only 3 days after the demonstration, the government had to suspend unemployed soup kitchen rations for lack of funds (while it spends 1,500,000 dollars for armament.)

However, there is also a second reason why this movement does not help to strengthen the government. The 80 per cent committees are in their majority composed of Negroes. In order to be able to split the ranks of the working class, the government leaders have made a pact with the old Machadist Liberal Party politicians who still had some hold over large sections of Negro unemployed workers and over some Negro soldiers. These Negro workers who have been neglected by the revolutionary movement and whose demands were not concretely fought for in the general strike, are being utilized against the white foreign born workers today. Since the Spanish and other foreign bourgeoisie is linked with the native white bourgeoisie and the landlords, the ABC, particularly, representing a strong section of these, is spreading rumors everywhere that the Negroes are responsible for the troubles in the country, that the Negroes are carrying out the arrests, doing the killings, etc. This propaganda is also used to cast the blame upon the Negroes and for winning the white workers to support the "white" politicians—represented by the ABC. There is an ever growing danger that if the ABC succeeds in taking power again, and that is very likely, that there will be organized regular massacres against the Negroes.

Just today a leaflet was distributed throughout the city which said among other things the following:

"Thousands of honorable Cuban citizens, who committed no other crime than the one of trying to save their fatherland from the disorder into which these bandits (the government) have thrown it, and as if this were not enough, as a slap to Cuban society, they have placed a Negro as chief of police, a Negro as military commander, a Negro as Chief of Staff and 90 per cent of the new officials are Negroes. Long live the triumphant revolution . . . long live the authentic revolutionists, and let us prepare to see pasted up on walls the famous posters "Negro, choose your white girl" (Negro, busca tu blanca).

This leaflet of course is not signed, but its source is the ABC. Possibly this slogan of choosing "your white girl" is not very clear to readers in other countries, but here it has a tradition of race hatred and has served time and again as an excuse to carry out massacres of Negroes especially in the Oriente Province.

While the government exerts feverish efforts to build itself some sort of support, it is sinking deeper and deeper into bankruptcy. The much heralded issue of 20,000,000 in silver and paper bank notes has not come through and although bids have been opened more than a week ago, so far not one banking concern has been willing to even consider the question. In the meantime wages are paid only for the first 10 days of December and there is already no money to pay the army and the navy for January. The only hope left (besides recognition from the U.S.A.) is the sugar harvest, the Zafra, with increased taxation receipts through the payment of taxes on property, sales, etc. The government girds itself for the fight during the harvest. It already promises all support to the plantation owners, sends troops to the interior and breaks strikes right and left. But the most pernicious attack is made against the victories gained by the workers in the strikes of the past months when wages rose from 40 cents to 1 peso a day in the sugar mills. Now the government decrees that wages shall be the minimum (that is always the maximum, of

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West Indies.

Strikes in Sugar Mills Grow; Soon To Reach Critical Point

Daily Worker 1/23/33 New York

course) 6 cents per hour. This means less than half of what the workers get now. At the same time the department of labor declares that the 8 hour day will not apply to the agricultural laborers and sugar mill workers, these will work 12 hours.

While the exploiters make these preparations, the workers on their own side prepare for battle. Already dozens of strikes are in progress in the interior. Central Onicia, Miranda, Chaparra, Preston, Boston and many others are on strike against the non-fulfillment of contracts. The Zafra is expected to begin on the 15th of January. However, nation-wide preparations for strike struggles will be going on and in many places strikes will be in effect. It must be remembered that the strikes during the past months have affected only a small minority of sugar workers, that is gains were secured only by those working during the "dead time." Take for example, the Sugar Mill Mabay—150 work there during the summer and fall, but this rises to 3,000 during the harvest. The strike demands were won for the 150, now will come the fight of the others to secure the same wages, or even higher. Thus it is to be expected that the strikes during the coming Zafra will assume a still more militant character and will be bloody battle, taking on the character of civil war in many places. This will be still more so, being that the government places all its hopes upon this Zafra, and will spare no effort to force the workers to work and not to strike.

The Zafra also will have an effect in weakening the hold of the leaders of the 30 per cent over their followers, since those working in sugar mills will come into closer contact with the revolutionary workers and will take part in revolutionary struggle. But this does not mean that the Communists and the revolutionary trade unions should abandon these workers hoping automatically for the future; on the contrary, it presupposes more intensive work among them against the leaders and for immediate unemployed demands

Race Problem-1933

West Indies.

THE PASSING OF GOMEZ.

Don Juan Gualberto Gomez, one of Cuba's most dearly beloved patriots, is dead. His passing occurred March 5 at his home, Villa Manuelita, Manague, near Havana, aged 78 years. Of Negro blood and proud of his ancestry, Gomez was one of Cuba's most popular political leaders and orators. He was an implacable foe of the United States and a bitter opponent of American intervention. Only a few months ago he declared, "Better death than American intervention." His hostile attitude toward this country was due to the discriminations it imposed upon people of color. He did not want to see these forms of inequalities transplanted to his country and therefore stubbornly and consistenly fought to keep Cuba free from American domination.

Directly after the Spanish-American War the name of Gomez was used as a rallying cry throughout Cuba. When the United States attempted to disband the Cuban forces at the close of the war he led the resistance, demanding that the American Government withdraw all troops before his countrymen laid down their arms.

He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention held early in this century, leading the opposition against adoption of the Platt Amendment and was equally active against intervention up to his death, which he vigorously denounced in speeches and articles.

Don Juan Gualberto Gomez was born in Santa Ana, Matanzas Province and educated by the Cuban poet, Antonio Medina. He early espoused the cause of Cuban liberty and joined the forces plotting a resurrection against Spanish rule. A trusted friend of Jose Julian Marti, known as the "Apostle of Cuban Independence," Senor Gomez maintained with great success a liaison between the revolutionary junta in New York and their confederates in Havana.

Although affiliated with the Liberal Party, Senor Gomez was elected Senator during the administration of President Mario G. Menocal, a conservative, holding office until 1925. He was an enthusiastic supporter of President Machado when the latter was elected Cuba's Chief Executive in 1924. Later he broke with the Liberal Party and joined the Nationalists, which is the opposition party to the present administration.

So firm a hold did Gomez have in the estimation of the public that his shifting of party allegiance never lessened his popularity with the people. The sincerity of his motives was never doubted. This was attested when, on the night before his death, President Machado signed a pension bill granting Senor Gomez $10,000 yearly, which will now go to the members of his large family.

Don Juan Gualberto Gomez, a Negro, like another great Cuban of Negro descent, Gen. Antonio Maceo, will go down in history as one of the world's greatest and most highly esteemed patriots.

NO RACE RIOTS.

A press dispatch from Kingston, Jamaica, of January 3rd, told of the enactment of wild scenes in the streets of Kingston when soldiers of the Northumberland Fusiliers, out to avenge the alleged murder of Private Daniel Macdougall, attacked civilians and smashed windows.

In their indiscriminate attacks on citizens the soldiers stopped street cars, taxicabs and automobiles, assaulted conductors, motormen, drivers and other occupants of vehicls and clashed with the police. During the melee several citizens and soldiers were injured, but none seriously.

After order was restored, the authorities were not inclined to take a serious view of the situation. No further trouble is expected. It is reported that Private Macdougall was killed in a fight with a native.

The Northumberland Fusiliers, better known as the "Fighting Fifth," was first raised in 1674 by Prince William of Orange. They also are known as "The Shiners," because of their spick and span uniform.

The dispassionate treatment of the incident by the Canadian Press which sent out the news release is worthy of more than passing attention. No sensational reports were disseminated about "race riots."

New York Evening Journal

AUG 19 1933

Race Riots Inflame Cuba As U. S. Destroyer Leaves

HAVANA, Aug. 19.—Race riots were reported in Santiago early today, a few hours after the American destroyer had steamed out of Havana harbor. Political unrest in the interior, fomented by communist agitators, also gave the new Cuban government cause for concern.

In Havana a round-up of Congressmen loyal to Gerardo Machado, fugitive ex-President, got under way. Soldiers escorted representatives of Machadwo's Liberal party to army headquarters, where their resignations were demanded.

WELLES RECALLED.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19. — Sumner Welles, Ambassador to Cuba, is to be recalled to the State Department to take charge of the division of Latin-American affairs and the promotion of better trade relations south of the Rio Grande. Jefferson Caffrey, now in charge of the division, is to take Welles' place in Havana. Caffrey had charge of all State Department participation in the recent events leading up to the Machado resignation.

WHITES ORDERED OUT.

Leaders denied they are supported by Communists.

Race Problem - 1933

West Indies.
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WHITES ORDERED OUT.

The reports from Santiago appeared to confirm previous advices that race trouble was anticipated. Self-appointed leaders of Oriente Province Negroes announced that all whites must leave the province, easternmost in Cuba, in 72 hours.

They claim Oriente and Camaguey provinces belong to Cuban Negroes, and are proposing their own candidates for the governorships. Military authorities were instructed to swing into action at the first sign of disorder.

The dock workers' strike continued to tie up Cuban ports today. Leaders denied they are supported by Communists.

WELLES REWARDED.

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Follow Rayford Logan Thru Cuba in the Afro-American

See Editorial On "Down to Cuba with Rayford Logan"

The AFRO-AMERICAN has sent Rayford Logan, its special correspondent, to Cuba, to cover the revolution.

Mr. Logan left Sunday and arrived in Havana Tuesday. His first dispatch, cabled from the Cuban capital, appears in late editions of this week's AFRO.

Mr. Logan has had wide experience as an observer. He studied in Germany shortly after the treaty of peace was signed and again during the occupation of the Ruhr by the French. He was in Austria when labor riots seemed to threaten the new post-war republic and in Portugal when one of the frequent attempts to overthrow that republic had just taken place.

Rayford W. Logan

His observations of conditions in Haiti made the public aware for, perhaps, the first time of the dissatisfaction with the **Service Technique** which later broke out in open revolt.

During the World War, Mr. Logan was a first lieutenant in the 372nd Regiment and served under Captain Spencer, of Baltimore, until the latter left the service just before sailing for France.

Born, Washington, D.C., January 7, 1897.

Educated: public schools, Washington, Williams College, A.B., cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa prize in oratory and history, member of the cross country team; A.M., 1929. Harvard University, A.M., 1932; need only to write thesis for the doctorate in history. Independent study and travel in Europe, 1919-1924. Attended Institute of Politics, Williamstown, 1928.

Army: first lieutenant, 372nd Regiment of Infantry; concussion of the brain in the Argonne, June, 1918.

Teaching: professor of history and government at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, 1925-1931. Dropped from staff for "radicalism" which consisted largely of advocating colored principals for colored schools. (Five colored principals have just been appointed). Beginning with September, 1933, will be professor of history in the new Atlanta Graduate University.

Writings: "Education in Haiti," Washington, D.C., 1929. Has contributed articles to The Nation, World Tomorrow, Southern Workman, Crisis, Opportunity, Christian Register, Journal of Negro History; book reviews to Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science, Opportunity, Crisis, Journal of Negro History, Southern Workman, Christian Register.

Lectures: Has lectured under the auspices of the Foreign Polic Association and of the Ford Hall Forum.

Black Men on Both Sides in Bloody Cuban Revolution

Virtually All of Troops Guarding the New President Are Colored. They Remind AFRO Observer of 24th Infantry.

By Rayford Logan

Special Afro-American Correspondent Havana, Cuba (Aug. 16 by Cable

HAVANA, Cuba—The impression given by some American writers that Machado gangsters or Porrstas are mostly Negroes including notorious Captain Crespo, commanding castle of Atlares is apparently justified by preliminary investigators.

But confusion has existed between La Porra, the secret police force, and La Guerrilla De La Murete, the criminal detective force.

For the first time the newspaper, Al Pais made a distinction this morning, Wednesday, between them. One of these alleged as a notorious Porrista is Gonzales, who is unmistakably colored. He was shown as a member of La Guerrilla with words of praise for him and others.

There is no evidence, however, in streets or from persons with whom I have talked of race hatred which would naturally have resulted if most killings had been by Negroes.

Most of the regular policemen I have seen are white. Colored Cubans played an important part in all events leading to the overthrow of Machada. As members of the Cuban National Federation of Labor they participated in the strike which paralyzed industry and transportation. According to the Havana Post, yesterday (Tuesday) "for the first time in Cuban history labor demonstrated a solidarity which had been previously thought impossible with the result that main objective, the elimination of Machado was attained.

Thus, instead of having been used as strike breakers, colored workers here helped to overthrow the president. Th difference between the Cuban Federation and American Federation of Labor is evident. Cuban Negroes participated in all meetings as members.

The A. B. C. Revolutionary party fought terror of Corristas with terror. As much emphasis should be placed on Negroes in A. B. C. as in Porra. As members of the students' party, many colored boys also fought. The final blow against Machado was delivered by troops many of whom are colored. These troops were paid regularly when school teachers and others were not. One-fourth of budget under Machado is allegedly paid to army.

Had American intervention occurred and fighting resulted to maintain Cuban independence, colored men would have borne the brunt of it. Practically every soldier on guard in front of capital building is colored, hence evidently picked troops and loyal to new president.

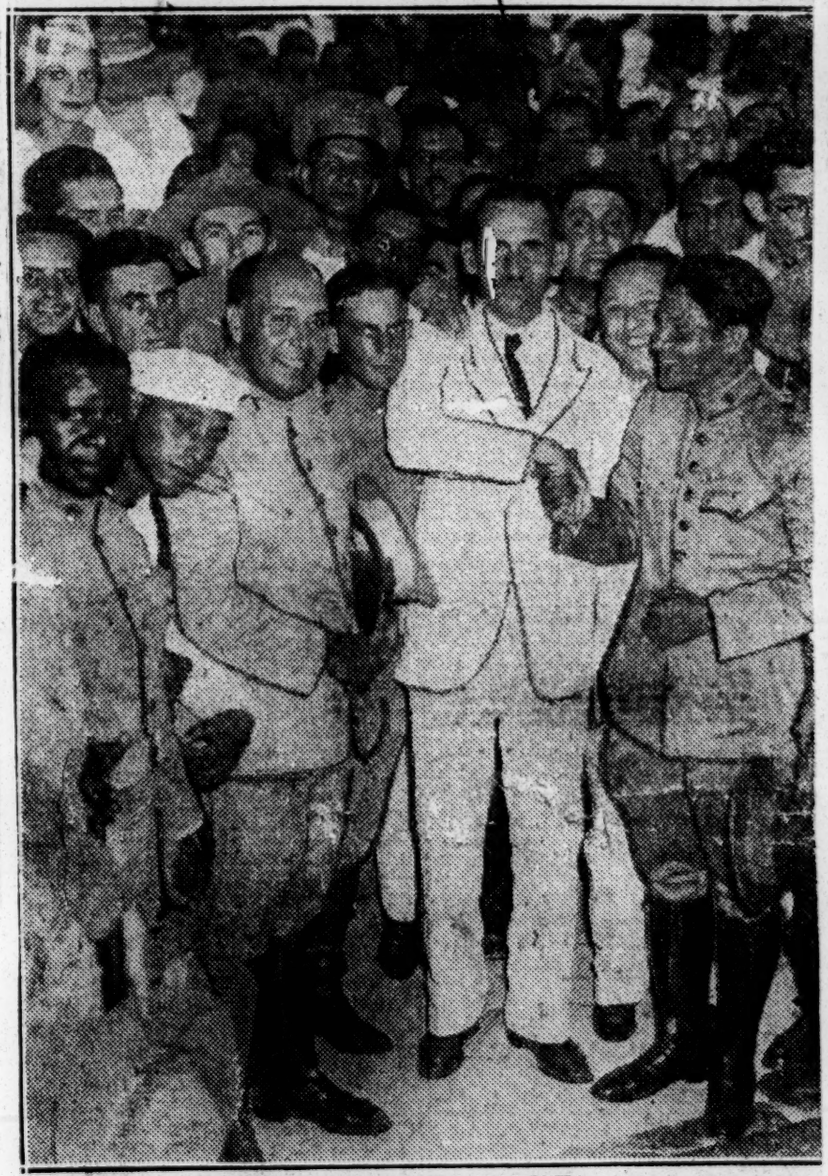
All non-commissioned officers are also colored. I saw no officers. It was probably too early this morning. There is no question, however, that some of the officers are colored.

These troops compare favorably in appearance and military deportment with crack colored American regiments. One could easily think them members of the 24th Infantry or 9th Cavalry instead of Cubans.

Another detachment, this one cavalry, two squares from capital was mixed colored and white with mixed non-commissioned officers. The question of pay of these troops will also be an important one since under Machado one-fourth of budget went to them.

Apparently all is quiet now but the demands of labor and unpaid officials are almost insuperable unless moratorium on debts is declared and considerable increase over 1,700,000 tons sugar is set as the American quota for Cubans.

The Head Of The Cuban Nation Greets His Colored Commander Of Army



COL. FULGENCIO BATISTA

Chief of Staff of the Cuban army, now handling affairs under the new Cuban government. He is a native of the Province of Oriente birthplace of Antonio Maceo, Cuba's George Washington. Over 60 per cent of the people of Oriente are colored.

Race Problem-1933

West Indies.

Black Reporters on Cuban Papers; Natives Love Sport

By RAYFORD LOGAN

Special AFRO-AMERICAN Correspondent Covering the Cuban Revolution

Afro-American

Additional evidence of the participation of colored Cubans in the highest political affairs of the Republic is seen in the invitation extended recently to the friends of Juan Gualberto Gomez to meet the present leaders of the National Union Party, Colonels Carlos Mendieta and Roberto Mendez Penate, upon their return from exile on August 22.

The invitation refers to Gomez as the "founder of the said political organization and one of the most relentless leaders of the national opposition" to Machado.

9-16-33

This invitation also furnishes additional proof, if it is needed, of the fact that many of the most distinguished colored Cubans were opposed to Machado. Moreover, Damaso F. Randich and Emilio E. Queeen, two leaders of the colored people of Havana, have several times declared their determination to support the provisional government.

Baltimore Md.

One of the most interesting young Cubans whom I have met is Pedro Galiana, sports editor of the **Diario de la Marina,** the only Cuban newspaper that carries a daily rotogravure section, and the paper that the Congressional Library puts on its racks in the reading room.

BASEBALL SCORES IN CUBAN PAPERS

Until 1931 Mr. Galiana was regularly sent by his paper to the United States to "cover" the big league baseball games and the World Series. On account of economic difficulties during the past two years he has not been sent to the United States, but he expects to return as soon as the situation improves. Even today, his paper, like others, devotes at least a full page to the games, giving the line-up and score by innings just as our largest American dailies do.

It is interesting, and amusing at times, to see the Spanish translation of our baseball slang.

CUBAN FOOTBALL PLAYER

In practically all branches of sport colored Cubans have gained renown. Mr. Galiana informed me that the best end Cuba has produced in American football is young Maceo, the grandson of the grea Cuban patriot. He is at present in exile in Europe because of his opposition to Machado.

On the track an outstanding star is the sprinter, Torriente, who won the regional hundred meters. In baseball, as is well known, and in basketball also colored Cubans have won fame comparable to that of our colored American stars.

In the days when the Athletics and the Giants used to come to Cuba on barnstorming trips, they frequently played against colored Cubans, some of whom would undoubtedly be playing in the big leagues along with Gomez and Lopez if Americans were as free from color prejudice as Cubans are.

REPORTERS ON DAILIES

The other papers of Havana, **El Pais, El Mundo,** and **Informacion** employ, just as does **La Marina,** a number of colored reporters who "cover" general news.

One of the best known cartoonists in Cuba is Hernandez de Cardenas, who was imprisoned for his cartoons in **Informacion** against Machado.

While it is impossible for me to get complete information about colored professional men, Mr. Galiana assured me that in law, medicine, the schools and in the Catholic Church, they fill prominent places.

LAWYER FOR THE POOR

One of the best known lawyers is Carlos Manuel Palma, called the "Lawyer of the Poor People," who was at one time a writer for a newspaper of Havana. In medicine, among the most distinguished is Dr. Madan, a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

In the navy, as well as in the army, many colored men rise to high positions. They are not limited to the rank of chief petty officer as, we are told, colored men are in the American navy. There are, of course, many colored sailors.

AT THE RACE TRACK

At the beautiful race track, Oriental Park, in Marinao a few miles from the heart of Havana, the man who escorts the horses to the starting post is unmistakably colored. Just as in America, there are many colored exercise boys . There are, however, apparently, no colored jockeys at this time.

On the other hand, in the grandstand is the usual number of "touts," giving a different horse to every victim of their wiles. It is amazing to see how chummy our white American friends can be with these colored Americans.

27 REDS RELEASED

The strike of the port workers and of the railroad men in the provinces of Camaguey and of Oriente continues with more organizations threatening to strike. The vernacular press seems on the whole to be sympathetic to the port workers in most of their demands although the strike is causing the government to lose about $1,000,000 a month. The government has just ordered the release of twenty-one alleged Communists imprisoned by Machado.

These labor troubles constitute the principal internal difficulty at the present time, for most of Machado's henchmen have been killed or imprisoned, or have committed suicide. To prevent the escape of the few others, the government has just issued an order requiring all persons to get a military pass before leaving the country.

HEAD OF CUBA'S ARMY IS HALF NEGRO

Afro-American

9-23-33

Baltimore

Colonel Batista Comes Out of District That Bore Antonio Maceo.

CHICAGO.—(ANP).—A white Cuban, Alfredo Francisco, entered the office of the Associated Negro Press Saturday morning to bolster a claim he had made previously that men stood on their merit, not their color, in Cuba. He had several days before informed the news agency that Colonel Fulgencio Batista, the sergeant who gave the De Cespedes government its walking papers, is what is known as a Negro in the United States.

"Batista used to be a personal friend of mine," stated Francisco. "We played together as children. His mother is a dark colored Cuban and his father is of the lighter, or white type. In this country, Batista would be a Negro, but in Cuba he is a Cuban."

Then Francisco asked if the Associated Negro Press had seen the Tribune dispatch confirming what he had said of Batista. Saturday morning's paper was eagerly scanned, but there was no reference to Batista in the final edition.

Francisco left the office. A few moments later he returned, bearing a copy of one of the early editions of The Tribune of the same day. He pointed to a Cuban article, written by Arthur Evans. Here is what Evans had written as part of his story

A Mulatto.

"Colonel Fulgencio Batista, who led the revolt which deposed President de Cespedes and who later became a colonel and army chief of staff says he is not worried about the National Hotel situation. The government, however, has recognized the fact that it needs an army under regular officers if peace is to be maintained, and a group of the officers still are moving between the hotel and the palace as a mediation group.

"Colonel Batista, a mulatto, is one of the king pins in the situation. He is accused by counter revolutionaries of aspirations to become a Colorado Madura Napoleon."

Story Cut Down.

In the later editions of The Tribune, these paragraphs referring to Batista were deleted from Evans' story, as well as references to Batista's work in quelling a rebellion at Consolacion del Sur, evidently to keep white readers from knowing that there are Negroes, or mulattoes in Cuba in positions of leadership.

Colonel Frederick Palmer, representing the North American Newspaper Alliance, wrote in Sunday's New York Times:

"For the moment, Colonel Batista holds the most powerful position of any man in Cuba. Order depends upon his holding the soldiers together. He is 32 years old and was born in Oriente, (province of black Antonio Maceo, Cuba's George Washington), the province which is called the mother of revolutions, of poor parents.

Started at Twenty-two.

"Batista entered the infantry at 22, became a corporal, studied stenography and became a sergeant doing office work for the general staff. Sturdily built, with black hair brushed back and a small, flattish nose, though he may have no Chinese blood he has a suggestion of Chinese in his face. His face, however, is very lively and expressive.

"Batista said that in organizing his revolt he picked one man in each post or company, who picked another who could be trusted, and so on, and then it only remained for the signal to be given when the hour arrived.

"Having remarked on his very swift rise in rank and to mighty responsibilities, I asked him with a view of sounding his military knowledge and the extent of his study who was his favorite military leader in history.

"'I have none,' he said. 'All military leaders reached their high place through butchery.'"

Black Sergeant Now Becomes Head Of The Cuban Army

COL. FULGENCIO BATISTA

Chief of Staff of Cuban army, greets his new executive, Ramon Grau San Martin, while numbers of black soldiers who are now leaders in the army look on. Under the new revolutionary government, non-commissioned officers have replaced commissioned officers, 300 of whom are locked in the National Hotel and forbidden to leave unless they give allegiance to the new commander-in-chief.

Race Problem – 1933

Haiti.

West Indies.

Justice in Haiti

The Nation

Vol. 137, No. 3559

7-26-33

FOR some time the newspapers in Haiti have been commenting guardedly on frauds in their customs. It will be recalled that under the treaty imposed "by military pressure" of the armed forces of the United States, Americans have administered the Haitian customs since their seizure in 1915. In the semi-official apologetics for our conduct in Haiti, the alleged incompetence of the Haitians to manage their own affairs has invariably loomed large. *Sotto voce* there are always hints of native venality. Now David P. Johnson, American collector of customs at Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti and its most important port, has been surrendered to the Haitian authorities by the American legation. Mr. Johnson is the third most important American treaty official, subordinate only to Sidney de la Rue, the financial adviser and receiver-general, and his assistant, Mr. Pixley. It appears that some time ago Mr. Johnson, on the ground that he could not trust some of his Haitian subordinates, insisted that certain consignments of merchandise be inspected personally by him. These goods were consigned to a firm of American merchants of Syrian origin in Port-au-Prince. Suspicion was aroused when it was noticed that this firm invariably sold its wares at a price which its competitors were unable to meet. Apparently, high-priced goods were coming in without duty, or were being charged far less than the value of the merchandise warranted. The Syrian-American merchants' arrest came toward the end of March; and Mr. Johnson's has now followed. It is noteworthy that the leading American officials, especially Norman Armour, the recently appointed Minister to Haiti, have cooperated in bringing the offenders to justice.

In ironical contrast, however, the far larger chicanery and fraud of the whole Haitian occupation stand unrebuked. The landing of the United States marines in Haiti, their permanent retention there when even the pretext of protecting life and property was no longer valid, the imposition upon the Haitians successively of a treaty, a constitution, and a protocol—these constitute as barefaced a piece of legalized robbery in the grand manner in behalf of private interests as the history of modern imperialism affords. The essential purpose of the $23,600,000 loan, forced upon the Haitians under the terms of the protocol, was to enable a few American concessionaires to extract the full par value of their bankrupt enterprises. One need but recall that the railroad, whose claims were arbitrarily settled in ex parte proceedings and not submitted to the Claims Commission, was controlled by a group affiliated with the National City Bank. At the same time the National City Bank controlled Haiti's finances; it floated the loan the Haitians did not want, and then, as in the case of the railroad, obtained a settlement on its own terms. It was to serve the interests of the National City Bank that 2,500 Haitians, including women and children, had to be slaughtered, and that more than a score of American marines gave their lives. In the light of this long record of exploitation and occupation—both military and financial—the arrest of a United States treaty official for alleged peculations, while proper and gratifying, serves chiefly to emphasize the divergence between the codes of morality that exist for individuals and nations.

Iron-Fisted Diplomacy

UNDER a Republican administration in 1922 a loan was imposed upon Haiti over the protest as *The Nation* of last September 21 rightly observed, "of every articulate Haitian," carrying with it control of Haitian government affairs in the interest of American holders of the loan. Now that loan is to be fortified by an extension of that control, over Haitian protest.

The Legislature of Haiti unanimously rejected a new treaty drawn up last fall by the United States Government because the citizens of that Negro republic are fearing of a virtual American dictatorship. This latest treaty is really just another episode in a series that constitutes a discreditable page in the history of American foreign relations, especially discreditable is this country's dealings with Haiti and Liberia, another Negro republic, now under severe diplomatic pressure from America, England, and the League of Nations for the benefit of private capital.

The attitude of the Haitian people which accounts for their rejection of the U. S. Treaty is not difficult to understand. Official Washington and a certain group of newspapers hailed what was called the "Haitianization" of military and other services in the Republic of Haiti. But this "Haitianization" really extends the iron, financial domination exercised by the United States over that country in the interest of big American bankers.

The entire foreign indebtedness of Haiti, serving as the basis for this continued invasion of a peaceful nation, amounts to $14,150,000. European nations may default upon their debts, South American nations may cease entirely to pay interest upon their bonds, but the black republics of Haiti, which desires to refund the loan in its entirety, and Liberia, which seeks to modify its loan agreement, are obliged to submit to United States dictation and domination until every cent is paid.

All of this simply illustrates the contempt of the Hoover and previous Republican administrations for minority groups and defenseless nations, especially if they are composed of off-color men and women.

On the face of these facts it is inconceivable that Mr. Hoover was sincere when he proclaimed that this country would withdraw as soon as possible from its tyrannical and unjustified Haitian adventure. Nothing so far has made the Hoover administrations come anywhere near practicing what it professes. Mr. Hoover has been too interested in guaranteeing the loans and property of American investors in Haiti and Liberia with diplomatic chicane and the armed forces of the United States. These investments are made at the financiers' own risk and should be so regarded.

The failure of the Hoover administration to negotiate a new treaty restoring full self-government to Haiti, the only Negro republic in the Western Hemisphere and its threatening attitude toward Liberia, where it would set up a virtual dictator of its own choosing, stand as a terrific indictment and a travesty on the democratic principles Mr. Hoover professes. It is to be hoped that the Rooseveltian "new deal" will include Haiti and Liberia.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

AUG 20 1933

MARINES' RECALL IN HAITI HAILED

Negro Organizations Here Convinced Islanders Fully Capable of Self-Rule

LEADERS OUTLINE HOPES

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

Leading Negro organizations are jubilant over the Washington announcement that American marines will be withdrawn from Haiti during the next fifteen months. Foremost among these is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has carried on a relentless fight for native Haitian rule for nearly thirteen years.

The association was joined in its attitude toward the promise of the removal of armed forces by the National Negro Consumers League, headed by the author, George Schuyler, New York, and the National Bar Association, of which F. Washington Rhodes, Philadelphia attorney, is president.

In commenting upon the removal as it will most probably affect the trend of Haitian affairs, Schuyler said he felt American intervention in the island republic has been an asset, since now "the Haitians have learned their lesson well and are more competent to maintain order and democratic self-government."

Schuyler Explains Views

Taking the extreme left of the other organization heads relative to the American intervention, Schuyler moved to clarify his position by adding:

"I am convinced that most of the troubles afflicting nations are engendered from within and due to bad statesmanship. If the Haitians had devoted their energies to developing the economic resources of the country along modern lines in-

stead of continually warring against each other, the United States would never have had an excuse to invade it.

"Doubtless they now realize the necessity of training artisans and technicians as well as poets and philosophers; of maintaining a well-disciplined and trained army; of maintaining civil liberty and rule by ballot instead of bullets; of improving educational facilities and sanitary conditions."

Work Dates Back to 1920

The national office of the N. A. A. C. P. took the opposite view in commenting upon the removal, but joined in the feeling that the new Administration deserves credit for the moves that are being made. The organization's work concerning Haiti dates back to 1920, when James Weldon Johnson spent two months on the island and returned to write a startling report of military subjugation which the late President Harding used in his campaign speeches.

Later the N. A. A. C. P. was able to have some of the charges aired in the Senate, with two investigations following. As a result of this work on the part of the American organization, the natives themselves formed an organization, the Union Patriotique, which had independence as its object.

The president of the Natonal Bar Association, in making a statement for his law group, said:

"No country or nation can be at its best unless there is law and order among its citizens. Haiti has not always had this; and while the National Bar Association members did not approve wholly of American intervention in Haiti, they do hope that now, since a greater degree of native rule is in sight, the Haitians will conduct their systems of public safety, their courts and their civic and business institutions in such a way as to show their capability of self-government."

Mr. Rhodes said that his fellow members would extend their aid to President Stenio Vincent in whatever capacity they might serve in the United States.

New Day for Natives

S. A. Haynes, former foreign correspondent for Negro newspapers, who recently visited Port-au-Prince, hailed the possibility of Haitian rule on the island as the beginning of a new day for the natives, but added:

"As fine as it is that the grip of military government is to be more or less removed, Haiti must destroy the cancers of obsolete tradition. fetish practices and racial illusions if she is to occupy a worthy place in the family of nations."

The traveler said that "Haitians are among the most sensitive, dynamic and cultured of entities; their history is brilliant in manhood and racial stamina, but like their brethren in Liberia and Abyssinia, they are prone to listlessness in the essentials of government. He thinks, however, that "emerging from the none too easy American training, they will prove themselves worthy of the trust."

Woodpile

Hardly had the Haitian government executed an agreement with the United States arranging for the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines by October 31, 1934, when a rather astonishing story appeared in the daily press last week.

It said that the Haitian people wanted the U.S. Marines to stay.

The treaty of 1932, negotiated between the two countries, was rejected by the Haitian assembly.

Two of the reasons assigned were: (1) that Haiti must keep a military advisory mission of seven Marine officers after the Marines themselves were withdrawn, and (2) the U.S. reserved the right to send Marines back to Port au Prince and to abrogate the entire treaty if there was another revolution, (such as we had in Cuba recently).

The new treaty, satisfactory to the Haitian President, who approved it, and also to the Haitian legislature which had already stated the amendments it desired, is now in effect.

If the President of Haiti and the members of the legislature elected to express the people's will do approve, whence comes the story, then, that the Haitian people want the U.S. Marines to stay?

There's the rub. It isn't a story originating in Haitian papers. It's an American story for American papers. It's a tall story coming from a Marine in the wood-pile.

American Marines who have been drawing regular U.S. pay since 1916 and in addition regular salaries varying from $100 to $250 a month from Haiti, and living like rulers, must come home before October 31, 1934.

They have been living on alligator pears, mangoes, chicken, champagne, and the best coffee in the world, but next year they must return to U.S. army rations. They may have been lieutenants and captains in Haiti. Back home they'll be non-coms.

Moreover, the way President Roosevelt has been cutting expenses, they may be out of jobs altogether.

That prospect is not alluring. In fact, it is downright mournful. So it was a bright Marine idea to send out the propaganda that the Haitians want U.S. Marines to stay.

It is a bright idea, but we don't think it will work.

Resembling Jack Johnson

W. G. Quisenberry, white United Press correspondent, reporting the Economic Conference in London, describes Constantin Maynard, the Haitian delegate, as a six-and-half foot giant "resembling Jack Johnson."

Quisenberry's simile is certainly malapropos, if not in bad taste. It betrays his limited acquaintance with colored people. As well might he compare Ramsey McDonald, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, King George, or Senator Key Pittman with Babe Ruth or Gene Tunney.

The fact that M. Maynard and Jack Johnson are both six and a half feet tall virtually ends the resemblance. M. Maynard was Haitian candidate for president in a recent election. From head to toe he is Frenchman, cultured, educated, charming. He speaks no English.

Our hope is that Mr. Quisenberry's other observations are more accurate than those concerning the Haitian delegate.

Haiti's "New Deal"

By HUBERT HERRING

Port-au-Prince, Haiti, November 5

EN route to the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo, my airplane stops at Port-au-Prince. Here the burning topic of discussion is the executive agreement signed on August 7 by Albert Blanchet, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Haiti, and Norman Armour, the American Minister. When it was executed, our State Department, for the second time in less than a year, drew a long breath and pronounced the Haitian question settled. Radio broadcasts from the State Department indicated that this settlement was proof that the New Deal had shown itself also in Latin American relations. But all Haitians with whom I talked felt quite otherwise. They included senators, deputies, men long conspicuous in the public life of the republic. They did not hesitate to declare the executive agreement a betrayal of Haiti's hopes and legitimate aspirations. They asserted that the Haitian people had been tricked.

The new arrangement, they say, differs in no material respect from the treaty which the Haitian Congress rejected without a single dissenting voice some fourteen months ago. That treaty provided in effect that the military occupation should expire with the treaty of 1916, and that at about that time, 1936 or a little earlier, the higher ranks in the Garde, the national constabulary so long officered by marines, should be filled by Haitians. So far, so good. That much every Haitian expected and welcomed. The United States had no mandate to stay beyond May 1, 1936. But what was the amazement of the Haitians to find that while the marines went out, the bankers stayed in! The treaty provided for a rigid financial control of Haiti for the life of the National City Bank loan, final amortization of which is not due till 1952. For that period, according to this new treaty, American officials would collect the customs and internal revenues, making the service of the loan the first charge and their own expenses of salaries and supervision the next. Haiti and its interests, its schools, its government salaries, its national life—these all came after. During the life of the loan the President of the United States should have control of the customs service. Again the service on the loan is the first charge. Again the expenses of the budget—which must be balanced. (There was some humor in this insistence by the Hoover Administration upon a balanced budget.) Moreover, Haiti could not modify its taxes or tariff duties without the permission of the American financial control. Indignation reached a new high pitch in Haiti. The Congress met. It studied the project, and without a single dissenting voice both houses rejected the treaty. Congress then adjourned, not to meet again until April, 1933.

Conceive of the stupefaction of the Haitian public when it learned that on August 7 last what was essentially the same treaty had been negotiated again! Only this time it was called an "executive agreement," with the tacit assumption that it need not go to the Senate of either country for approval. There were some slight modifications, but the financial clauses are virtually identical with those of the rejected treaty. They provide that a fiscal representative, who shall have control of the collectors become the second charge. Again Haiti is to reduce its tariff or modify its taxes without the consent of the American collector of the fiscal representative.

Intelligent Haitians are up in arms against this humiliating agreement. They demand an explanation for the subterfuge under which it was signed as an "executive agreement" instead of being submitted as a treaty to the senates of the United States. They assert bitterly that after a record of force and fraud by which the will of bankers and concessionaires has been imposed on Haiti through the long record of the United States, this concluding act by the military power of the United States, in short, that is all the New Deal amounts to.

To the writer, it is amazing to see the Administration this helpless country. At home the United States Senate, presumably with the consent of the Administration, is disclosing how the bankers have mulcted the American people. New legislation is designed to prevent more of the same kind of looting. But in Haiti nothing is changed. The chicanery of the past is solemnly reenacted. That, say the Haitians, repeatedly denounced the money changers playing finances, with employees and assistants not to exceed eighteen, the game of the National City Bank and its bond-holders in

stead of continually warring against each other, the United States would never have had an excuse to invade it.

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Race Problem-1933

West Indies.

Haiti

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

SEP 17 1933

ALEXANDER TELLS OF TRIP TO HAITI

Islanders Ignorant of American Negroes, Lawyer Here Declares.

By JOSEPH H. RAINEY

Strange ideas of the American Negro are entertained by Haitians, according to Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia attorney, who has just returned from a trip to Haiti and the West Indies.

Haitians, as a whole, are unaware there are scholars, scientists, writers, artists, musicians and professional men of Negro blood in the United States. American papers are left in hotels now and then, and stories which are derogatory to the Negro are read and reprinted in the Haitian papers.

Sylvio Cator, stellar Haitian athlete, who holds the world's record at 26 feet 1½ inches in the broad jump and who is called the unofficial Haitian Ambassador because he travels widely and has done much to spread Haitian good-will, talked hopefully to Alexander of a movement supported or sponsored by American Negroes "to further or advance the cultural and social relations between the Haitian people and the American Negroes."

Pleased by U. S. Pact.

The Haitians are in an encouraged and jubilant mood, according to Alexander, over the recent accord reached between the United States and Haiti whereby the United States marines will be removed permanently from Haiti on October 1, 1934.

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Amsterdam News

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11-8-33

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New York

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12-6-33

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Hull Also Petitioned.

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Forwarding the Haitian petition to Washington, Mr. Hull took the position outlined in Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Mr. Vincent. In this letter to the Haitian President, Mr. Roosevelt enclosed a copy of a recent letter by Acting Secretary of State Phillips to Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, maintaining the same attitude.

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Holds Control Necessary.

Under the 1919 protocol Haiti was authorized to float a $40,000,000 bond issue, of which $23,660,000 was issued. Of the latter there is now outstanding about $12,655,782. The $40,000,000 was designed to clear up the financial affairs of Haiti, which a Senate committee found had at the time of American intervention totally exhausted its credit at home and abroad.

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Haiti

Race Problem-1933

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

SEP 17 1933

ALEXANDER TELLS OF TRIP TO HAITI

Islanders Ignorant of American Negroes, Lawyer Here Declares.

By JOSEPH H. RAINEY

Strange ideas of the American Negro are entertained by Haitians, according to Raymond Pace Alexander, Philadelphia attorney, who has just returned from a trip to Haiti and the West Indies.

Haitians, as a whole, are unaware there are scholars, scientists, writers, artists, musicians and professional men of Negro blood in the United States. American papers are left in hotels now and then, and stories which are derogatory to the Negro are read and reprinted in the Haitian papers.

Sylvio Cator, stellar Haitian athlete, who holds the world's record at 26 feet 1½ inches in the broad jump and who is called the unofficial Haitian Ambassador because he travels widely and has done much to spread Haitian good-will, talked hopefully to Alexander of a movement supported or sponsored by American Negroes "to further or advance the cultural and social relations between the Haitian people and the American Negroes."

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the United States with respect to Haitian affairs expressed in treaty provisions with Haiti and who would never have invested in the absence of such obligations.

"Furthermore, from the facts which have been stated herein above, it should seem evident to any fair-minded observer that the assistance rendered by this government to the government of Haiti in the matter of financial administration under existing agreements between the two governments has been primarily in the interest and to the benefit of not any particular group of creditors of the Haitian State but of the Haitian people themselves."

According to Mr. Phillips, it is the policy of both governments to terminate the financial administration "at the earliest possible date consistent with existing obligations." The correspondence does not, it is stated, concern the American Marines in Haiti, which now number about 800, in addition to some 150 who are officers of the Guardia Nacional. There were originally many more marines, but they have been withdrawn.

HAITIANS DEMAND MONTEVIDEO ACTION TO FORCE US TO QUIT

Times

Curb on Intervention Asked as Roosevelt Refuses to End Fiscal Control.

New York

STRESS ECONOMIC AGENDA

12-3-33.

But Pan-American Delegates Tend to Limit Talks to Topics on Which Hull Can Act.

By HAROLD B. HINTON.
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MONTEVIDEO, Dec. 2.—President Gabriel Terra of Uruguay will inaugurate the seventh Pan-American Conference at 6 P. M. tomorrow with all the pomp and solemnity with which it is possible to surround such a ceremony under a democratic form of government.

It will be the first time that ten Foreign Ministers have assembled for an international conference. With them are seventy-eight other delegates, representing all twenty-one members of the Pan American Union. The Costan Rican delegation arrived by plane this afternoon just in time to prevent Costa Rica being the only absentee, as had been expected.

The inaugural ceremony will take place in the Chamber of Deputies in Uruguay's beautiful marble legislative palace. President Terra will be accompanied by members of his Cabinet and the governmental junta. The uniformed diplomatic corps occupied the galleries.

The chiefs of the several delegations were seated in the front row in alphabetical order by the names of the countries they represented. The palace was surrounded by troops, which rendered the military honors due to Ministers Plenipotentiary upon the arrival of each delegation.

Opening Delayed an Hour.

The ceremony was scheduled for 5 P. M., but was delayed one hour to await the arrival of Dr. Afranio de Mello Franco, the Brazilian Foreign Minister.

The Haitian delegation launched the opening bomb in its campaign today in the form of a statement by Antoine Pierre Paul, labor member of the delegation. While it stressed that M. Pierre Paul spoke only in his individual capacity, it was evident that he echoed the sentiments of the entire delegation.

He said the Haitians would ask the conference to adopt a resolution calling for strict non-intervention in such form that the United States would be compelled to withdraw. After reviewing the history of the Haitian loan as well as of fifteen years of military occupation, he said President Roosevelt's good-neighbor doctrine could not be regarded as a factual basis for the conference negotiations as long as financial supervision of Haiti continued.

The Haitian delegation will seek to have the conference pass a resolution calling upon the United States to declare her intention of terminating all "extra-territorial occupation, both financial and military." It was indicated, however, that Haiti would not withdraw from the conference if such a resolution was not passed, as had been rumored.

There also is some uneasiness among the delegations that Cuba may throw a controversial bombshell into the first plenary session Monday. It is customary for the head of the delegation representing the country where the previous conference was held to reply on behalf of all the delegations to the welcoming address of the local Foreign Minister. Angel Giraudy, Cuban Minister of Labor and head of the Cuban delegation, therefore will deliver the response Monday.

While the delegates hope he will not introduce any controversy while speaking in the name of the twenty other delegations, they admit he has a perfect right to talk about anything he chooses.

With the exception of Haiti and Cuba, there seems so far to be little disposition to assail the United States. In fact, there is a surprising spirit of cordiality and good fellowship, which is so unusual at Pan-American conferences that it is being talked about wherever the delegates meet. Those delegates who attended the Havana conference are emphatic in stating there is nothing at this conference which even approaches the anti-American spirit at Havana.

The conviction that this cordial spirit will lead to successful practical results grows visible daily. Dr. José M. Puig Casauranc, the Mexican Foreign Minister, said this morning: "My hope and optimism regarding the conference have increased tremendously since my arrival at Montevideo."

Bolivian Delegate Optimistic.

Dr. Castro Rojas, chief of the Bolivian delegation, said after his reception by President Terra that he was most optimistic as to the outcome of the conference and expected "great results for the economic and financial prosperity of this continent, as well as closer relationships which will arise from the personal contacts of the delegates at Montevideo."

All the delegates are watching interestedly Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Dr. Puig Casbrasuc and Foreign Minister Nugmel Cruchaga of Chile. It is becoming more evident day by day that they will take prominent rôles throughout the conference. It is also noticeable day and visited Mr. Hull to return the Secretary's visit of yesterday. The delegates of the larger republics have been awaiting rather impatiently the arrival of Foreign Minister Carlos Saavedra Lamas of Argentina, who is expected to assume an active position in all efforts toward peace because of his having written Argentina's anti-war pact, which the conference is to consider as an instrument toward achieving the long sought organized peace in South America.

Economic Trend Is Strong.

There seems to be a strong possibility that the conference may develop into a Pan-American economic discussion. Several delegations, especially of the larger countries, are frankly inclined to avoid controversial political topics and to concentrate their attention on economic topics under Chapter 4 of the agenda.

The principal stumbling block in thatt hey are making a particular effort to get onto a friendly basis with each other, not with any idea of forming a bloc of any kind, but to discuss frankly and to try to understand their mutual problems. Dr. Puig Casauranc dined with a prominent member of the United States delegation last night, had luncheon with Señor Cruchaga to-day. The way of this move is the uncertain situation in the United States, which admittedly will make it difficult for the United States to cooperate in any general plan just now. At least one of the largest delegations is working on the idea that the economic section of the agenda should be handled at this conference in such a manner as to prepare a foundation for a Pan-American economic conference, to be called when the United States' situation is clearer.

There appears to be a general understanding of President Roosevelt's difficulties and why it is impossible for the United States delegation to take up matters of tariffs and currency stabilization and similar difficult problems until more progress has been made with the NRA. There seems to be a disposition among the delegates, therefore, to get together with Mr. Hull on those questions in which he can cooperate, rather than to fight him on questions on which he is bound by home conditions he cannot overcome at present.

Haiti Becomes Hispaniola In Charts and Naval Books

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23.—Hispaniola is making its appearance on official maps and in publications as the name of the island heretofore known as Haiti.

Times 11-24-33

The change is being made in accordance with a decision of the United States Geographic Board which gives back to the island the name bestowed on it by Christopher Columbus when he discovered it on Dec. 6, 1492. Earlier that year Columbus, on the same voyage, discovered the New World, landing on San Salvador Island, one of the Bahamas.

Hispaniola, second largest island in area and population in the West Indies, comprises the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo. The navy's Hydrographic Office has placed the name on its pilot charts.

Haiti

Race Problem-1933

West Indies.

BELLEGARDE ON COMMISSION

Afro-American

Flurry over Seniority in Diplomatic Circles Is Now Settled.

1-21-33

HAITIAN ENVOY AGREED UPON

Baltimore Md

Chief Issue Is Peru-Colombia Fuss.

WASHINGTON—(Afro Bureau)—When Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to this country, last week formally accepted the post of third member of the Permanent Commission on Conciliation for American Republics, a post left vacant by Minister Don Pedro Manuel Arcaya, of Venezuela, now on leave, a mild flurry in official diplomatic circles over the question of seniority was quietly but firmly snuffed out.

M. Bellegarde

The commission, now complete, includes Dr. Jacob Verela, Minister from Uruguay; Dr. Adrian Recionos, Minister from Guatemala, and Minister Bellegarde.

Misunderstanding

According to M' Bellegarde, the conflict arose through a misunderstanding of the class of envoy eligible for a seat on the commission. At the international conference of American Republican States held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923, at which time the permanent commission on conciliation was formed, it was set forth that a member of the commission must be an accredited envoy, which is to say he must have presented his credentials to the president of the country to which he is sent by his government.

During the absence of Minister Arcaya, his first secretary of the legation became charge d'affaires and occupying this position, rightfully assumed the representation of Venezuela at Washington. But the point overlooked by members of the commission was that he was not an accredited envoy, according to the international conference, in that the credentials presented to President Hoover, were not his but those of his absent chief, hence the charge d'affaires could not be considered.

Peru

Next to be considered in order of seniority was the ambassador from Peru, Don Sreye Y. Santander, who was offered the post, but had to decline because he at once found himself in the position of co-arbiter in the settlement of an international dispute in which his own counrty was concerned.

The mantle then logically fell upon Minister Bellegarde, next in seniority, and, of course, an accredited envoy.

It was quite all right, Minister Bellegarde intimated with his suave smile, just one of those diplomatic conflicts that happen in the best regulated republics.

Boundary Dispute

The commission is at present concerned with international difficulties between Peru and Colombia, caused by a revolt of the population of Leticia, a province of Colombia.

Though Peru signed a treaty in 1922, ceding Leticia to Colombia, and though this treaty was ratified in 1930, Peru maintains that the revolt of the Leticians concerns her because of the presence in that province of Peruvians.

Colombia maintains it is an internal affair and not international. Upon the request of Peru, the commission is called upon to arbitrate. In the meantime, Brazil, a friend of both republics, and a potent voice because of its ability to contr[illegible] fic between them on th[illegible] River, has stepped in to services as mediator.

HAITI WOULD WELCOME BLACK U.S.A. MINISTER

Afro-American

No Color Bar at Home M. Bellegarde Tells AFRO.

1-28-33

RECALLS SERVICE OF F. DOUGLASS

Baltimore Md

Not Speaking Officially, Minister Says.

WASHINGTON—(Afro Bureau)—Speaking altogether unofficially Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian minister, denied Tuesday that his people once opposed the appointment of a colored American as minister to Haiti.

Mr. Bellegarde spoke of the great love of the Haitian people for Frederick Douglass, once U.S. minister to Haiti. There is no prejudice or color line at our home, M. Bellegarde added.

The Haitian people during the presidency of Borno had to bear the brunt of rumors which set forth the fact that this man at the instance of General Russell, U.S. military director, was opposed to a Negro minister. This view at the time did not represent the views of the Haitian people because they did not have a voice in the government.

The Haitian people have always assumed that a colored American would be more responsive to their demands, have more sympathy with their hopes, etc. And this, despite the fact that they wish to have any American so long as he is not the type to say bad things about their country, is not a man with little culture or lack of training or lack of merit.

But all this is unofficial opinion on the part of M. Bellegarde, he told the AFRO.

He is not at liberty to speak for the Haitian people in this respect because this would be highly improper.

When a U.S. President selects a man and asks a foreign government is the man suitable, it is taken for granted that the country will accept, unless a good reason can be given.

It is possible for a colored American to be as prejudiced and opposed to the best interests of the Haitian people as a white American, M Bellegarde said. "The love the Haitian people had for Douglass whom they remember as the most beloved minister of them all, is a key to their desire for colored Americans."

M. Bellegarde says he knows many fine colored Americans whom he would like to see minister to Haiti but he cannot speak because that would also be improper.

The minister recalled that Douglass was honored by President Hippolite with a commission to represent the Haitian government at the Chicago World Fair. He also mentioned the fact that Ebenezer Bassett was made honorary consul general for Haiti prior to his being appointed minister to Haiti.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—From the end of the Civil War and emancipation of the Negro down to 1913, an unbroken line of eminent colored men were selected for the post of minister to black Haiti. Taft, Wilson and their successors, planning the move to restore the island's sovereignty, broke with precedent and began sending white men to represent the United States at Port-au-Prince. President Hoover's naming of Norman Armour recently continues a lily-white policy.

MINISTERS TO HAITI:

Ebenezer D. Bassett, April 16, 1869 to 1877, eight years, appointed by U.S. Grant;

John M. Langston, September 28, 1877 to 1885, eight years, appointed by President Hayes;

George W. Williams, 1885 (did not go to his post), appointed by President Cleveland;

John E. Thompson, May 16, 1885 to 1889, four years, appointed by President Cleveland;

Frederick Douglass, September 20, 1889 to 1891, two years, appointed by President Harrison;

John S. Durham, September 3, 1891 to 1893, two years, appointed by President Harrison;

Henry M. Smythe, September 15, 1893 to 1897, four years, appointed by President Cleveland;

William Powell, June 17, 1897 to 1905, eight years, appointed by President McKinley;

Henry W. Furniss, November 23, 1905 to 1913, eight years, appointed by President Roosevelt.

FORCE DEMANDS ON HAITI CONSUL

Daily Worker

Negro and White Mass Meeting Successful

2-9-33

NEW YORK.—A committee of Negro, South American and American workers, elected at the Haitian protest meeting in St. Luke's Hall, Friday night, presented a resolution adopted at the meeting to Chas. B. Vincent, Haitian Consul, Broad St., New York City, Saturday morning, demanding the immediate release of Haitian workers imprisoned by the Haitian government; also that American troops be withdrawn from Haiti; the disbandment of the American controlled Haitian Guard; the nullification of the robber treaty forced on the Haitian people by the Wall Street U. S. government; expulsion of the American-Haitian Sugar Company, the General Electric Company; the right of free assembly; free speech and the right to organize the Haitian workers.

Insistence by the committee forced a reluctant promise from the consul who is a brother of the Haitian president that he would forward the demands to the Haitian minister in Washington, who would in turn send them to the government of Haiti.

Funds raised at the I.L.D. Bazaar in February will be used to defend the Haitian workers against the government's program of terror.

About 150 attended the St. Luke's Hall meeting. They were Negro and white, native born and Haitians.

They cheered the speakers: James W. Ford, Communist candidate for vice president in the last election, and a Negro worker himself; Robert W. Dunn, John Ballam and E. Glassford, the chairman.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the New York District of the International Labor Defense, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Trade Union Unity Council, and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

STAR GAZETTE

AUG 30 1933

TWO EXCEPTIONS

The Negro republic of Haiti is reported to be entirely free from debt. Venezuela is the only other nation that has no debt. All foreign obligations are said to have been met by these countries and all public works and public officials have been paid.

United States marines are still in Haiti. They have been there since 1915, and when it was found necessary to send United States forces to that island things were in a decided mess. The force has been steadily withdrawn during recent years and the marines will finally leave Haiti Oct. 1, 1934. Gradually the services have been turned over to natives and the situation is now said to be ideal.

Of course, in a country of less than three million inhabitants it is possible to accomplish things which cannot be attempted in a population of 120 millions, and military rule is not comparable to civic rule. Also, the Haitians were naturally inclined to obey the age-old custom of living off the land.

U.S. Imperialism Seeks to Stifle Organization of Haitian Toilers

Daily Worker 2-3-33 New York, N.Y.

By P. L.

THE general crisis of capitalism and the deepening of inter-imperialist rivalries, which increase tremendously the oppression and exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, are becoming sharper each day in the Negro Republic of the Caribbean, Haiti.

The intervention of the United States through the armed force of American Marines (June 14, 1915), and the rapid penetration of Yankee commercial enterprises and of the National City Bank, bear witness to the increasing exploitation of the masses; to the growth of the plantation system and the theft of the soil from the poor and middle farmers by imperialist enterprises. Agriculture in Haiti—mainstay of the colony's economy—has dropped very much since 1929.

SEVERE EFFECTS OF CRISIS

The sharp drop in the price of coffee, cotton and other principal products of the country, has resulted in deficit after deficit in the budget. An exceptionally sudden decline in customs receipts has brought the total national income, from all sources, to a figure considerably below the corresponding figure of 1930-31.

IMPERIALIST REPRISALS

In April, 1932, there was an enormous drop in exports, which was the chief factor in the drop in income, directly traceable to the fact that **France, Italy and England have ceased buying from Haiti as an act of reprisal against the policy of American imperialism, which raised the Haitian tariff sky-high** in order to maintain itself as complete master of the domestic market.

YANKEE PLUNDER

Besides the $1,559,735 paid to the National City Bank during the first seven months of 1931 as amortization and interest on a $15,000,000 loan forced on the Haitian government with the connivance of ex-president Borno, Haiti pays monthly the sum of 84,702.38 gourdes (a gourde is equivalent to 20 cents in American currency) for the upkeep of the General Financial Receiver, an American, and also **pays numerous Yankee officials.**

YANKEE TAX LOOT

In order to assure the principal and interest on loans by the National City Bank, the Yankee imperialists, using as a mouthpiece their Financial Adviser and General Customs Receiver of Haiti, Sidney D. Larue, continue to raise taxes, thus putting greater burdens on the masses.

This policy of banditry by Yankee imperialism, which throws all the weight of the crisis on the exploited masses, is not only supported but carried out by the **bourgeois-landlord government of Stenio Vincent,** who has served as President of Haiti since November 16, 1930.

Vincent rose to power in Haiti with the direct help of Yankee imperialism acting through the Forbes Senatorial Commission and the reformist leaders who, headed by Morton, visited Haiti. This Morton Commission was supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the League for Industrial Democracy and other organizations of a similar character.

MARINES AND NATIONAL CITY BANK

In view of the fact that the treaty signed between Haiti and the United States in 1915 was to expire in 1936, the imperialists presented to the Vincent government another agreement known as the "New Treaty." In it, Washington promised to withdraw its marines in December 1934 on condition that peace be maintained and that regular payments be made to the National City Bank. But another article of the New Treaty provides, despite the promised retirement of the U. S. Marines, that they may be reshipped to Haiti at any time up to 1952 if the stipulations of the treaty are not fulfilled.

The exploitation of the masses, in its extremest and most barbarous form, has been systematic and uninterrupted throughout the history of Haiti; but Yankee Imperialism has brought it to the limit of human endurance. For example, the workers in the only sugar central of any importance, the property of the **Yankee Haitian-American Sugar Co.** (HASCO), slave under horrible conditions.

This enterprise employs close to 3,000 workers, of whom 500 are industrial workers and the others agricultural. A skilled machinist works 18 hours consecutively, earning **13.4 cents an hour.**

Other workers also toiling 18 hours a day, getting **7 or 8 cents an hour.** Workers in the refining plant start at six in the evening, and work till six the next morning. During this period they are not permitted recess nor time off to eat. **For this long, hard day's work, they get 60 cents a day.**

Agricultural workers are even more miserably paid. A cane cutter working 11 hours a day collects 16 cents for her entire day's work. The job of building and loading cane on carts is done by **women who earn a total of twelve cents for twelve hours work.** The other Haitian toilers suffer from similar or even worse conditions.

STRUGGLES OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The determination of the masses to struggle against this barbarous exploitation has grown, and has led to the first steps in organizing themselves into fighting trade unions.

For the first time in the history of Haiti, the unemployed workers have held demonstrations, beginning with that of July 2, 1932, in Port-Au-Prince. On Dec. 30, 1930 the **longshoremen** of Cabo Haitiano, a city only second to Port-Au-Prince, declared a strike against a proposed wage-cut. After three days of the strike, the masses poured into the streets spontaneously, against the advice and **obstruction by the reformist leaders.**

The Yankee Chief of Police of the city sent the police and the army against the demonstrators, resulting in the death of one striker and the wounding of many others. Other strikes have been carried on lately, such as that of the **chauffeurs** in Port-Au-Prince, and of the **printers** in Damien. **This shows the increasing radicalization and the spirit of struggle of the Haitian workers.**

The **struggle of the peasants** has also grown; in the north of Haiti **bands of farmers have fought against the seizure** of their lands; and in the south (in Marchaterra and in Jeremie) the farmers who have their little stills to make alcohol have succeeded in keeping away the revenue officers and in some cases have beaten back attacks of the army. Until now these struggles have been spontaneous and have lacked organization.

EARLY ORGANIZATIONS

Toward the end of 1931 the first revolutionary organizations of the working class made their appearance, growing out of the widening struggle of the masses. In December of that year, **the General Workers' League of Haiti** was organized. Shortly thereafter, other organizations were established, including the **League for Defense and Popular Culture.**

Recently, the **General Workers' League of Haiti** took the first steps for organizing the workers of the Haiti-American Sugar Company, wich is linked with the National City Bank.

LAUNCH TERROR AGAINST WORKERS

The government of Stenio Vincent and **R. P. Williams, Yankee head of the Garde d Haiti** (Haitian Guard), immediately unloosed a wave of ruthless terror against the leaders of the militant workers' organizations.

Whole families have been imprisoned and during the past thirty days they have been held incommunicado and with no other food than corn meal.

Among the prisoners are **three women workers and three children (2, 4 and 5 years old).** Other workers are being held for deportation to Santo Domingo, where they were born, **facing death at the hands of the assassin government of Trujillo, another lackey of Yankee imperialism.**

DEMAND THEIR LIBERATION!

The working class of the United States, particularly the revolutionary organizations, must **demand the immediate liberation of the Haitian and Dominican workers imprisoned for defending the interests of their class** against the native exploiters and imperialists.

Help secure the **freedom** of these workers. **Come to the protest meeting, this Friday night, Feb. 3, at 8 p.m., at St. Luke's Hall, 125 W. 130th St., New York City. Robert W. Dunn of the Anti-Imperialist League, James W. Ford and John Ballam will speak. E. Glassford is chairman. There will also be speakers in French and Spanish.**

ROOSEVELT PUTS WHITE MAN IN HAITIAN POST

Name of Norman Armour Sent to Senate for Confirmation.

ARMOUR WAS

HOOVER'S CHOICE

No Colored Minister Since Furniss.

WASHINGTON. — Norman Armour, white, of New Jersey, was appointed minister to Haiti by President Franklin D. Roosevelt last Saturday.

Before the close of his administration President Herbert Hoover sent the nomination of Mr. Armour to the Senate, but it was included in the batch of nominations upon which the Senate refused to act.

Mr. Armour is a career man in the foreign service, having served as counsellor of the American embassy at Paris prior to his appointment as minister to Haiti by President Hoover.

As the representative of the American Government at Port-au-Prince, Mr. Armour will be expected to see that the treaty provisions providing for Haitians to be given complete command of the Haitian constabulary, the complete withdrawal of American marines, and the turning over of the internal revenue service to Haitian control not later than December 31, 1934, are carried into effect.

In appointing a white man President Roosevelt followed the example of President Hoover. Not since the Taft administration when Henry W. Furniss was the minister to Haiti has a colored man represented the United States at Port-au-Price. President Wilson sent white envoys to that republic. A United States cruiser landed marines at Port-au-Prince July 26, 1915, and Haiti was placed under naval government. President Harding sent Brig. Gen. John H. Russell to Haiti as American High Commissioner. He was continued in that capacity by President Coolidge.

After a commission sent by President Hoover to investigate conditions and find out how the United States could withdraw the marines reported on its recommendation, General Russell was withdrawn and Dana G. Munro was sent as the American representative. Mr. Armour was promoted and appointed to succeed Mr. Munro August 13, 1932.

Race Problem – 1933

West Indies.

WHY HAITIAN MINISTER RESIGNED

It seems that the recent resignation of Minister Dantes Bellegarde, as Haiti's representative at Washington, was prompted by the agreement imposing an American administrator of finance upon the island republic. This measure had been accepted by President of Haiti, so the only way in which Mr. Bellegarde could make his protest effective was by resigning his post as Minister. This he did, making the announcement of his action in a quiet session of the governing board of the Pan-American Union in a manner that was styled dramatic and startling.

The announcement was made in French in the presence of Secretary of State Hull and twentyone Latin-American diplomats who were in the hall. Mr. Bellegarde explained that his resignation was due entirely to his difference of opinion with his own government as to the acceptance of the agreement with the United States, calling for the appointment of financial administrator. In his address announcing his resignation he reminded the delegates of the great task they have to accomplish at Montevideo, "that of consolidating the Pan-American Union and making it repose on the unshakable base of mutual respect for the rights of our twenty one republics." He continued:

> **"This respect can be safeguarded only through repudiation of all forms of aggression. One may say that there are in our days two forms of aggression—military aggression and what Manuel Ugarte terms financial aggression.**
>
> **"President Roosevelt has characterized the first with a striking phrase:—'The aggressor is he who has soldiers stationed beyond his frontiers.'**
>
> **"I permit myself to characterize financial aggression by borrowing from the formula of the President of the United States:—'The financial. aggressor. is he who administers through his functionaries the finances of another independent state.'"**

Minister Bellegarde has probably been more in the limelight than any of his diplomatic predcessors since he has represented his country at Washington, where he has not failed to raise his voice in protest against any gesture of aggression. He even took a tilt at Gen. Smedley Butler when that leader of the American marines boasted of taking some mythical fort in Haiti and slaughtering its defenders. Notwithstanding his ardent defence of his country, he is said to be popular in Washington, which he leaves with regret. He wears the cross of the French Legion of Honor and has served his country with distinction both in Paris and as a delegate to the council of the League of Nations.

Race problem-1933

Virgin Islands-

West Indies.

Explains Attitude Of Navy Advocates In Virgin Isles

age 2-25-33

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Following is the text of a radio communication from Boyd J. Brown, Acting Governor of the Virgin Islands, addressed to Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, relative to a resolution adopted February 9 by the Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John:

"Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John in session assembled today adopted resolution endorsing petition of citizens requesting that 'The Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John be returned to the administration under the Navy Department' for the reason that 'the return of the Navy to St. Thomas will prove the quickest and only sure and practical economic salvation of the community.' In its resolution the Council has embodied the following paragraphs 'This Council acknowledges with appreciation the indefatigable and almost superhuman efforts of Governor Pearson and his staff to find a solution to our economic problems. This instrument is not to be construed as a reflection on the ability and integrity and excellent cooperation of the present administration and of the Department of the Interior in their strenuous efforts to further our economic rehabilitation'."

Lieut-Governor Lawrence W. Cramer refers to the fact that the Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John is the smaller of the two municipalities which constitute the Virgin Island of the United States that during the period of naval administration, in the Virgin Islands, a naval station was located at St. Thomas and upon the change of administration, the naval station was withdrawn with consequent reduction in the amount of Federal funds expended in that island.

This factor, it is pointed out, coupled with the reduced appropriations which have been available for all departments of the government during the last two years, has led to a considerable reduction in the total of Federal expenditures in St. Thomas and in the Virgin Islands; and these facts undoubtedly account for the opinion expressed by the Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John that the "economic salvation" of the community depends upon the reestablishment of the naval government.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

APR 30 1933

NEGRO IS INDORSED FOR FEDERAL POST

Founder of Catholic Schoo Urged as Governor of Virgin Islands

PLEA MADE TO ROOSEVELT

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

This week found Negro organizations combining their forces in an effort to have an American Negro appointed either as Governor or Director of Education of the Virgin Islands. The choice of the movement centered around Prof. Victor N. Daniels, founder and principal of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute at Ridge, Md.

Prof. Daniels, a Virgin Islander by birth, is a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, a former instructor there and is regarded as one of the group's most outstanding specialists in agriculture and health education. Following his work at Tuskegee he served at Western University, Kansas City, and later spent seven years at Bordentown Training School in New Jersey.

In 1924 he went into a neglected Negro Catholic community eighty miles below Washington, to establish a school where the underprivileged children of that district might be given training in industrial work and modern farming. The initial enrollment was thirteen, but since has grown to a point where it serves a rural community of 1100 families.

His Work at School Lauded

In surveying the work of the school, H. O. Abbott, writing in the Southern Letter, edited by Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, says:

"Health education is one of the major activities of the school. Appreciable progress has been made in the control and prevention of tuberculosis. The General Education Board and the Julius Rosenwald Fund have recognized the value of the work and have rendered financial aid to it."

It is on the basis of this work that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League have promised to place their strength behind the schoolman's appointment. Both these organizations protested against ex-President Hoover's statement of two years ago that "the Virgin Islands are virtually a poorhouse," and even then advocated the appointment of a Negro, "who could direct the industrial and agricultural education of the natives."

The leaders of the movement to have Prof. Daniels appointed have emphasized the fact that St. Croix, the largest, wealthiest and most thickly populated of the islands, is composed of districts "well suited to the application of modern agricultural methods." The group also holds that "hundreds of thousands of the most valuable sea-island cotton acreage," which has been allowed to go uncultivated, could be made to pay huge dividends to both the Government and natives," if placed under trained, sympathetic direction.

Population Mostly Negro

The Afro - American, Baltimore Negro weekly, in indorsing Prof. Daniels for the island post, points out editorially that: "Seventy-eight per cent of the Virgin Island population is black, 18 per cent is mixed, and only a handful is white," and adds that "Virgin Islanders have both a land and health problem that could be remedied by a health and agricultural specialist like Daniels.

In Philadelphia, it was announced that the local chapter of the Tuskegee Institute Alumni Association would join with other chapters throughout the country in petitioning President Roosevelt to "give the Virgin Islands a fighting chance" by sending a man to them who will "not only prove a sympathetic expert in the solution of their problems, but who will do much to rid the islands of the inferiority complex that has been forced upon the natives."

Prior to the selection of Prof. Daniels as a candidate for the post, the name of the prominent biochemist, George Washington Carver, who extracted fifty products from the peanut, and now heads the department of science at Tuskegee, was mentioned, but he is said to have refused consideration in favor of Prof. Daniels, who is a native of the islands.

Virgin Islands.

Race Problem-1933

West Indies.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

By VICTOR H. DANIEL

The Commonweal — 7-21-33.

In proportion to the rest of the United States, the Virgin Islands no doubt are as a pin point, and the problems of their natives may seem like the old question of the angels, negligible. To the Virgin Islanders, however, these things are unimpressive. They have their lives to make complete, their struggles in which they may feel that they are neglected because they are not a part of continental United States. These deserve their day in the consideration of their fellow-citizens.—The Editors.

New York Cities. N.Y.

IN THIS brief discussion of the latest territorial acquisition of the United States, no attempt will be made to pass judgment on the administration of any of the nations who from time to time have controlled the destiny of the Virgin Islands. It is rather the purpose of this paper to bring before you the various forces and causes which have been responsible, to a large extent, for the ups and downs of these islands. I shall consider only the years from 1848 to 1932, which is the period most directly concerned with present conditions.

Slavery was abolished in the Danish West Indies in July, 1848; since that abolition was brought about by an insurrection on the part of the slaves, no adequate preparation was made to admit them as freedmen into civil and economic life. The cessation of slave labor was a very heavy blow to the agricultural life of the islands. Before the planters could fully adjust themselves to the new economic state so suddenly brought about by the emancipation of the slaves, the islands, in 1867, were visited by a severe hurricane, followed by earthquake, fire and pestilence. A tidal wave which accompanied the earthquake destroyed nearly all the ships, lighters and wharves in St. Thomas, and the American man-of-war Monongahela, at anchor in the harbor of Frederickstead, St. Croix, was washed ashore in the market place of that port. This disaster damaged the world-wide prestige of its great harbor, by sending shipping elsewhere.

Suffering from the effects of the still recent war with Austria and Prussia (1864), the mother country, Denmark, could lend but little assistance to her stricken islands in the Caribbean.

Years earlier, the United States, failing to secure a naval base from the Haitian and Dominican Republics, had become interested in the Danish West Indies; and the War between the States, 1861-1865, demonstrated very clearly our need for a naval and coaling station in the Caribbean Sea. Shortly after the assassination of Lincoln, his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, went to Cuba for his health. Visiting St. Thomas on the way, he determined to secure the island for the United States. He asked Denmark to name a price, which she refused to do. The matter was eventually placed before the Danish Cabinet in 1866, and after much negotiating, the Danish government finally offered the United States the three islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, for $15,000,000; she was later persuaded to set a price of $7,500,000 for St. Thomas and St. John, but the United States Senate did not receive the offer with any marked degree of favor.

During the early years of the Reconstruction Period in the United States, St. Thomas gradually recovered from the loss of confidence in her maritime safety, caused by the hurricane of 1867, and began to regain some of her former commercial prestige; her increasing prosperity was reflected in the commercial life of St. Croix and St. John.

In 1896 the Republican party incorporated in its platform a plank requiring the purchase of the Danish West Indies; and in 1898 the senior senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, introduced in the Senate a bill to purchase the group for $5,000,000. Again in 1902 President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary John Hay offered the Danish government $5,000,000 for the islands. This was accepted and the required treaty was drawn up and submitted to the United States Senate, where it failed of ratification; at the same time, meeting much opposition in Denmark. Apprehension in this country over the possibility of the seizure of the islands as a naval base by Germany finally rushed the sale through in 1917, at a wartime price of $25,000,000. For that $25,000,000, the United States acquired, in addition to a very fine naval base, the responsibility for the 27,000 inhabitants of the islands, most of whom were of Negro descent.

As science and invention have relegated to an ever-receding background those elements of time and human skill, formerly so essential in the production and transportation of the commodities of the world of commerce, these three islands have lagged behind in the economic scale.

St. Thomas's importance as a port of call began to decline when the increased use of steam power for motivation, and the development of the means of communication through electrical energy, superseded wind and sail and revolutionized navigation. Iron ships put an end to the four shipyards with their hundreds of highly paid mechanics and apprentices. Telegraphy sharply reduced the length of time necessary for ships to remain in the harbor awaiting orders from their owners. This, in turn, affected the business of the three islands in a very vital way.

It is true that steam vessels brought the coal wharves; but the coaling of ships, largely by female labor, started a chain of economic and social evils which have found their echo in many of the unpleasant facts with which the islands are faced today, and of which most islanders are ashamed. It is easy now to visualize a time when oil burners and electrically driven vessels will replace the comparatively wasteful method of propelling ships by steam power generated with coal. When that time arrives, to what industry can the coal-passers turn for employment, and on whom will the merchants depend for their trade?

St. Croix has depended for her existence on the production of sugar, molasses and the famous Crucian rum. The sugar crop of 1838 was valued at $3,750,000. But there has been a steady decline in the profits from the sugar industry ever since the emancipation of the slaves in 1848.

The soil of St. John, which once supported a large thriving population, is now devoted almost exclusively to the growing of bay trees for the production of bay rum. This soil could certainly be made to produce truck and field crops for home consumption and the support of livestock, and diversification of the means of existence should

gradually increase the dwindling population of the island. Commonweal. 7-21-33.

Many Americans and Europeans sojourning on the islands, especially St. Thomas, have testified to their mild and healthful climate, yet statistics submitted to the Department of the Interior by Dr. James E. Gregg, former president of Hampton Institute, Virginia, and Dr. Robert Russa Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, show a high death rate among both infants and adults. New York, N.Y.

There have been schools in the Virgin Islands ever since 1697. Reading classes for slaves were established in 1733 by Moravian missionaries, to whom much praise should be given for the work.

Four years after the emancipation of the slaves compulsory education was started. Children from six to thirteen years of age were required to attend school regularly. Most of these schools were parochial schools operated by the various denominations, but subsidized by the government, and conducted under government supervision. Such elementary education was compulsory through the sixth grade only. For secondary education, which was not compulsory, there were several so-called colleges operated under private auspices. While suffering from the same misnomer as many American educational institutions, and therefore not colleges in any strict interpretation of the word, these schools did excellent secondary work of a purely academic character, many of their graduates, scions of well-to-do families, entering the large European colleges without difficulty. Comparatively few students found their way to American educational institutions until after the acquisition of the islands by the United States. Consequently, the culture of these possessions is predominantly European. Commonweal. 7-21-33

St. Thomas has been variously referred to as "a worthless colony to be sold," "a pearl amidst the ocean," "a sparkling emerald gem," "the pearl of the Antilles," and a "poor house." Between these extremes of opinion lies the truth. New York, N.Y.

The literacy rating of the islands is high; and both soil and climate are favorable to normal living according to the best modern standards. The future status of these American possessions depends upon their official handling, and the manner of that handling rests, in turn, upon the viewpoint from which they are considered.

For instance, St. Thomas and her sister islands may be considered purely as a naval base, and all energy focused on improving them as such. In this case the social, cultural and economic status of the natives would be of little moment; could, in fact, be almost disregarded, providing these people proved law-abiding and peaceful, and therefore not a menace to men on shore leave, or officers in temporary quarters.

Then again, these islands may be considered entirely in the light of a tourist center; in which case hotel accommodations for Americans and Europeans would determine the direction of their development; and modern improvements outside the tourist area would naturally yield place to the preservation of the picturesque in costumes and customs, on which attractions most tourist centers are dependent for part of their revenue.

On the other hand, it is possible to see in these islands the home of an integral part of our American population, not only a law-abiding, but an intelligent, progressive, capable, and self-supporting citizenry. From this viewpoint effort should be directed to needs of that population. It is possible to see a beauty spot, unspoiled by sore points of squalor, where those seeking health and rest could find both under ideal conditions.

Such a picture in no way destroys that of the Virgin Islands as a naval base. A port which is an acceptable and proper home for American citizens should be no less acceptable as a haven for our ships and their personnel. To Virgin Islanders, these beautiful islands are home. If they are to be an asset to this country, they must be considered as such.

Like all other Americans, in this period when we are attempting to bring order out of chaos, the Islanders are looking to President Roosevelt for a "new deal" for this "victim of modern progress," this "poor house," this "Pearl of the Antilles"—this home of American citizens.